00093662

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 15 June, 2016

THE

Harleian Miſcellany:

OR, A

COLLECTION

OF

SCARCE, CURIOUS, and ENTERTAINING

PAMPHLETS and TRACTS,

As well in Manuſcript as in Print,

Found in the late

93662
ac.

EARL of *OXFORD*'s LIBRARY.

INTERSPERSED

With HISTORICAL, POLITICAL, and CRITICAL NOTES.

WITH

A Table of the CONTENTS, and an Alphabetical INDEX.

VOL. IV.

LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ASIATIC SOC.

LONDON:

Printed for *T. OSBORNE*, in *Gray*'s-*Inn*. MDCCXLV.

90D
080
Har/Har

00093662

TO

His GRACE,

JOHN,

DUKE of RUTLAND,

This FOURTH VOLUME

OF THE

HARLEIAN MISCELLANY,

Is moſt humbly inſcribed, by,

Your GRACES'S

Moſt faithful, and

Moſt obedient Servant,

Thomas Osborne.

SUBSCRIBERS

TO THE

Harleian Miſcellany:

Since the Publication of the Third Volume.

HIS Grace the Duke of Rutland
The Right Honourable the Earl of Bath
Right Honourable the Lord Southwell
Sir Robert Salisbury Cotton, Bart.
Sir John Bruce, Bart.
Anthony Aſhley Cowper, Eſq; Clerk of the Parliament
William Monck, Eſq;
Charles Tryon, Eſq;
Godfrey Copley, Eſq;
——— Garth, Eſq;
——— Bowen, Eſq;
Henry Butler Pacey, Eſq;
John Roberts, Eſq;
William Finch, Eſq;
——— Miller, Eſq;
Reverend Mr. John Obins, Sen. Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin
Mr. Thomas Hardwick, Clerk of the Worſhipful Company of Drapers
Mr. William Griffith of the Navy-Office
Mr. Joſeph Darlow
Mr. Bonner, Bookſeller at Cambridge, 25 Sets.

THE CONTENTS TO THE *HARLEIAN MISCELLANY.*

THE Unhappy Markſman: Or, a perfect and impartial Diſcovery of that late barbarous and unparalleled Murder, committed by Mr. *George Strangeways*, formerly a Major in the King's Army, on his Brother-in-Law, Mr. *John Fuſſel*, an Attorney, on *Friday* the Eleventh of *February*. Together with a full Diſcovery of the fatal Cauſe of thoſe unhappy Differences which firſt occaſioned the Suits in Law betwixt them. Alſo the Behaviour of Mr. *Strangeways* at his Tryal. The dreadful Sentence pronounced againſt him. His Letter to his Brother-in-Law, a Member of Parliament. The Words by him delivered at his Death; and his ſtout, but Chriſtian-like Manner of Dying. Publiſhed by a faithful Hand.

Strangulat incluſus dolor, atque cor æſtuat intus.
Ov. Triſt. L. v.

London, Printed by *T. N.* for *R. Clavell*, at the *Stag*'s-*Head* in St. *Paul*'s Church-yard, by St. *Gregory*'s Church. 1659. *4to*, containing thirty-two Pages 1

A brief Relation of certain ſpecial and moſt material Paſſages and Speeches in the *Star-chamber*; occaſioned and delivered, *June* the 14th, 1637, at the Cenſure of thoſe three worthy Gentlemen, Dr. *Baſtwicke*, Mr. *Burton*, and Mr. *Prynne*, as it hath been truly and faithfully gathered from their own Mouths, by one preſent at the ſaid Cenſure. Printed in the Year 1638. *4to*, containing twenty-eight Pages 12

The Counteſs of *Lincoln*'s Nurſery. At *Oxford*, Printed by *John Lichfield* and *James Short*, Printers to the famous Univerſity, 1622. *4to*, containing twenty-one Pages 25

The Strangling and Death of the Great *Turk*, and his two Sons; with the ſtrange Preſervation and Deliverance of his Uncle *Muſtapha* from periſhing in Priſon with Hunger and Thirſt, the young Emperor, not three Days before, having ſo commanded. A wonderful Story, and the like never heard of in our modern Times; and yet all to manifeſt the Glory and Providence of God, in the Preſervation of *Chriſtendom* in theſe troubleſome Times. *Printed this Fifteenth of* July. Printed at *London*, by *J. D.* for *Nicholas Bourne* and *Thomas Archer*, and are to be ſold at their Shops at the *Exchange*, and in *Pope's-head Palace*, 1642. *8vo*, containing ſeventeen Pages 32

A Diſcourſe upon prodigious Abſtinence, occaſioned by the twelve Months Faſting of *Martha Taylor*, the famed *Derbyſhire* Damſel: Proving that, without any Miracle, the Texture of human Bodies may be ſo altered, that Life may be long continued without the Supplies of Meat and Drink. With an Account of the Heart, and how far it is intereſted in the Buſineſs of Fermentation. By *John Reynolds*. Humbly offered to the Royal Society. *London*, printed by *R. W.* for *Nevil Simmons*, at the Sign of the *Three Crowns* near *Holbourn* Conduit; and for *Dorman Newman*, at the *Surgeons Arms* in *Little-Britain*, 1669. *4to*, containing thirty-ſeven Pages, beſides the Title and Dedication 41

The Lord *Churchill*'s Letter to the King 57

A brief Relation of Sir *Walter Raleigh*'s Troubles: With the Taking away the Lands and Caſtle of *Sherburn* in *Dorſet* from him and his Heirs, being his indubitable Inheritance. *London*, printed for *W. T.* 1669. *4to*, containing eleven Pages *ib.*

Pope Joan: A Dialogue between a *Proteſtant* and *Papiſt*; manifeſtly proving, That a Woman, called *Joan*, was Pope of *Rome*; againſt the Surmiſes and Objections made to the Contrary, by *Robert Bellarmine* and *Cæſar Baronius*, Cardinal; *Florimondus Ræmondus, N. D.* and other *Popiſh* Writers, impudently denying the ſame. By *Alexander Cooke. London*, printed by *John Haviland*, for *William Garrat*; and are to be ſold at his Shop in *Paul*'s *Church-yard*, at the Sign of the *Bull*'s *Head.* 1625. 4*to*, containing One-hundred and forty Pages 61

A Scheme for the Foundation of a Royal Hoſpital, and raiſing a Revenue of five or ſix-thouſand Pounds a Year, by, and for the Maintenance of a Corporation of ſkilful Midwives, and ſuch Foundlings, or expoſed Children, as ſhall be admitted therein As it was propoſed and addreſſed to his Majeſty King *James* II. By Mrs. *Eliſabeth Cellier*, in the Month of *June*, 1687. Now firſt publiſhed from her own *MS.* found among the ſaid King's Papers. *Folio*, containing nine Pages 136

Four for a Penny: Or, poor *Robin*'s Character of an unconſcionable Pawn-broker. and Earmark of an oppreſſing Tally-Man: With a friendly Deſcription of a Bum-Bailey, and his mercileſs Setting-Cur, or Follower. With Allowance. *London*, printed for *L. C.* 1678. 4*to*, containing eight Pages 141

The Cloud opened: Or, The *Engliſh* Hero. By a loyal and impartial Pen.

Quam facile ſit cæcus dux vitæ, & obſcura lux temporum Hiſtoria? Si non amentiæ, rarus eſt qui non ineptiæ litavit, unicus ſit qui Deo & veritati obtulit.

London, printed, *A. D.* 1670. 4*to*, containing forty-eight Pages 143

A Letter to a Perſon of Honour, concerning the King's Diſavowing the having been married to the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Mother. 4*to*, containing twenty-four Pages 157

A moſt learned, conſcientious, and devout Exerciſe, or Sermon, held forth, the laſt *Lord's-day* of *April*, in the Year 1649, at Sir *P. T.*'s Houſe in *Lincoln*'s-*Inn-Fields*, by Lieutenant-General *Oliver Cromwell*; as it was faithfully taken in Characters by *Aaron Guerdon. London*, printed in the Year 1680. 4*to*, containing ſeventeen Pages 168

Some Reaſons for an Annual Parliament, as the beſt Security for *Engliſh* Rights. Together with the Qualifications required in a good Member of Parliament. Offered to the Conſideration of all Electors of Parliament-Men. 4*to*, containing eight Pages 174

The Cenſure of the *Rota*, upon Mr. *Milton*'s Book, intitled, *The ready and eaſy Way to eſtabliſh a free Commonwealth.*

Die Lunæ 26. Martii, 1660.

Ordered by the Rota, *that Mr.* Harrington *be deſired to draw up a Narrative of this Day's Proceeding upon Mr.* Milton's *Book, called*, The ready and eaſy Way, &c. *And to cauſe the ſame to be forth-with printed and publiſhed, and a Copy thereof to be ſent to Mr.* Milton.

Trundle Wheeler, *Clerk to the* Rota.

Printed at *London*, by. *Paul Giddy*, Printer to the *Rota*, at the Sign of the *Windmill*, in *Turn-again-Lane*, 1660. 4*to*, containing ſixteen Pages 179

Experimented Propoſals, how the King may have Money to pay and maintain his Fleets, with Eaſe to his People; *London* may be rebuilt, and all Proprietors ſatisfied; Money to be lent at Six *per Cent.* on Pawns; and the Fiſhing-Trade ſet up, which alone is able and ſure to inrich us all. And all this without Altering, Straining, or Thwarting any of our Laws or Cuſtoms now in Uſe. By Sir *Edward Forde.* Licenſed, *November* 2, 1656. *Roger L'Eſtrange. London*, printed by *William Godbid*, 1666. 4*to*, containing one Sheet 185

The great and famous Battle of *Lutzen*, fought between the renowned King of *Sweden* and *Walſtein.* Wherein were left dead upon the Place between Five and Six-thouſand of the *Swediſh* Party, and between Ten and Twelve-thouſand of the Imperialiſts, where the King himſelf was unfortunately ſlain, whoſe Death counterpoiſed all the other. *Pappenheim, Merode, Iſolani*, and divers other great Commanders were offered up like ſo many Sacrifices on the *Swediſh* Altar, to the Memory of their King. Here is alſo inſerted an Abridgment of the King's Life, and a Relation of the King of *Bohemia*'s Death, faithfully tranſlated out of the *French* Copy. Printed 1633. 4*to*, containing forty-five Pages 187

The Chaplain's Petition to the honourable Houſe, for Redreſs of Grievances. By one of the Camp Chaplains. *London*, printed for the Uſe of the Petitioners; and ſo'd by *Thomas Ranew*, in *Fleetſtreet* near *Temple-Bar*, 1693. 4*to*, containing four Pages 200

The Trade's Increaſe. *London*, printed by *Nicholas Okes*, and are to be ſold by *Walter Burre.* 1615. 4*to*, containing ſixty-two Pages 202

The Great Baſtard, Protector of the Little One. Done out of the *French.* And for which, a Proclamation, with a Reward of 5000 Louis'dors to diſcover the Author, was publiſhed. Printed at *Cologne*, 1689. 4*to*, containing thirty Pages 221

The whole and true Diſcourſe of the Enterpriſes and ſecrete Conſpiracies, that haue bene made againſt the Perſon of *Henry de Valois*, [illegible] Chriſtian King of *Fraunce* and *Poland*: Wh[illegible]

upon

upon followed his Death, by the Hand of a young *Iacobin* Frier, the firſt Day of *Auguſt*, 1589; whereby the Enemies of the Crown thought to haue reduced and brought all *Fraunce* to their Will and Deuotion. Together with the Aſſembly, that the King, before his Death, made of the Princes of the Blood, Lordes, and Gentlemen, that were in his Armie, with the Heads of the Straungers, to whom he declared his laſt Will. *Engliſhed* out of the *French* Copie printed at *Caan* in *Normandie*. Imprinted by *Thomas Purfoote*, and are to bee ſoulde at his Shoppe, without *New-gate*, ouer againſt S. *Sepulchers* Church. 1589. In *black Letter*. 8*vo*, containing twelve Pages 229

His Majeſty's Speech in this laſt Seſſion of Parliament, concerning the *Gunpowder-Plot*; as near his very Words, as could be gathered at the Inſtant. Together with a Diſcourſe of the Manner of the Diſcovery of this late intended Treaſon, joined with the Examination of ſome of the Priſoners. Imprinted at *London*, by *Robert Barker*, Printer to the King's moſt Excellent Majeſty, *Anno* 1605. 4*to*, containing ninety-two Pages 234

The Advice of that worthy Commander, Sir *Edward Harwood*, Colonel. Written by King *Charles*'s Command, upon Occaſion of the *French* King's Preparation; and preſented in his Life-time, by his own Hand, to his Majeſty: Hitherto, being a private Manuſcript. Alſo a Relation of his Life and Death. Whereunto is alſo annexed divers remarkable Inſtructions, written by the late, and ever-famous, Earl of *Eſſex*. All tending to the Securing and Fortifying of this Kingdom, both by Sea and Land, and now ſeaſonably publiſhed for the Benefit of theſe Times.

A Word ſpoken in Seaſon is like Apples of Gold in Pictures of Silver Prov. xxv. 11.

Printed at *London*, for *R. Harford*. 1642. 4*to*, containing forty Pages 255

The Proceſs and Pleadings in the Court of *Spain*, upon the Death of *Anthony Aſcham*, Reſident for the Parliament of *England*, and of *John Baptiſta Riva*, his Interpreter, who were killed by *John Guillim*, *William Spark*, *Valentine Progers*, *Jo. Halſal*, *William Arnet*, and *Henry Progers*. Who are all in cloſe Priſon in *Madrid* for the ſaid Fact, except *Henry Progers*, who fled to the *Venetian* Ambaſſador's Houſe, and ſo eſcaped. Sent from *Madrid* from a Perſon of Quality and made *Engliſh*. *London*, printed by *William Dugard*, Printer to the Council of State, 1651. *Quarto*, containing twenty Pages 267

Killing no Murder; briefly diſcourſed in three Queſtions. By *William Allen*.

And [illegible] *the People of the Land rejoiced, and the City was quiet, after that they had ſlain* Athaliah *with the Sword.* 2 Chron. xxiii. 21.

Now after the Time that Amaziah *did turn away from following the Lord, they made a Conſpiracy againſt him in* Jeruſalem, *and he fled to* Lachiſh; *but they ſent to* Lachiſh *after him, and ſlew him there.* 2 Chron xxv. 27.

Reprinted in the Year 1689. *Quarto*, containing thirty Pages 276

A Diſcourſe of Sea-ports; principally of the Port and Haven of *Dover*: Written by Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and addreſſed to Queen *Eliſabeth*. With uſeful Remarks, &c. on that Subject, by Command of his late Majeſty King *Charles the Second*. Never before made publick. Printed in 1700. 4*to*, containing twenty Pages 292

The Life of Sir *Thomas Bodley*, the honourable Founder of the Publick Library in the Univerſity of *Oxford*. Written by Himſelf. *Oxford*, Printed by *Henry Hall*, Printer to the Univerſity, 1647. 4*to*, containing ſixteen Pages. 300

A Rod for the Lawyers: Who are hereby declared to be the grand Robbers and Deceivers of the Nation; greedily devouring yearly many Millions of the People's Money. To which is added, a Word to the Parliament, and, a Word to the Army. By *William Cole*, a Lover of his Country.

Woe unto them that decree unrighteous Decrees, and that write Grievouſneſs that they have preſcribed: To turn aſide the Needy from Judgment, and to take away the Right from the Poor of my People, that Widows may be their Prey, and that they may rob the Fatherleſs. Iſa. x. 1, 2.

The Spoil of the Poor is in your Houſes. Iſa. iii. 14.

London, printed in the Year, 1659. 4*to*, containing twenty Pages 305

The Petition of the Ladies of *London* and *Weſtminſter* to the Honourable Houſe for Huſbands; *London*, printed for *Mary Want-man*, the Foremaid of the Petitioners; and ſold by *A. Roper* in *Fleetſtreet*, 1693. 4*to*, containing four Pages 312

A great Victory obtained by the *Engliſh* againſt the *Dutch*, and the Purſuing of the *Dutch* Fleets, by General *Blake*, and Sir *George Ayſcue*, with one-hundred and eighty Men of War, towards the *Downs*, and their Reſolution to engage them, between *Dover* and *Calais*. The Manner how Sir *George Ayſcue*, with great Policy, obtained the Wind; the Number ſunk and taken; and two gallant Ships, ſurpriſed by Captain *Stoaks*, laden with Gold and Elephants Teeth. Alſo, the Number of Ships coming up the River of *Thames* for *London*, richly laden from the *Eaſt-Indies*, the *Streights*, *Virginia*, and *Barbadoes*.

Die Septembris 27, 1652.

Extracted out of the Original Papers, ſent, from Captain Stoaks, *to the honourable Council of State, on* Sunday *laſt*, September *the Twenty fifth*.

Imprinted at *London*, for *George Horton*, 1652. 4*to*, containing eight Pages 316

A Diſcourſe of the moſt illuſtrious Prince, *Henry*, late Prince of *Wales*. Written, *Anno* 1626, by Sir *Charles Cornwallis*, Knight, ſometimes Treaſurer of his Highneſs's Houſe. *London*, printed for *John Benſon*, and are to be ſold at his Shop in St. *Dunſtan*'s Church-yard, 1641. *4to*, containing thirty-ſix Pages 319

The Examinations of *Henry Barrowe*, *John Grenewood*, and *John Penrie*, before the High Commiſſioners, and Lordes of the Counſel. Penned by the Priſoners themſelves before their Deathes.

Ther is nothing couered, that ſhal not be reueiled; neither hid, that ſhal not be knowen. Luke xii. 2.

For every Worke God himſelf wil bring unto Iudgement, with every ſecret Thing, whither good or euil. Eccleſ. ii. 14.

Printed 1586. *4to*, *black Letter*, containing thirty-two Pages 326

The Travels of three *Engliſh* Gentlemen, from *Venice* to *Hamburgh*, being the grand Tour of *Germany*, in the Year 1734. *MS.* Never before publiſhed. Sect. i. 348

A Journey from *Goritia* to *Laubach*, or *Lubiana*, the Metropolis of *Carniola*. Sect. ii. 352

Rome for *Canterbury*: Or, a true Relation of the Birth and Life of *William Laud*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. Together with the whole Manner of his Proceeding, both in the *Star-Chamber*, High-commiſſion Court, and in his own Houſe; and ſome Obſervations of him in the *Tower*. Dedicated to all the *Arminian* Tribe, or *Canterburian* Faction, in the Year of Grace 1641. Whereunto is annexed a Poſtſcript in Verſe. Printed in the Year 1641. *4to*, containing eight Pages 360

A Catalogue of Petitions, ordered to be drawn up and preſented to the honourable Houſe at their next Seſſion. *4to*, containing four Pages 364

How to advance the Trade of the Nation, and employ the Poor. *Fol.* containing four Pages 366

A Synopſis, or contract View of the Life of *John Armand*, Cardinal of *Richlieu*, great Favourite and Miniſter of State to *Lewis the Thirteenth*, King of *France*. To be engraven on his Tomb. Firſt written in *Latin*, and now, *verbatim*, rendered *Engliſh*.

Quis leget hæc? ——
Vel duo, vel nemo. PERSIUS.

Printed in the Year 1643. *4to*, containing eight Pages 370

Encouragement for Seamen and Mariners. In Two Parts. Being a propoſed Method for the more ſpeedy and effectual furniſhing their Majeſties Royal Navy with able Seamen and Mariners: And for ſaving thoſe immenſe Sums of Money yearly expended in attending the Sea Preſs. In order to prevent thoſe many Miſchiefs and Abuſes daily committed, by diſorderly Preſs-Maſters, both at Sea and Land, to the great Prejudice of their Majeſties, and Injury of the Subject. By *George Everett*, Shipwright. *London*, Printed in the Year 1695. *4to*, containing twenty-four Pages 373

The Petition of the Widows, in and about *London* and *Weſtminſter* for a Redreſs of their Grievances. *London*, printed for the Uſe of the Wide—o's, 1693. *4to*, containing four Pages 381

The State Gameſters; or the old Cards new packed and ſhuffled. *Fol.* containing two Pages 384

A Journey from *Laubach*, or *Lubiana*, to *Gratz*, the Metropolis of the Dutchy of *Stiria*. *MS.* Never before publiſhed. Sect. iii. 385

Reaſons humbly offered for a Law to enact the Caſtration of Popiſh Eccleſiaſticks, as the beſt Way to prevent the Growth of Popery in *England*. *London*, printed in 1700. *4to*, containing twenty-ſix Pages 395

The true Hiſtory of the late and lamentable Adventures of Don *Sebaſtian* King of *Portugal*, after his Impriſonment in *Naples*, until this preſent Day, being now in *Spain*, at St. *Lucar de Barrameda*.

There is no Power but from God. Rom. xiii.

London, Printed by *Simon Stafford* and *James Shaw*, 1602. *4to*, containing twenty-eight Pages 403

Sir *Thomas Roe*'s Speech in Parliament. Wherein he ſheweth the Cauſe of the Decay of Coin and Trade in this Land, eſpecially of Merchants Trade. And alſo propoundeth a Way to the Houſe, how they may be increaſed. Printed in the Year 1641. *4to*, containing twelve Pages 412

A New Bill, drawn up by a Committee of Grievances, in Reply to the Ladies and Batchelors Petition and Remonſtrances, &c. *4to*, containing four Pages 416

A true Narrative and Relation of his moſt ſacred Majeſty's miraculous Eſcape from *Worceſter*, on the Third of *September*, 1651, till his Arrival at *Paris*. Printed at *London*, for *G. Colborn*, 1660. *4to*, containing eight Pages 419

The Tears of the Preſs, with Reflexions on the preſent State of *England*. *London*, printed and are to be ſold by *Richard Janeway*, in *Queen*'s-*Head* Alley, in *Pater-noſter* Row, 1681. *4to*, containing nine Pages 425

A Journey from *Gratz*, the Metropolis of *Stiria*, to *Vienna* in *Auſtria*. MS. Never before publiſhed. Sect. iv. 428

The *Engliſh* Hermit, or Wonder of this Age. Being a Relation of the Life of *Roger Crab*, living near *Uxbridge*; taken from his own Mouth; ſhewing his ſtrange, reſerved, and unparalleled Kind of Life, who counteth it a Sin againſt his Body and Soul, to eat any Sort of Fleſh, Fiſh, or living Creature, or to drink any Wine, Ale, or Beer. He can live with three Farthings a Week. His conſtant Food is Roots and Herbs; as Cabbage, Turneps, Carrots, Dock-leaves and Graſs; alſo Bread and Bran, without Butter or Chee[illegible]

Cheeſe: His Cloathing is Sack-cloth. He leſt the Army, and kept a Shop at *Cheſham*, and hath now left off that, and ſold a conſiderable Eſtate to give to the Poor, ſhewing his Reaſon from the Scripture, *Mark* x. 21. *Jer.* xxxv.

Wherefore if Meat make my Brother to offend, I will never eat Fleſh while the World ſtands, 1 Cor. viii. 13.

London Printed, and are to be ſold in *Pope*'s-*Head Alley*, and at the *Exchange*, 1655. 4*to*, containing twenty-two Pages 453

Propoſals for Building, in every County, a Working-Alms-houſe or Hoſpital, as the beſt Expedient to perfect the Trade and Manufactory of Linnen Cloth. Whereby, 1. All poor People and their Children, from five or ſix Years old, may be employed and maintained; as alſo all Beggars, Vagrants, &c. reſtrained and for ever prevented, and ſo all Pariſhes eaſed of that intolerable Burden. 2. Many hundred-thouſand Pounds kept at Home, which now every Year goes out of the Kingdom for Linnen, whereby our Wealth becomes a Prey to other Nations. 3. Much Land improved in every County to great Advantage of Landlord and Tenant. Humbly offered to the Conſideration of the great Wiſdom of the whole Nation, now aſſembled in Parliament. Printed at *London*, by *W. G*, for *R. Harford*, at the Sign of the *Angel* in *Cornhill*, 1677. 4*to*, containing fourteen Pages 464

The *Iriſh* Cabinet: Or, His Majeſty's ſecret Papers, for Eſtabliſhing the Papal Clergy in *Ireland*, with other Matters of high Concernment, taken in the Carriages of the Archbiſhop of *Tuam*, who was ſlain at the late Fight at *Sleigo* in that Kingdom. Together with two exact and full Relations of the ſeveral Victories obtained by the Parliament's Forces, through God's Bleſſing, in the ſame Kingdom.

Ordered by the Commons aſſembled in Parliament, That his Majeſty's Papers, taken at *Sleigo*, be forthwith Printed and Publiſhed.

H. Elſynge Cler. Parl. D. Com.

London, Printed for *Edward Huſband*, Printer to the Honourable Houſe of Commons, and are to be ſold at his Shop at the Sign of the *Golden Dragon* in *Fleetſtreet*, near the *Inner-Temple*, *January* 20, 1645. 4*to*, containing twenty-eight Pages 469

An humble Remonſtrance of the Batchelors, in and about *London*, to the honourable Houſe, in Anſwer to a late Paper, intitled, *A Petition of the Ladies for Huſbands. London*, printed for, and ſold by the Bookſelling Batchelors, in St. *Paul*'s Church-yard. 4*to*, containing four Pages 479

A true Deſcription, or rather a Parallel between Cardinal *Wolſey*, Archbiſhop of *York*, and *William Laud*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. Printed in the Year 1641. 4*to*, containing eight Pages 482

A Letter from the Nobility, Barons, and Commons of *Scotland*, in the Year 1320, yet extant, under all the Seals of the Nobility, directed to Pope *John*: Wherein they declare their firm Reſolutions to adhere to their King, *Robert the Bruce*, as the Reſtorer of the Safety, and Liberties of the People, and as having the true Right of Succeſſion: But, withal, they notwithſtanding declare, That, if the King ſhould offer to ſubvert their Civil Liberties, they will diſown him as an Enemy, and chooſe another to be King for their own Defence. Tranſlated from the Original, in *Latin*, as it is inſerted by Sir *George Mackenzy* of *Roſehaugh*, in his Obſervations on Precedency, &c. 4*to*, containing eight Pages 485

A Century of the Names and Scantlings of ſuch Inventions, as at preſent I can call to Mind to have tried and perfected, which, my former Notes being loſt, I have, at the Inſtance of a powerful Friend, endeavoured now, in the Year 1655, to ſet theſe down in ſuch a Way, as may ſufficiently inſtruct me to put any of them in Practice.

——*Artis & Naturæ proles.*

London, printed by *J. Griſmond* in 1663. 24*mo*, containing ninety-one Pages 489

The Bill of Attainder that paſſed againſt *Thomas* Earl of *Strafford*. Printed for *J. A.* 1641. 4*to*, containing ſix Pages 500

Strange Apparitions, or the Ghoſt of King *James*: With a late Conference between the Ghoſt of that good King, the Marquis of *Hamilton*'s, and *George Egliſham*'s, Doctor of Phyſick; unto which appeared the Ghoſt of the late Duke of *Buckingham*, concerning the Death and Poiſoning of King *James*, and the reſt. Printed at *London* for *J. Aſton*, 1642. 4*to*, containing eight Pages 501

A lamentable and piteous Treatiſe, verye neceſſarye for euerie Chriſten Manne to reade, wherin is contayned, not onely the high Enterpriſe and Valeauntnes of Themperour *Charles* the v. and his Army (in his Voyage made to the Towne of *Argier* in *Affrique*, agaynſt the *Turckes*, the Enemyes of the Chriſten Fayth, Thinhabitoures of the ſame) but alſo the myſerable Chaunces of Wynde and Wether, with dyuerſe other Aduerſites, hable to moue euen a ſtonye Hearte to bewayle the ſame, and to pray to God for his Ayde and Succoure. Whiche was written and ſent vnto the Lorde of *Langeſt*. Truly and dylygently tranſlated out of *Latyn* into *Frenche*, and out of *Frenche* into *Engliſh*. 1542. *Ricardus Grafton excudebat, cum Priuilegio ad imprimendum ſolum.* 8*vo*, containing twenty-ſeven Pages 504

The Leveller: Or, the Principles and Maxims concerning Government and Religion, which are aſſerted

aſſerted by thoſe that are commonly called *Levellers.* *London,* printed for *Thomas Brewſter,* at the three *Bibles,* at the Weſt End of St. *Paul*'s, 1659. 4*to,* containing ſixteen Pages 515

Admiral *Ruſſel*'s Letter to the Earl of *Nottingham:* Containing an exact and particular Relation of the late happy Victory and Succeſs againſt the *French* Fleet. Publiſhed by Authority. In the *Savoy,* printed by *Edward Jones,* 1692. *Fol.* containing eight Pages 521

The Power of the Laws of a Kingdom over the Will of a miſled King. *Leyden,* printed by *William Chriſtienne.* 1643. 4*to,* containing eight Pages 525

Belvoir: Being a *Pindarick* Ode upon *Belvoir* Caſtle, the Seat of the Earls of *Rutland,* made in the Year 1679. *MS.* 527

The Accuſation and Impeachment of *William Laud,* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury,* by the Houſe of Commons, in Maintenance of the Accuſations, whereby he ſtandeth charged with High-Treaſon. Printed *Anno Dom.* 1641. 4*to,* containing eight Pages 545

Leiceſter's Commonwealth fully epitomiſed; conceived, ſpoken, and publiſhed, with moſt earneſt Proteſtation of all dutiful Good-will and Affection towards this Realm, for whoſe Good only it is made common to many. Contracted in a moſt brief, exact, and compendious Way, with the full Senſe, and whole Meaning of the former Book, every Fragment of Senſe being interpoſed. With a pleaſant Deſcription of the firſt Original of the Controverſies betwixt the two Houſes of *York* and *Lancaſter.* 4*to,* containing ſixteen Pages 547

A Dialogue between *Franciſco* and *Aurelia,* two unfortunate Orphans of the City of *London.* Licenſed, *November* the Fourth, 1690. *London,* Printed for *Randal Taylor,* near *Stationer's-Hall,* 1690. 4*to,* containing eight Pages 554

A ſhort Hiſtorical Collection, touching the Succeſſion of the Crown. *Fol.* containing two Pages 558

A true Relation from *Germany,* of a Proteſtant Shepherd's killing a counterfeit Devil, that would have perverted him to Popery, *July* the Twenty-ninth, N. S. 1676. Being a Contrivance of two Monks, that dreſſed themſelves, one in the Likeneſs of an Angel, the other of a Devil; and ſo, in the Night, came to this poor Shepherd, to affright and ſeduce him. With an Account of what paſſed between them; how the Shepherd killed him that acted the Devil, and buried him; and the Trouble he has been like to come into ſince for the ſame.
They compaſs Sea and Land to make one Proſelyte, &c.
Licenſed *Auguſt* the Seventh, 1676. *Roger L'Eſtrange.* *London,* printed for *D. M.* 1676. 4*to,* containing eight Pages 559

The Lord Chancellor's Diſcovery and Confeſſion, made in the Time of his Sickneſs in the *Tower.* With Allowance. *London,* printed for *R. Lee,* without *Biſhopſgate,* 1689. *Fol.* containing two Pages 562

The

The Unhappy Markſman: Or, a perfect and impartial Diſcovery of that late barbarous and unparalleled Murder committed by Mr. *George Strangeways*, formerly a Major in the King's Army, on his Brother-in-Law, Mr. *John Fuſſel*, an Attorney, on *Friday* the Eleventh of *February*. Together with a full Diſcovery of the fatal Cauſe of thoſe unhappy Differences which firſt occaſioned the Suits in Law betwixt them. Alſo the Behaviour of Mr. *Strangeways* at his Tryal. The dreadful Sentence pronounced againſt him. His Letter to his Brother-in-Law, a Member of Parliament. The Words by him delivered at his Death; and his ſtout, but Chriſtian-like Manner of Dying. Publiſhed by a faithful Hand.

Strangulat incluſus dolor, atque cor æſtuat intus. Ov. Triſt. L. v.

London, Printed by *T. N.* for *R. Clavell*, at the *Stag*'s-*Head* in St. *Paul*'s Church-yard, by St. *Gregory*'s Church. 1659.
Quarto, containing thirty-two Pages.

SInce * the various Relations of this ſad and horrid Act, even in the City where it was committed, are ſo many, that the illegitimate Births of thoſe corrupted Parents muſt of Neceſſity fill more diſtant Places with ſo ſpurious an Iſſue, that when it comes to be nurſed with thoſe uſual Adjuncts, which either Envy, or Love, will extort from moſt Relators, it may poſſibly grow to ſo monſtrous a Form, that all the *Veſtigia* of Verity muſt of Neceſſity be loſt in its Variety of Diſguiſe. Wherefore it was thought fit by one that is not only a Lover of Truth, but an Honourer of both the Parties deceaſed, before a farther Travel hath warmed her with Impudence, to unveil Report in ſo clear and impartial a Diſcovery, as may neither deform the Truth, nor diſguſt their Relations.

Mr. *George Strangeways*, commonly known in the Country, where he chiefly reſided, by the Name of Major *Strangeways*, an Office which he had, with much Honour and Gallantry, performed in the unhappy War †, was ſecond Son to Mr. *James Strangeways* of *Muſſen*, in the County of *Dorſet*: A Gentleman of an antient and unblemiſhed Family, whoſe Virtues this unhappy Son of his, till ſullied by this raſh Act of ungoverned Fury, did rather ſeem to illuſtrate by a conſtant Courſe of worthy and manly Actions, than any Ways to degenerate from the beſt Atchievements of his moſt ſucceſsful Predeceſſors. He was now about the Five or Six and fortieth Year of his

---

* This is the 57th in the Catalogue of the *Harleian* Pamphlets; and publiſhed at the Requeſt of one who ſigned the Recommendation with *E. F.*

† Between the King and Parliament, in 1642.

Age: A Perſon that had a brave and generous Soul, included in a ſtout and active Body. He was of Stature tall, and framed to the moſt maſculine Proportion of Man; his Conſtitution, ſuch as rather fitted him for the active Employments of buſy War, than the more quiet Affairs of Peace-affecting Studies; yet was he not ſo much a Stranger to thoſe Arts, which are the adorning Qualifications of a Gentleman, but that he had ſacrificed to *Minerva*, whilſt in the Temple of *Mars*; and, in the moſt ſerious Conſultations, had always a Judgment as dexterous to adviſe, as a Heart daring to act. What he appeared moſt unſkilled in, was Love's Polemicks, he having ſpun out the Thread of his Life, without twiſting it in Matrimony.

He was in ſome trivial Actions, performed ſince the Time of his Impriſonment, condemned for a parſimonious Sparing, too low for the Quality of a Gentleman; which if true, I much wonder that he, whoſe former Frugality was but the Child of Diſcretion, being now ſo near a *Superſedeas* from all the afflicting Wants, Mortality trembles at, and having none of his Relations, whoſe Neceſſities craved a Subſiſtence from what he left behind, ſhould, near his Death, ſave that with Diſhonour, which in his Life he ſpent with Reputation.

But to detain thee no longer with the Character either of his Perſon or Qualities, which probably ſome of his many Enemies may unjuſtly cenſure for Partiality; I will haſten to as full a Relation, both of the original Ground of their unhappy Difference, and the fatal Concluſion of his implacable Wrath, as it hath been poſſible by the moſt diligent Inquiſition to obtain, both from the Neareſt in Acquaintance to both Parties, and ſuch ocular Informations, as were obſervable in much of the Time from his Sentence to his Execution.

The Father of Mr. *Strangeways*, dying about ſome ten Years ſince, left him in Poſſeſſion of the Farm of *Muſſen*, leaving his eldeſt Daughter, Mrs. *Mabel Strangeways*, ſince Wife to Mr. *Fuſſel*, his Executrix.

The Eſtate being thus left, Mrs. *Mabel*, being then an ancient Maid, rents the Farm of her Brother *George*, and ſtocks it at her own Coſt; towards the Procuring of which Stock, ſhe engaged herſelf, in a Bond of three-hundred and fifty Pounds, to her Brother *George*; who preſuming on her Continuance of a ſingle Life, and, by Conſequence, that her perſonal Eſtate might, in Time, return to her then neareſt Relations (of which himſelf had a juſt Reaſon to expect, if not the Whole, the greateſt Share) he not only intruſted her with the forementioned Bond, but likewiſe with that Part of the Stock, and ſuch Utenſils of the Houſe, as, by his Father's Will, properly belonged to himſelf; which, he preſumed, ſhe could better ſecure, paſſing under the Notion of her's, than he, whoſe whole Eſtate was liable to the dangerous Hazard of Sequeſtration *; a Diſaſter ſo epidemical, as many Thouſands, beſides himſelf, by ſad Experience know, that Honeſty, the common Preſervative againſt other Calamities, was the principal Means that made them obnoxious to this.

His Eſtate being, as he then conceived, thus in a fair Probability of Preſervation from thoſe Vultures of a Commonwealth, Sequeſtrators, by the calm Neutrality of a diſcreet Siſter, they, for ſome Time, lived very happily together, he making the Farm of *Muſſen* the common Place of his Reſidence: But, on a ſudden, the Scene alters, and ſhe, whom, he thought, Age and a long-continued ſingle Life had impriſoned too faſt in her Virgin Ice, ever to be thawed with the Thoughts of a matrimonial Life, began to expreſs ſome Reſentments of Affection towards Mr. *Fuſſel*, a Gentleman of good Eſteem in the Country where he lived, and of much Repute for his eminent Abilities in Matters of Law: He had formerly bore Arms under the ſame Royal Standard which Major *Strangeways* did; in which troubleſome Time of Action, he always proved himſelf a very uſeful Member of that unfortunate Army, ſerving them faithfully, till their ſad Declination, with many other noble Sufferers, forced him a long Time to mourn both his and their Calamities, in an uncouth Jail. His ordinary Place of Reſidence was now in *Blandford*, an eminent Town in *Dorſetſhire*; in and about which Place, though ſome, that feared his vigorous Proceedings in the Law, may ſeem glad to have their Weakneſs protected by the Abſence of ſo able a Proſecutor, the major Part, eſpecially ſuch as had the Happineſs to experiment his Honeſty and Ability in ſolliciting their Cauſes, will, with a far greater Weight both of Reaſon and Religion, have a juſt Cauſe to repent ſo conſiderable a Loſs.

---

* By the Parliament Forces.

But not to diſmantle too many of thoſe unhappy Differences which were the prodigious Monſters that firſt hatched this horrid Murther, it looking too much like a Crime, to pollute the Aſhes of the Dead, with the Sins of the Living, wiſhing all the Enmity, that like *Hydra*'s fruitful Heads may ſpring up between the Friends of both the deceaſed Parties, were ſepulchered in their Grave; we will only inſiſt upon what appears to be the firſt and moſt fatal Argument of their Quarrel. Mrs. *Mable Strangeways*, now no longer diſguiſing her Affections to Mr. *Fuſſel*, being then a Widower, lets her Reſolutions diſcover themſelves in ſo publick a Way, that it ſoon arrives to the Ear of her diſcontented Brother, who, though not apparently for any former Hate between them, yet (as is moſt likely, doubting thoſe Abilities of Mr. *Fuſſel*, which, ſince in Relation to the Law, he with many others were pleaſed by an eaſy Metaphor to term *Subtlety*, might, if not prejudice him in Part of his own Eſtate, yet wholly deprive him of that Part of his Siſter's, which before Hope, grounded on fair Probabilities, told him he was of all Men moſt likely to enjoy.

To prevent this approaching Storm, he lets his Siſter know his Diſguſt of her intended Marriage; and being farther exaſperated by her unmoveable Conſtancy, as it is affirmed by the Friends of Mr. *Fuſſel*, broke out into ſuch exuberant Expreſſions of Paſſion, that to her Terror, he affirms, if ever ſhe married Mr. *Fuſſel*, to be the Death of him, either in his Study or elſewhere; which bloody Reſolution, ſince the Time wherein thoſe black Thoughts, diſveloped themſelves by Action, ſhe hath under her Hand confirmed, as is reported by the Relations to Mr. *Fuſſel*, by ſeveral Letters; but ſuch, as ſince they contain little, beſides this Aſſeveration, concerning our preſent Purpoſe, I ſhall omit the Inſerting of them, preſuming, all Wives, eſpecially good ones, need not a Pattern by which to be taught to mourn ſuch Loſſes as theſe.

To trouble thee no further with a Digreſſion, whilſt this Paroxyſm of his Paſſion continues in ſuch a dreadful Vigour; he and his Siſter are parted, at which Time, as ſhe pretends, he unjuſtly detained much of the Stock belonging to the Farm, which either by her Father's Will, or her own Purchaſe, was properly her's; withal ſhe denies any ſuch Thing as the Sealing the forementioned Bond, pretending it only a Forgery of her Brother's.

On the other Side, he complains of Injuries done to him, of no leſs Extent than the Endeavouring to defraud him of a Part of his Eſtate, beſides the Money due by Bond. Theſe were the Differences, which firſt fomented a Rage not to be quenched, but by Blood; over which Part unſpotted Juſtice ſpread her Wings. Who groaned under the Burthen of afflicting Wrongs, or who had the greater Unhappineſs to be the Oppreſſor of the Innocent, ſince the Law hath left it undetermined, I think it not only an audacious Preſumption, but ſavouring very much of Partiality, and a Soul biaſſed by a ſelf-intereſted Affection, than of an even and equal-tempered Friend, in whoever ſhould ſo peremptorily affirm the Juſtice of one Cauſe, as to brand the other with an ignominious Scandal of Forgeries and Oppreſſion. Their Bodies are both at Reſt in their ſilent Dormitories, their Souls, no Doubt, triumphing in eternal Joys; and ſhall we, whoſe Uncertainty of Life, and Certainty of Sin and its Conſequence, Death (which, we know not in what Shape, the eternal Diſpoſer of the Univerſe will ſend to aſſault us) with uncertain Cenſures ſully their Memories, the only, and that doubtful, Remainder of ſwiftly-fading Mortality? No; let their Fames reſt as peaceable, as we know their Bodies, and hope their Souls do. If thou haſt been a Friend to either, be not ſo much an Enemy to thyſelf, as to abuſe the other; but let thy Reſentments of Love, or Sorrow, rather diſvelope themſelves in a ſober and ſilent Pity, than loud and clamorous Cenſures; that being the Dreſs, in which, I can aſſure thee, it will appear moſt lovely to the View of thoſe which, having to neither Party any more of Concern, than what Pity extracted from the Goodneſs of their Natures, look upon the Action with a general Sorrow; upon the Parties deceaſed, with a charitable Remorſe; and upon their ſurviving Friends, with the Wiſhes of a hearty Reconciliation.

And here (though I would not have it look like Flattery) he being a Perſon I have little Acquaintance with, and one that, probably, may never know me, as Author of theſe Papers, I cannot chuſe but commend the calm and equal Temper of Mr. *John Fuſſel*, eldeſt Son to the Gentleman that was ſlain; whom, as well by the publick Report, as by my own private Experience (I having been ſince ſome Time in his Company) I find to behave himſelf with that comely Diſcretion, that, though he did violently proſecute him, as his Father's Murderer, he hath not been, at any Time, heard to let fall any undecent Language concerning his Uncle *Strangeways*, but ſuch as appears to expreſs more Sorrow for the Offence, than Envy to the Man: A Temper which, by Preserving, will gain him, whilſt living, the Love of all, whom the common Invitation of a general Pity, or the nearer Call of Relative Reſpects, ſummons, as Mourners for either of the lamented Dead.

I have now done with the Introduction to this tragick and diſmal Story, having unravelled almoſt as many of thoſe almoſt occult Cauſes, by which being firſt propagated it ſince hath been made horridly publick, as Civility, or Neceſſity in enucleating the Truth requires. For he that would ſee more, it is his beſt Courſe to confer with their Council, and look over the large Impertinencies of litigious Courts, than to expect them in this Piece, whoſe ſmall Bulk, by as much of their Senſe, as, in an ordinary Dialect, might be expreſſed in two Lines, when ſtuffed with their Fucagoes of Tautologies, would be ſwelled beyond its intended Growth: Wherefore, to leave that to thoſe it more concerns, I ſhall haſten to reveal how he carried on the Deſign, ſince any Diſcovery on his Confeſſion argues, he intended to murder him. Mr. *Fuſſel*, both for the better Proſecuting his own Suits againſt his Brother *Strangeways*, as likewiſe for the Following of ſeveral Cauſes for many others (he being a Man of very great Employment) being in this City on *Hilary*-Term laſt, had his Lodging one Story high, at the Sign of the *George* and *Half-moon*, three Doors farther, without the *Bar*, than the *Palſgrave's-head* Tavern, oppoſite to a Pewterer's Shop: He being retired to his Lodgings between Nine and Ten, not having been in it above a Quarter of an Hour before the Fact was done, he ſitting writing at his Deſk, with his Face towards the Window, the Curtain belonging to it being ſo near drawn, that there was only left Room enough to diſcern him, two Bullets, ſhot from a Carbine, ſtruck him, the one through the Forehead, and the other in about his Mouth; the third Bullet or Slug ſtuck in the lower Part of the Timber of the Window, the Paſſage, where the other two came in (ſince in the Corner of the Window) being ſo narrow, that little more than an Inch over, or under, had ſaved his Life, by obſtructing their Paſſage: But,

> *Nemo tam dives habuit faventes,*
> *Craſtinum ut poſſit ſibi polliceri.*
> Sen. *in* Hippol.

His appointed Time was come, and thoſe eternal Decrees, by which all Men are ordained once to die, had ſtinted the farther Progreſs of his Life to this fatal Minute. In that Punctilio of Time, wherein the Bullets ſtruck him, e're giving Warning by a dying Groan, or being tortured by thoſe almoſt inſeparable Concomitants of Death, Convulſive Motions, he is in an Inſtant diſanimated, the Swiftneſs of the Action not giving Warning to his Clerk, though then in the Room, to aſſiſt his murdered Maſter, till, perceiving him lean his Head on the Deſk, and knowing him not apt to fall a-ſleep as he wrote, conceiving that ſome more than ordinary Diſtemper was the Cauſe of it, he draws near to aſſiſt him; but, being ſuddenly terrified with the unexpected Sight of Blood, ſuch an amazing Horror ſeizes him, that, for the Preſent, he is in a dreadful Extaſy, loſt to Action: But, ſpeedily recollecting himſelf, he, with an haſty Summons, calls up ſome of the Houſhold, by whoſe Aſſiſtance he diſcovers what ſad Diſaſter had bereaved him of his Maſter: They ſpeedily make down into the Street, but found there nothing that might light them with the leaſt Beam of Information, all, as if directed by thoſe evil Angels that favour ſuch black Deſigns, appearing, as they conceived, more ſilent and ſtill than is uſual in this populous City, at that Time of Night. Officers are raiſed, and Mr. *Fuſſel*'s Son acquainted with the ſad News; who, e're he could ſpare Time to mourn his Father's unexpected Death, muſt, with more active Paſſion (as near as thoſe dark Suſpicions, which only directed them, could give Leave) proſecute his Revenge. Several Places are troubled with a fruitleſs Search; the firſt, that was apprehended, being a Barber, whoſe Lodging being in the ſame Houſe with Mr. *Fuſſel*'s, and he that Night abſent, gave them very pregnant Cauſes of Suſpicion, all being aggravated by the wild Humour of his Wife, and ſhe exaſperated by the Extravagancy of her Huſband, as if ſhe had done it purpoſely to foment their Suſpicion: Beſides, that conſtant Torrent of her Paſſion, which ran with the uſual Current of ordinary Scolds, had ſome collateral Streams of Expreſſions; ſo that, had not the ſudden Providence of the Almighty, Protector of Innocence, by as much of Miracle, as this latter Age hath heard of, diſcovered the Author of the Murder, it had, without Doubt, wafted her Huſband to a Gibbet: But, preſuming that, for what ſhe did then, in the hot Intemperance of a jealous Rage, ſhe hath long ſince made a calm Recantation, I will here give no farther Occaſion of continuing a Difference betwixt them, but go on in the Proſecution of my Story, which proceeded thus:

Having yet apprehended none, that they had, on former Differences, any important Reaſons to ſuſpect, young Mr. *Fuſſel*, calling to Mind theſe irreconcileable Quarrels, which had of long Time been between his Father and his Uncle *Strangeways*; and knowing him to be a Man, whoſe impetuous Rage had formerly been ſo often allayed in Blood, that, though the then Motive to it, being a legitimate War, made the Action not only honeſt, but honourable, yet, being ſo well verſed in that Killing-trade, he might ſtill retain enough of the ſharp Humour to ſharpen his Anger into ſo vindictive a Guilt, that he might be prompted to act what weaker Spirits would tremble to think.

Upon which Conſiderations, he propounds to the Officers the Apprehending of him; which Motion, finding a general Approbation, is ſuddenly proſecuted, and he apprehended between Two and Three in the Morning, being then in Bed at his Lodging in the *Strand*, over-againſt *Ivy-bridge*, at one Mr. *Pim*'s, a Taylor, a Door on this Side the *Black-Bull*. He, being now in the Officers Cuſtody, is had before Juſtice *Blake*, by whom, although with an undaunted Confidence denying the Act, he is committed to *Newgate*; where remaining till the next Morning, he is then, by a Guard, conveyed to the Place where Mr. *Fuſſel*'s Body lay, where, before the Coroner's Jury, he is commanded to take his dead Brother-in-law by the Hand, and to touch his Wounds; a Way of Diſcovery, which the Defenders of Sympathy highly applaud (on what Grounds, here is no Place to diſpute.) But here the Magnetiſm fails; and thoſe Effluviums, which, according to their Opinion, being Part of the *Anima media*, tenaciouſly adhere to the Body, till ſeparated by its Corruption, being the ſame that, by united Atoms becoming viſible, compoſe thoſe Spectrums, that wander about the Cœnotaphs and Dormitories of the Dead, and do, when hurried from the Actions of Vitality by a violent Death, as endeavouring to revenge its Wrongs, fly in the Face of the Murderer, and, though in ſuch minute Parts as are too ſubtile for the Obſervations of Senſe, keep ſtill hovering about him; and, when he is brought to touch the murdered Body, which was its former Habitation, by the Motion of Sympathy, calls from thoſe Sally-ports of Life ſome of thoſe Parts of her Life, which yet remain within it; who, that they may flow forth to meet it, are conveyed in the *Vehiculum* of the Blood. They illuſtrate this by Dogs, and other Animals, which, with a violent Impetuoſity, aſſail thoſe, that make a Cuſtom of murdering Things of the ſame Species.

There having been nothing diſcoverable by this Experiment, he is returned back to the Priſon, and the Jury, though but with little Hopes of Satiſfaction, continue their Inqueſt; when now, to the amazing Wonder of future Ages, and the farther Confirmation of thoſe continued Miracles, by which the all-diſcerning Power of the eternal and ever-living God pleaſes often to manifeſt itſelf in the Diſcovery of black and ſecret Murders, which, though acted in the ſilent Region of the Night, and plotted with all the deep Obſcurity, that Hell and the black Spirits of eternal Darkneſs can lend to the Aſſiſtance of ſuch diſmal and horrid Deſigns, yet are diſveloped by Ways ſo unthought of, even by thoſe which torture their Wits for Diſcovery, that Man, though adorned with all the Knowledge, the World's firſt Tranſgreſſors raviſhed from the forbidden Tree, inſtead of an Angel-illuminated Paradiſe, finds his Fancy clouded in a Chaos of Confuſion, black and obſcure as that which, e're penetrated by Heaven's ſegregating Breath, ſpreads its gloomy Curtains over the firſt unformed Matter.

Several Queſtions are propounded amongſt all, by the Foreman of the Jury, one of which, though not to the Diſparagement of the Gentleman, ſucceeding Ages will count more fortunate than wiſe; it was this, That all the Gunſmiths Shops in *London*, and the adjacent Places, ſhould be examined what Guns they had either ſold or lent that Day; this being a Queſtion, in the Apprehenſion of moſt of the Jury, ſo near approaching to an Impoſſibility, as not, without much Difficulty, to be done; one Mr. *Holloway*, a Gunſmith living in the *Strand*, then one of the Jury, makes Anſwer, It was a Taſk, in his Opinion, who knew how numerous Men of that Profeſſion were, in and about the City, not to be done; withal replying, That, for his own Part, he lent one, and made no Queſtion but ſeveral others had done the like; this Anſwer of his being, by the apprehenſive Foreman, ſpeedily took Notice of, he is demanded, for the Satiſfaction of the reſt of the Jury, to declare to whom he lent the Gun; he, after ſome ſmall Recollection, anſwers, To one Mr. *Thomſon*, living in *Long-acre*, formerly a Major in the King's Army, and now married to a Daughter of Sir *James Aſton*. Upon this, a ſpeedy Search is made after Major *Thompſon*, who being Abroad, as ſome ſay fled, though moſt moderate Men conceive, about his ordinary Occaſions, it being unlikely any Man would diſcover a Guilt by Flight, which, if culpable of, though, by all charitable People, the Contrary is generally hoped, he might rationally expect more Security in a confident Stay, than in a betraying Abſence; beſides, being of no former Acquaintance with Mr. *Fuſſel*, there was no probable Cauſe to render him ſuſpected.

But, with our charitable Prayers for his Freedom, referring our Cenſures, either of his Innocence or Guilt, to his further Trial at the next Seſſions, we will return to our Relation.

Major *Thomſon* not being found, his Wife is taken in Hold, who, though clearing herſelf from the Knowledge of any ſuch Thing as borrowing of the Gun, yet is continued a Priſoner, till her Huſband ſhall be produced; who being then about ſome urgent Occaſions in the Country, on the firſt News of her Confinement, ſuddenly haſtens to *London*, where, being examined before a Juſtice of Peace, he confeſſes he borrowed a Carbine that Day of Mr. *Holloway*, and that he borrowed it at the Deſire of Mr. *George Strangeways*, who acquainted him with no farther Uſe he intended to make of it, than for the Killing of a Deer: For which Uſe, he charged it with a Leaſe of Bullets, and, as ſome ſay, a Slug, which I believe not, there being but two Orifices, where they entered his Head, and one Bullet ſticking in the Window.

If any object, two Bullets may enter at one Orifice, though it be ſomething unlikely, we will not ſtand to diſpute it; the Number not being ſo uncertain, as their fatal Errand was certainly performed.

Being thus charged and primed, between the Hours of Seven and Eight at Night, he meets Mr. *Strangeways* in St. *Clement*'s Churchyard, to whom he delivers the Gun; where he ſpent that Interval of Time, between the Reception of it, and the Execution of the Murther, is uncertain, he having left, in that Kind, no ſatisfying Relation; it is, moſt like, traverſing the Streets near the Place, that ſo he might take Advantage of the faireſt Opportunity, which now unluckily offers itſelf.

Mr. *Fuſſel*, in the Manner as is declared before, was retired into his Chamber; he, that ſhot the Gun, as ſome report, ſtood on a Bulk belonging to a Pewterer, living overright Mr. *Fuſſel*'s Lodging; but it is ſomething unlikely, the Bulk being of ſuch a ſhelving Form, as not to admit a firm Standing-place, unleſs he ſtood on that End of it next to *Temple-Bar*, which, if ſo, the Situation of the Window would have forced him to ſhoot much ſloping; wherefore, I rather conceive, which hath been to ſome confirmed by Major *Strangeway*'s own Confeſſion, that he, which ſhot, ſtood on the Ground, which hath the moſt probable Appearance of Truth, the Window not being ſo high, as to impede his Aim, nor the Diſtance ſo great, for the Shot to loſe its Force, though the Carlip is but ſhort, wanting ſome Inches of a Yard in the Barrel, as is affirmed by young Mr. *Fuſſel*, in whoſe Hands it now is.

To give you a certain Relation who fired the Gun, is that which I believe no Man living can do, except there be, which I hope not, ſome ſuch unhappy Perſon yet alive, Mr. *Strangeways* carrying that great Secret with him to his Grave, denying to reveal it at the Seſſions here, as reſerving it for the general Aſſize hereafter; but, joining with the common Opinion of moſt Men, I think it to be himſelf, knowing him to be a Perſon, that, through the whole Courſe of his Life, in thoſe Actions that deſerved the Name of Diſcreet, ſhewed too great a Want of that in this; where a wicked Subtlety was as requiſite, as ever, in his former Actions, a noble Policy had been, to commit his Life, which lay expoſed to the Danger of every Engager's Diſcovery, into the Hands of many, in the performing an Act which might, with more Facility, be done by one. When he had fired it, the Streets were ſo empty, that he paſſed unnoted by any. Between the Hours of Ten and Eleven, he brought back the Gun to Major *Thomſon*'s Houſe, where leaving it, he retires to his Lodging, where, in his Abſence, he had left one to perſonate him; that Piece of Policy being thus performed, he comes, according to his uſual Cuſtom, into his Lodging, about Seven in the Evening, and, going up into his Chamber, made ſome ſmall Stay there; from whence, taking the Advantage of a Time, in which he found the Employments of the Houſhold ſuch, as not to have the Leiſure to take much Notice of his Actions, he ſecretly conveys himſelf down the Stairs, and, having a private Way of opening the Door, conveys himſelf out, and his diſguiſed Friend in; who, by thoſe of the Family, being oft heard walking about the Chamber, occaſions that miſtaken Depoſition of theirs, concerning his being in the Houſe.

Having now concluded that Act of Darkneſs he went about, he is once more returned to his Lodging, and ſecretly diſcharges his diſguiſed Friend; haſtening to Bed, he lay there, though, in all Probability, with no very quiet Night's Reſt, till Three in the Morning; at which Time the Officers, ſent to apprehend him, enter the Houſe, and, haſtening to his Chamber, make known their dreadful Errand; an Act enough to have frighted a timerous Soul to a preſent Confeſſion; but he, with a reſolved Conſtancy, ſlights thoſe Terrors of the Law, and, without any ſuch Reluctancy, as argued the leaſt Depreſſion of Spirit, goes with them before Juſtice *Blake*, by whom, though carefully examined, there was nothing diſcoverable that could render him any Ways ſuſpected, more than the former Enmity betwixt them; however, he is on Suſpicion committed to *Newgate*, where, remaining with a Countenance that appeared no Ways clouded with Guilt, he continued conſtant in the Denial of the Fact. In the Interval between the Time he was firſt committed, and his Confeſſion, he fell violently ill of a ſharp and dangerous Pleuriſy; in which acute Diſtemper, though ſummoned by the Approaches of Death, he continued in a reſolute Denial of the Fact; but God, whoſe Judgments here in this appeared but the Road to his Mercies hereafter, freed him from that leſs ignominious Death, that Dying, by the Formalities of Law, the Burthening of his Body might in Confeſſion diſburthen his Soul. This was the Time, in which ſome of the Church of *Rome*, and thoſe of the more learned Sort of the Clergy, gave him frequent Viſits, and, as they have cauſed it to be reported, converted him to their Church; what of Truth there is in this, with what the Opinion generally received is, you ſhall hear toward the Concluſion of our Story.

On the *Monday* following, the Time of his being apprehended, being the One and twentieth of *February*, Major *Thomſon*, to haſten the Enlargement of his impriſoned Wife, being returned to *London*, makes a full Diſcovery before an Officer, on what Occaſion he borrowed the Gun, and in what Manner, and at what Time he delivered it to Mr. *Strangeways* in St. *Clement*'s Church-yard; who, on this happy Diſcovery, is brought before Juſtice *La Wright*, he that took the Examination of Mr. *Thomſon*. Here it being demanded of him, On what Occaſion he cauſed the Gun to be borrowed, and brought to him charged at that Time of the Night, with ſuch other Queſtions as moſt immediately concerned the Buſineſs in Hand; and withal ſeeing Major *Thomſon* there, whoſe Diſcovery he had ſo little Cauſe to doubt; that now ſeeing it performed, and not being able to apprehend the Manner how, he, in an amazed Terror, after ſome Minutes of a deep and conſiderate Silence, in a moſt pathetical Manner, acknowledging the immediate Hand of God to be in this wonderful Detection, no longer veils his Guilt with confident Denials, but in an humble and ſubmiſſive Lowlineſs of Spirit, ſuch as rather ſtrove with the Tears of a penitential *Magdalen*, to expunge the Rubrick Characters of his Guilt, than with the brazen Impudence of a deſpairing *Cain*, by a ſullen and ſurly Denial, to fly the Mercies of that God, whoſe Vengeance will purſue him: He hath now confeſſed the Fact, he ſtands now a contrite Penitent, with the excellent *Seneca*, acknowledging that,

> *Maxima peccantium pœna eſt peccaſſe.*
> Epiſt. 97.

Yet, though a convicted Murtherer, he is the compaſſionated Object of all the Beholders, whoſe Heads he now makes Fountains of Tears, by having ſo lately made his Brother's a Fountain of Blood.

This doleful Scene, with the Pity of moſt, but the Wonder of all, being thus paſt over, he is now returned again, a much lamented Priſoner, to *Newgate*, from whence, *February* the Four and twentieth, he was brought to his Trial at the Seſſions-houſe, in the *Old-Baily*, where appearing with a Countenance that carried in it a Mixture of Courage and Contrition, being ſuch as rather ſeemed dejected for offending the Law of God, than any Ways terrified for any Torments that could be inflicted upon him by the Laws of Man: Being demanded to plead, he anſwers, That, if it might, on his being tried, be admitted him to die by that Manner of Death by which his Brother fell, he would plead; if not, by refuſing to plead, he would both preſerve an Eſtate to beſtow on ſuch Friends for whom he had moſt Affection, and withal free himſelf from the ignominious Death of a publick Gibbet.

Many Arguments, and thoſe urgent and preſſing, were uſed by the Lord Chief Juſtice *Glyn*, and the reſt of the Bench, to induce him to plead, as laying before him the Sin he committed, in refuſing to ſubmit to the ordinary Courſe of Law, the Terror of the Death his obſtinate Silence would force them to inflict upon him.

Theſe, with many other Motives, were uſed, but all invalid; he remains impenetrable, refuſing either to plead, or to diſcover who it was that fired the Gun; only affirms, which he continued till his Death, That, whoever fired it, it was done by his Directions, but with no Intent to be the Death of his Brother-in-law, but only, as he was pleaſed to ſay, to let him know, That a Life, made odious by ſo many preſſing Acts of Injuſtice as he had received from him, though, by their politick Contrivance, defended from any Puniſhment the Law could inflict, yet was not ſafe, where the Perſon offended hath Spirit enough to revenge an Injury.

This, not to be juſtified Reſolution, cheriſhed a long Time by his hot and haughty Spirit, had often, on the Sight of Mr. *Fuſſel*, raiſed in him impetuous Storms of Rage; ſuch that often broke out into that Intemperance, as, both by Word and Letter, he ſeveral Times challenges him; and, in Conſideration of his being ſomething more impaired by Age than himſelf, offers him what Odds, in Length of Weapon, he could with Reaſon and Honour demand. This encountering nought but a ſilent and ſlighting Repulſe, he, one Day, meeting him in *Weſtminſter-hall*, accoſts him with this Compliment:

'Brother *Fuſſel*, it argues not Diſcretion
'in us of either Side, we being both Cavaliers,
'to ſubmit our Cauſes to this preſent Courſe
'of Law, where the moſt of our Judges are
'ſuch as formerly were our Enemies; *Calais-*
'*ſands* were a fitter Place for our Diſpute,
'than *Weſtminſter-hall.*

Theſe Affronts finding a Man too ſubtle to ſeek any other Revenge, than what lay ſafe under the ſure Guard of the Law; he rather ſeeks from thence to do him a certain Miſchief, than, by the uncertain Managing of a Duel, to run the Hazard of being miſchieved himſelf; ſo that he not only refuſed that Way of deciding the Quarrel, but indicts his Brother *Strangeways* as a Challenger; which, adding more Fewel to his former conceived Rage, puts him upon this dangerous Way of ſatisfying his vindictive Paſſion. And though he, by a conſtant Aſſeveration, affirms, that the Firing of the Gun was only intended to terrify him; he affirming, That, had not the Hand of him, who fired it, fell lower than was intended, it had been impoſſible for the Bullets to have ſo unhappily hit the Mark; yet, its being charged with three Bullets, whereas ſmall Shot, if only intended to affright, would have been a more certain Terror, with leſs Hazard of Danger, is an Argument ſo prevalent with moſt Men, that the Action carries no fairer a Face, than a horrid and wilful Murther.

But, not to ingulf too far in cenſuring the Act, we haſten to declare, as far as concerns our Buſineſs in Hand, the Demeanor of the Actor, who, perſiſting in his firſt Reſolution not to plead, hears from the offended Court this dreadful Sentence:

That the Priſoner at the Bar be ſent to the Place from whence he came; and that he be put into a mean Houſe ſtopped from any Light; and that he be laid upon his Back, with his Body bare, ſaving ſomething to cover his Privy Parts: That his Arms ſhall be ſtretched forth with a Cord, the *one to the one Side of the Priſon, the other to the other Side of the Priſon; and in like Manner ſhall his Legs be uſed: And that upon his Body ſhall be laid as much Iron and Stone as he can bear, and more; and the firſt Day ſhall he have three Morſels of Barley Bread, and the next Day ſhall he drink thrice of the Water in the next Channel to the Priſon-Door, but no Spring or Fountain Water: And this ſhall be his Puniſhment till he die.*

This Thunderbolt of Judgment, levelled at his Life, he yet, with a paſſive Valour (high as ever was his active) with a Conſtancy, which might caſt a Bluſh on the Ghoſt of an ancient *Roman* Hearſe, but continues his Reſolution; and, being returned to the Priſon, from thence writes this ſad Letter to his Brother-in-Law Major *Dewie*, a Member of Parliament, and a Gentleman that had married another of his Siſters.

Dear Brother,

‘I Hope theſe Lines, and preſſing Death, will ſo far expiate my Crime, as to procure your and my other Friends Forgiveneſs, for my Conſcience bears me Witneſs, I was provoked by many of my Brother-in-Law's inſufferable Wrongs. After divers Parlies, finding his inveterate Spleen ſo implacable, as to indict and inform againſt me at the open Bench, my Fleſh and Blood held no longer Patience, but ſought to uſurp the revengeful Attribute which God appropriates to himſelf, when he would not anſwer me in ſingle Combate, though I offered him Advantage in the Length of Weapon; yet this I will aſſure you, that I did not intend his Death, but, by the Diſcharging of a Warning-piece, to have only terrified his Heart from practiſing litigious Suits, and thereby to let him know, that he was at another Man's Mercy, if he contemned the ſame.

‘In a Word, each Man oweth a Death, I two, by this untimely Fact: The one to my Maker, the other to the Law; which invokes to pay the one the more willingly, being confident that the other is cancelled, by the All-ſeeing Eye of Divine Mercy and Juſtice; theſe, in ſhort, are the laſt Words of

Your dying Brother,

George Strangeways.

From the *Preſs yard*
in *Newgate*, 13
February, 1658.

This being one of the laſt Scenes he was to act on the Stage of Mortality, he now retires, by Divine Contemplation, to dreſs his Soul in thoſe Robes of Repentance, wherewith ſhe was ſuddenly to meet her celeſtial Bridegroom; in which pious Action, he hath the frequent Aſſiſtance of Divines, ſome of excellent Abilities, as Dr. *Wilde* and Dr. *Warmſley*; there was alſo with him Mr. *Jenkins*, Mr. *Watſon*, and Mr. *Norton*, to all of which, by a repentant Acknowledgment of the Foulneſs of his Crime, by a Deteſtation of all thoſe Thoughts that had formerly fomented his Malice, and, by a ſolemn and ſerious Invocation of his Redeemer, for the Increaſing of thoſe Rays of Mercy, which (even in that dark and diſmal Agony the Apprehenſion or Guilt might have plunged her into) he yet found irradiated the darkeſt Apprehenſions of a Soul clouded with Sin and Sorrow.

To ſome, whoſe Zeal (if meriting the Name) was more in that Act than their Diſcretion, when, with the harſh and unſeaſonable rigid Means of the Law, they appeared rather, as if they came to fright his Soul into a diſtracting Deſpair, than to fortify her with Comforts fit to undergo ſo ſad a Conflict, he deſired them to proceed no further in ſo unſeaſonable a Diſcourſe, with an exalted Heighth of Chriſtian Confidence affirming, that, through the powerful Operation of Mercy, whoſe Reſtoratives he felt even in the Graſp of Death, he doubted not but his Scarlet Sins were waſhed white as Wool; and that (through the red Sea of his Brother's Blood) he ſhould ſafely arrive at the celeſtial *Canaan*. Thus ſpending that narrow Stock of Time, allowed him for the Levelling his Accounts with Heaven, as if his Soul, which before travelled with a Snail-like Slowneſs towards her celeſtial Home, were now in her full Career, the fatal Day arrives. On *Monday* the Laſt of *January*, about Eleven of the Clock in the Morning, the Sheriffs of *London*, accompanied with divers Officers, came to the *Preſs-yard*, where, after a ſhort Time of Stay, Major *Strangeways* was guarded down. He was cloathed all in white; Waiſtcoat, Stockings, Drawers, and Cap, over which was caſt a long Mourning Cloke; a Dreſs that handſomely emblemed the Condition he was then in, who though his Soul wore a ſable Robe of Mourning for her former Sins, it was now become her upper Garment, and, in ſome few Minutes, being caſt off, would diſcover the immaculate Dreſs of Mercy which was under it.

From hence is he guarded to the Dungeon, the ſad and diſmal Place of Execution, being accompanied by ſome few of his Friends, amongſt which was the Reverend Dr. *Warmſley*, whoſe pious Care intended now to be near as inſeparable to him as Life itſelf; having aſked the Executioner for a Place to kneel in, and being anſwered, that there was none of more Conveniency than the Bottom of the Dungeon; well, ſaid he, this Place muſt then ſerve him, who is forced immaturely to fall, for there can be no greater Vanity in the World, than to eſteem the World, which regardeth no Man, and to make ſlight Account of God, who greatly reſpecteth all Men; for only, Gentlemen, let me tell you, had I ſerved my God as faithfully as I ſerved my Lord and Maſter my King, I had never come to this untimely End; but, bleſſed be God for all, I ſhall willingly ſubmit, and earneſtly implore your Prayers for the Carrying me through this great Work. Then, turning to Dr. *Warmſley*, he ſaid, Will you be pleaſed to aſſiſt me with your Prayers? *Doctor.* Yes, Major, I come to officiate that Chriſtian Work, and the Lord ſtrengthen your Faith, and give you Confidence and Aſſurance in the Merits of *Jeſus Chriſt*.

After they had ſpent ſome ſhort Time in Prayer, Dr. *Warmſley*, taking him aſide, had with him ſome ſmall Time of private Conference, concerning the clear Demonſtration of the Faith he died in, and about Receiving the Sacrament; they appeared ſomething to differ in Opinion, which renders the World much unſatisfied, as, in Point of Religion, whether he died a Proteſtant or not; thoſe of the Church of *Rome* affirming, that, whilſt he lay ſick of his Pleuriſy, he was viſited by ſeveral *Catholicks* that are in Orders, ſome of whoſe Names I have heard, and that they proved ſo prevalent with him, that they had wrought him to an abſolute Converſion, and that they were confident, though he had not long lived ſo, in that Faith he died: Whether this be true, I leave every judicious Reader to judge, by the ſucceeding Circumſtance, when he had left off his Conference with Dr. *Warmſley*, in which he deſired him not to preſs at that unſeaſonable Time Matters of Controverſy, it being a Matter full of Danger, to diſturb that Calm the Soul ought to wear when ſhe comes to encounter Death. And then, applying himſelf to the Company in general, with a Voice ſomething more elevated than ordinary, he ſpeaks theſe Words:

‘ For my Religion (I thank my God) I
‘ never had Thought in my Heart to doubt it;
‘ I die in the Chriſtian Religion *(but never*
‘ *mentioned the Proteſtant)* and am aſſured of
‘ my Intereſt in *Chriſt Jeſus*, by whoſe Me-
‘ rits I queſtion not but my Soul ſhall, e're
‘ long, triumph over theſe preſent Afflictions
‘ in Eternity of Glory, being reconciled to
‘ the Mercies of my God, through my Saviour
‘ *Jeſus Chriſt*, into whoſe Boſom I hope to be
‘ gathered, there to enjoy that eternal, in-
‘ finite, and boundleſs Happineſs wherewith
‘ he rewards all the Elect; ſo the Lord
‘ bleſs you all, bleſs you in this World,
‘ till he brings you to a World ever bleſſed;
‘ and bleſs me in this laſt and dreadful Trial:
‘ So let us all pray; *Jeſus, Jeſus*, have Mercy
‘ on me.’

Having ſaid this, he takes his ſolemn and laſt Leave of all his lamenting Friends; and now prepares for that dreadful Aſſault of Death he was ſpeedily to encounter; his Friends placed themſelves at the Corners of the Preſs, whom he deſired, when he gave the Words, to lay on the Weights: His Hands and Legs are extended, in which Action he cries out, Thus were the ſacred Limbs of my ever bleſſed Saviour ſtretched forth on the Croſs, when ſuffering to free the Sin-polluted World from an eternal Curſe. Then crying forth with a clear and ſprightful Voice, Lord *Jeſus* receive my Soul, which was the promiſed Signal, thoſe ſad Aſſiſtants perform their dreadful Taſk; and laid on at firſt-Weight, which, finding too light for a ſudden Execution, many of thoſe ſtanding by added their Burthens to diſburthen him of his Pain; which, notwithſtanding, for the Time of his Continuance, as it was to him a dreadful Sufferance, ſo was it to them a horrid Spectacle, his dying Groans filling the uncouth Dungeon with the Voice of Terror: But this diſmal Scene ſoon finds a quiet Cataſtrophe, for, in the Space of eight or ten Minutes at the moſt, his unfettered Soul left her tortured Manſion, and he, from that violent Paroxyſm, falls into the quiet Sleep of Death.

His Body having laid ſome Time in the Preſs, he was brought forth, in which Action, e're coffined, it was ſo much expoſed to publick View, that many Standers-by beheld the Bruiſe made by the Preſs, whoſe triangular

Form, being placed with the acute Angle about the Region of the Heart, did ſoon deprive that Fountain of Life of its neceſſary Motion, though he was prohibited that uſual Favour in that Kind, to have a ſharp Piece of Timber laid under his Back, to accelerate its Penetration. The Body appeared void of all Scars, and not deformed with Blood, but where the Eminencies of the Preſs touched on the middle Parts of his Breaſt, and Upper of the Belly; his Face was bloody, but, as it appeared to the moſt inquiſitive Spectators, not from any external Injury, but the violent Forcing of the Blood from the larger Veſſels into the Veins of the Noſe and Eyes, whoſe ſmaller Branches, forced open by ſo ſudden a Compreſſion, as if they mourned in the Colour of his Crime, had their laſt Tears compoſed of Blood. And now committed to that ſable Cabinet his Coffin, he is, in a Cart, that attended at the Priſon-door, conveyed to *Chriſt-church*, where his Aſhes ſhall ſleep, till Time herſelf be diſſolved to Eternity: And, as it is our Chriſtian Duty to hope, hath made good, in every Part, this excellent Saying of an ancient Philoſophical Poet:

Cedit item retro, de terra quod fuit ante,
In terram, & quod miſſum eſt ex ætheris oris
In rurſum Cœli fulgentia templa receptant.
Lucretius, Lib. iv.

THUS did they leave the buſy World, the one
So ſwiftly from all mortal Trouble gone;
As if his Soul practis'd at firſt to fly
With the light Motions of Eternity:
Gone with ſuch Silence, as his haſty Breath
By a few Groans diſdain'd to parl with Death:
Which fatal Swiftneſs did the other lead,
A ſad ſlow Road to th' Grave; his Soul to read
Repentant Lectures, being taught before;
It in a Storm of Tortures did paſs o'er
The rubrick Sea of Life, whoſe high-ſwoln Flood,
Paſſions, hot Dictates, doubly dy'd in Blood.
When ſcarce this Nation e'er ſaw Son of her's,
That wrote Revenge in ſuch red Characters:
Can ſhe but mourn, her Offspring ſhould inherit,
With *Engliſh* Valour, an *Italian* Spirit?
Such as is, by a hot intemp'rate Rage,
Become the Shame and Wonder of the Age.
No, let her mourn; the ſad Expreſſion runs
In the ſame Strain with what her true-born Sons
Diſrobe their Thoughts in; but methinks I hear
A Sort whoſe Separation would appear,
As if refin'd with purer Flames of Zeal,
Than other Chriſtians are; by no Appeal
Made to the Throne of Mercy to be won,
From harſhly Cenſuring: But ſuch Acts being done
By Men, whoſe different Judgments not embrace
Their Tenents in the Whole, Defects of Grace,
Not human Lapſes. But take Heed thy proud
And Phariſaick Heart ſpeak not too loud,
Where Heaven commands a Silence. Since none knows
To what myſterious Deſtiny he owes
A Debt to Nature, in whoſe gloomy Cell
Life's faireſt Tranſcripts have too often fell
By ſad untimely Deaths. Then, with the Free
And Chriſtian Candour of white Charity,
Forbear to caſt thy ſable Cenſure on
This ſanguine Guilt; and, ſince that both are gone
Beyond the Verge of mortal Knowledge, let
Not thy harſh Cenſure aggravate the Debt,
Which (if they Nature's common Laws obey)
Juſt Sorrow teaches all their Friends to pay.

A brief Relation of certain ſpecial and moſt material Paſſages and Speeches in the *Star-chamber*; occaſioned and delivered, *June* the Fourteenth, 1637, at the Cenſure of thoſe three worthy Gentlemen, Dr. *Baſtwicke*, Mr. *Burton*, and Mr. *Prynne*, as it hath been truly and faithfully gathered from their own Mouths, by one preſent at the ſaid Cenſure. Printed in the Year 1638. *Quarto*, containing twenty-eight Pages. See Number Fifty-two in the Catalogue.

BEtween Eight and Nine o'Clock in the Morning, the Fourteenth of *June*, the Lords being ſet in their Places in the ſaid Court of *Star-chamber*, and caſting their Eyes upon the Priſoners, then at the Bar, Sir *John Finch*, Chief Juſtice of the *Common Pleas*, began to ſpeak after this Manner:

I had thought Mr. *Prynne* had had no Ears, but methinks he hath Ears, which cauſed many of the Lords to take the ſtricter View of him; and, for their better Satisfaction, the Uſher of the Court was commanded to turn up his Hair and ſhew his Ears; upon the Sight whereof the Lords were diſpleaſed they had been formerly no more cut off, and caſt out ſome diſgraceful Words of him.

To which Mr. *Prynne* replied, My Lords, there is never a one of your Honours, but would be ſorry to have your Ears as mine are.

The *Lord Keeper* replied again, In good Faith he is ſomewhat ſaucy.

I hope, ſaid Mr. *Prynne*, your Honours will not be offended, I pray God give you Ears to hear.

The Buſineſs of the Day, ſaid the *Lord Keeper*, is to proceed on the Priſoners at the Bar.

Mr. *Prynne* then humbly deſired the Court to give him Leave to make a Motion or two; which being granted, he moves,

Firſt, That their Honours would be pleaſed to accept of a croſs Bill againſt the Prelates, ſigned with their own Hands, being that which ſtands with the Juſtice of the Court, which he humbly craved, and ſo tendered it.

Lord Keeper. As for your croſs Bill, it is not the Buſineſs of the Day; hereafter if the Court ſhould ſee juſt Cauſe, and that it ſavours not of Libelling, we may accept of it; for my Part I have not ſeen it, but have heard ſomewhat of it.

Mr. *Prynne*. I hope your Honours will not refuſe it, being it is on his Majeſty's Behalf; we are his Majeſty's Subjects, and therefore require the Juſtice of the Court.

Lord Keeper. But this is not the Buſineſs of the Day.

Mr. *Prynne*. Why then, my Lords, I have a ſecond Motion, which I humbly pray your Honours to grant, which is, That your Lordſhips will be pleaſed to diſmiſs the Prelates, here now ſitting, from having any Voice in the Cenſure of this Cauſe, being generally known to be Adverſaries, as being no Way agreeable with Equity or Reaſon, that they, who are our Adverſaries, ſhould be our Judges; therefore we humbly crave they may be expunged out of the Court.

Lord Keeper. In good Faith, it is a ſweet Motion: Is it not? Herein you are become libellous; and, if you ſhould thus libel all the Lords and reverend Judges, as you do the moſt reverend Prelates, by this your Plea, you would have none to paſs Sentence upon you for your Libelling, becauſe they are Parties.

Mr. *Prynne*. Under Correction, my Lord, this doth not hold; your Honour need not put that for a Certainty which is an Uncertainty; we have nothing to ſay to any of your Honours, but only to the Prelates.

Lord Keeper. Well, proceed to the Buſineſs of the Day: Read the Information.

Which was read, being very large, and theſe five Books annexed thereunto, *viz.* A Book of Dr. *Baſtwicke*'s written in *Latin.*

The Second, a little Book intitled, *News from Ipſwich.* The Third, intitled, *A Divine Tragedy, recording God's fearful Judgments on Sabbath-breakers.* The Fourth, Mr. *Burton*'s Book, intitled, *An Apology of an Appeal to the King's moſt Excellent Majeſty, with two Sermons for God and the King, preached on the Fifth of* November *laſt.* The Fifth and laſt, *Dr.* Baſtwicke'*s Litany.*

The King's Council, being five, took each of them a ſeveral Book, and deſcanted there, at the Bar, upon them, according to their Pleaſure.

Mr. Attorney began *firſt* with Dr. *Baſtwicke*'s *Latin* Book, picking out here, and there, particular Concluſions, that beſt ſerved for his own Ends, as did all the other Council, out of the former other Books, to the great Abuſe of the Authors; as themſelves there immediately complained, intreating them to read the foregoing Grounds, upon which the ſaid Concluſions depended, without which they could not underſtand the true Meaning of them.

Next unto the Attorney, Serjeant *Whitfeild* falls upon the reverend Mr. *Burton*'s Book, who vented much Bitterneſs againſt that unreproveable Book, as all that read it, with an honeſt and orthodox Heart, may clearly perceive, ſwearing, in good Faith, my Lords, there is never a Page in this Book, but deſerves a heavier and deeper Cenſure than this Court can lay upon him.

Next followed *A. B.* who in like Manner deſcanted upon the *News from Ipſwich*, charging it to be full of pernicious Lyes, and eſpecially vindicating the Honour of *Matthew Wren*, Biſhop of *Norwich*, as being a learned, pious, and reverend Father of the Church.

In the *fourth Place* follows the King's Sollicitor, Mr. *Littleton*, who acts his Part upon the *Divine Tragedy*; to which Part of it, concerning God's Judgments on Sabbath-breakers, he had little to ſay, but only put it off with a Scoff, ſaying, That they ſat in the Seat of God, who judged thoſe Accidents, which fell out upon Perſons ſuddenly ſtrucken, to be the Judgment of God for Sabbath-breaking, or Words to the like Effect; but enlarged himſelf upon that Paſſage, which reflected upon that late reverend, as he termed him, and learned Profeſſor of the Law, and his Majeſty's faithful Servant, Mr. *William Noy*, his Majeſty's late Attorney, who, as he ſaid, was moſt ſhamefully abuſed by a Slander laid upon him; which was, that it ſhould be reported, that God's Judgment fell upon him for ſo eagerly Proſecuting that innocent Perſon Mr. *Prynne*; which Judgment was this, that he, laughing at Mr. *Prynne*, while he was ſuffering upon the Pillory, was ſtruck with an Iſſue of Blood in his privy Part, which, by all the Art of Man, could never be ſtopped unto the Day of his Death, which was ſoon after: But the Truth of this, my Lords, ſaith he, you ſhall find to be as probable as the reſt; for we have here three or four Gentlemen, of good Credit and Rank, to teſtify, upon Oath, that he had that Iſſue long before; and thereupon made a Shew, as if he would call for them in before the Lords, to witneſs the Truth thereof, with theſe particular Words, Make Room for the Gentlemen to come in there, but no one Witneſs was ſeen to appear; which was pretty Deluſion, and worth all your Obſervations that read it; and ſo concluded, as the reſt, that this Book alſo deſerved a heavy and deep Cenſure.

Laſtly, follows Mr. *Herbert*, whoſe Deſcant was upon Dr. *Baſtwicke*'s *Litany*, picking out one or two Paſſages therein; and ſo drawing thence his Concluſion, that, jointly with the reſt, it deſerved a heavy Cenſure.

The King's Council having all ſpoken what they could, the *Lord Keeper* ſaid to the Priſoners at the Bar;

You hear, Gentlemen, wherewith you are charged; and now, leſt you ſhould ſay, you cannot have Liberty to ſpeak for yourſelves, the Court gives you Leave to ſpeak what you can, with theſe Conditions:

Firſt, That you ſpeak within the Bounds of Modeſty.

Secondly, That your Speeches be not libellous.

Priſoners. They all three anſwered, They hoped ſo to order their Speech as to be free from any immodeſt or libellous Speaking.

Lord Keeper. Then ſpeak in God's Name, and ſhew Cauſe why the Court ſhould not proceed in Cenſure, as taking the Cauſe *pro Confeſſo*, againſt you.

Mr. Prynne. My honourable good Lords, Such a Day of the Month, there came a *Subpœna* from your Honours, to enter my Appearance in this Court; which being entered, I took forth a Copy of the Information; which being taken, I was to draw my Anſwer; which I endeavoured to do, but, being ſhut up cloſe Priſoner, I was deſerted of all Means, by which I ſhould have done it; for I was no ſooner ſerved with the *Subpœna*, but I was ſhortly after ſhut up cloſe Priſoner, with Suſpenſion of Pen, Ink, and Paper; which cloſe Impriſonment did eat up ſuch a deal of my Time, that I was hindered the Bringing in of my Anſwer: You did aſſign me Council, it is true; but they neglected to come to me, and I could not come to them, being under Lock and Key: Then, upon Motion in Court, ye gave me Liberty to go to them; but then, preſently after that Motion, I know not for what Cauſe, nor upon whoſe Command, I was ſhut up again; and then I could not compel my Council to come to me; and my Time was ſhort, and I had neither Pen, nor Ink, nor Servant to do any Thing for me; for my Servant was then alſo kept cloſe Priſoner, under a Purſuivant's Hands: This was to put Impoſſibilities upon me. Then, upon a ſecond Motion for Pen and Ink, which was granted me, I drew up ſome Inſtructions, and, in a Fortnight's Time, ſent forty Sheets to my Council; ſuddenly after, I drew up forty Sheets more, and ſent to them: My Lord, I did nothing, but by the Advice of my Council, by whom I was ruled in the Drawing up of all my Anſwer, and paid him twice for Drawing it; and ſome of my Council would have ſet their Hands to it. Here is my Anſwer, I tender it upon my Oath, which your Lordſhips cannot deny with the Juſtice of the Court.

Lord Keeper. We can give you a Precedent, that this Court hath proceeded, and undertaken a Cauſe, *pro Confeſſo*, for not Putting in an Anſwer in ſix Days; you have had a great deal of Favour ſhewed, in affording you longer Time; and therefore the Court is free from all Calumny, or Aſperſion, for Rejecting your Anſwer, not ſigned with the Council's Hands.

Mr. Prynne. But, one Word or two, my Lords, I deſire your Honours to hear me; I put a Caſe in Law, that is often pleaded before your Lordſhips: One Man is bound to bring in two Witneſſes; if both, or one of them, fail, that he cannot bring them in, Doth the Law, my Lords, make it the Man's Act? You aſſigned me two Counſellors; one of them failed, I cannot compel him; here he is now before you; let him ſpeak, if I have not uſed all my Endeavours to have had him ſigned it; which my other Council would have done, if this would have ſet his Hand to it with him; and to have put in, long ſince.

Council. My Lord, There was ſo long Time ſpent, e're I could do any Thing, after I was aſſigned his Council, that it was impoſſible his Anſwer could be drawn up in ſo ſhort a Time, as was allotted; for, after long Expectation, ſeeing he came not to me, I went to him, where I found him ſhut up cloſe Priſoner, ſo that I could not have Acceſs to him; whereupon I motioned to the Lieutenant of the *Tower*, to have free Liberty of Speech with him concerning his Anſwer; which being granted me, I found him very willing and deſirous to have it drawn up; whereupon I did move, in this Court, for Pen and Paper; which was granted: The which he no ſooner had gotten, but he ſet himſelf to draw up Inſtructions, and, in a ſhort Time, ſent me forty Sheets; and, ſoon after, I received forty more; but I found the Anſwer ſo long, and of ſuch a Nature, that I durſt not ſet my Hand to it, for Fear of giving your Honours Diſtaſte.

Mr. Prynne. My Lords, I did nothing, but according to the Direction of my Council; only I ſpoke mine own Words; my Anſwer was drawn up by his Conſent, it was his own Act, and he did approve of it; and, if he will be ſo baſe a Coward, to do that in Private, which he dares not acknowledge in Publick, I will not ſuch a Sin lie on my Conſcience, let it reſt with him. Here is my Anſwer; which, though it be not ſigned with their Hands, yet here I tender it upon my Oath, which you cannot in Juſtice deny.

Lord Keeper. But, Mr. *Prynne*, the Court deſires no ſuch long Anſwer: Are you guilty, or not guilty?

Mr. Prynne. My good Lords, I am to anſwer in a defenſive Way: Is here any one, that can witneſs any Thing againſt me? Let him come in. The Law of God ſtandeth thus: That a Man is not to be condemned, but under the Mouth of two or three Witneſſes. Here is no Witneſs come in againſt me, my Lord; neither is there, in all the Information, one Clauſe, that doth particularly fall on me; but only, in general, there is no Book laid to my Charge. And, Shall I be condemned for a particular Act, when no Accuſation of any particular Act can be brought againſt me? This were moſt unjuſt and wicked. Here I tender my Anſwer to the Information, upon my Oath: My Lord, you did impoſe Impoſſibilities upon me; I could do no more, than I was able.

Lord Keeper. Well, hold your Peace; your Anſwer comes too late: Speak you, Dr. *Baſtwicke.*

Dr. Baſtwicke. My honourable Lords, Methinks you look like an Aſſembly of Gods, and ſit in the Place of God; ye are called the *Sons of God:* And, ſince I have compared you to Gods, give me Leave a little to parallel the one with the other, to ſee, whether the Compariſon between God and you doth hold in this noble and righteous Cauſe. This was the Carriage of Almighty God, in the Cauſe of *Sodom:* Before he would pronounce Sentence, or execute Judgment, he would firſt come down, and ſee, whether the Crime was altogether according to the Cry that was come up. And with whom doth the Lord conſult, when he came down? With his Servant *Abraham*; and he gives the Reaſon: *For I know,* ſaith he, *that* Abraham *will command his Children and Houſhold after him, that they ſhall keep the Way of the Lord, to do Juſtice and Judgment.* My good Lords, thus ſtands the Caſe between your Honour and us, this Day: There is a great Cry come up into your Ears againſt us from the King's Attorney; why now be you pleaſed to deſcend, and ſee if the Crime be according to the Cry; and conſult, with God, not the Prelates (being the Adverſary-part, and, as it is apparent to all the World, do proudly ſet themſelves againſt the Ways of God, and from whom none can expect Juſtice, or Judgment) but with righteous Men, that will be impartial on either Side, before you proceed to Cenſure; which Cenſure you cannot paſs on us, without great Injuſtice, before you hear our Anſwers read. Here is my Anſwer, which I here tender upon my Oath. My good Lords, give us Leave to ſpeak in our own Defence: We are not conſcious to ourſelves of any Thing, we have done, that deſerves a Cenſure this Day in this honourable Court; but that we have ever laboured to maintain the Honour, Dignity, and Prerogative Royal of our Sovereign Lord the King. Let my Lord the King live for ever! Had I a Thouſand Lives, I ſhould think them all too little to ſpend for the Maintenance of his Majeſty's Royal Prerogative. My good Lords, Can you proceed to Cenſure, before you know my Cauſe? I dare undertake, that ſcarce any one of your Lordſhips have read my Books; and, Can you then cenſure me for what you know not, and before I have made my Defence? O, my noble Lords, Is this righteous Judgment? This were againſt the Law of God and Man, to condemn a Man, before you know his Crime. The Governor, before whom St. *Paul* was carried (who was a very Heathen) would firſt hear his Cauſe, before he would paſs any Cenſure upon him; and, Doth it beſeem ſo Noble and Chriſtian an Aſſembly to condemn me, before my Anſwer be peruſed, and my Cauſe known? Men, Brethren, and Fathers, Into what an Age are we fallen! I deſire your Honours to lay aſide your Cenſure for this Day, and inquire into my Cauſe; hear my Anſwer read; which if you refuſe to do, I here profeſs, I will clothe it in *Roman* Buff, and ſend it Abroad unto the View of all the World, to clear my Innocency, and ſhew your great Injuſtice, in this Cauſe.

Lord Keeper. But this is not the Buſineſs of the Day: Why brought you not in your Anſwer in due Time?

Dr. Baſtwicke. My Lord, a long Time ſince, I tendered it to your Honour, I failed not in any one Particular; and, if my Council be ſo baſe and cowardly, that they dare not ſign it, for Fear of the Prelates, as I can make it appear, Therefore have I no Anſwer? My Lord, here is my Anſwer; which, though my Council, out of a baſe Spirit, dare not ſet their Hands unto, yet I tender it upon my Oath.

Lord Keeper. But, Mr. Doctor, you ſhould have been brief; you tendered in too large an Anſwer, which, as I heard, is as libellous as your Books.

Dr. Baſtwicke. No, my Lord, it is not libellous, though large; I have none to anſwer for me, but myſelf, and, being left to myſelf, I muſt plead my Conſcience, in Anſwer to every Circumſtance of the Information.

Lord Keeper. What ſay you, Mr. Doctor? Are you guilty, or not guilty? Anſwer, Yea or No; you needed not to have troubled yourſelf ſo much about ſo large an Anſwer.

Dr. Baſtwicke. I know, none of your Honours have read my Book: And can you, with the Juſtice of the Court, condemn me, before you know what is written in my Books?

Lord Keeper. What ſay you to that was read to you even now?

Dr. Baſtwicke. My Lord, he, that read it, did ſo murder the Senſe of it, that, had I not known what I had written, I could not tell what to have made of it.

Lord Keeper. What ſay you to the other Sentence read to you?

Dr. Baſtwicke. That was none of mine; I will not father that, which was none of my own.

Lord Dorſet. Did not you ſend that Book, as now it is, to a Nobleman's Houſe, together with a Letter directed to him?

Dr. Baſtwicke. Yes, my Lord, I did ſo; but, withal, you may ſee, in my Epiſtle ſet before the Book, I did at firſt diſclaim what was not mine; I ſent my Book over by a *Dutch* Merchant; who it was, that wrote the Addition, I do not know; but my Epiſtle, ſet to my Book, made manifeſt what was mine, and what was not; and I cannot juſtly ſuffer for what was none of mine.

Lord Arundel. My Lord, you hear, by his own Speech, the Cauſe is taken *pro Confeſſo*.

Lord Keeper. Yea, you ſay true, my Lord.

Dr. Baſtwicke. My noble Lord of *Arundel*, I know you are a noble Prince in *Iſrael*, and a great Peer of this Realm: There are ſome honourable Lords in this Court, that have been forced out, as Combatants in a ſingle Duel. It is between the Prelates and us, at this Time, as between two that have appointed the Field; the one, being a Coward, goes to the Magiſtrate, and, by Virtue of his Authority, diſarms the other of his Weapons, and gives him a Bulruſh, and then challenges him to fight. If this be not baſe Cowardice, I know not what belongs to a Soldier. This is the Caſe between the Prelates and us: They take away our Weapons (our Anſwers) by Virtue of your Authority, by which we ſhould defend ourſelves, and yet they bid us fight. My Lord, Doth not this ſavour of a baſe, cowardly Spirit? I know, my Lord, there is a Decree gone forth (for my Sentence was paſſed long ſince) to cut off our Ears.

Lord Keeper. Who ſhall know our Cenſure, before the Court paſs it? Do you propheſy of yourſelves?

Dr. Baſtwicke. My Lord, I am able to prove it, and that from the Mouth of the Prelates own Servants, that, in *Auguſt* laſt, it was decreed, That Dr. *Baſtwicke* ſhould loſe his Ears. O, my noble Lords, is this righteous Judgment? I may ſay, as the Apoſtle once ſaid, What whip a *Roman*? I have been a Soldier, able to lead an Army into the Field, to fight valiantly for the Honour of their Prince: Now I am a Phyſician, able to cure Nobles, Kings, Princes, and Emperors: And to curtaliſe a *Roman*'s Ears, like a Cur, O, my honourable Lords, is it not too baſe an Act for ſo noble an Aſſembly, and for ſo righteous and honourable a Cauſe? The Cauſe, my Lords, is great, it concerns the Glory of God, the Honour of our King, whoſe Prerogative we labour to maintain, and to ſet up in a high Manner, in which your Honours Liberties are engaged: And doth not ſuch a Cauſe deſerve your Lordſhips Conſideration, before you proceed to Cenſure? Your Honours may be pleaſed to conſider, that, in the laſt Cauſe, heard and cenſured in this Court, between Sir *James Bagge* and the Lord *Moone*, wherein your Lordſhips took a great deal of Pains, with a great deal of Patience, to hear the Bills on both Sides, with all the Anſwers and Depoſitions largely laid open before you: Which Cauſe, when you had fully heard, ſome of your Honours, now ſitting in the Court, ſaid, You could not, in Conſcience, proceed to Cenſure, till you had taken ſome Time to recollect yourſelves. If, in a Cauſe of that Nature, you could ſpend ſo much Time, and afterwards recollect yourſelves, before you would paſs Cenſure, How much more ſhould it move your Honours to take ſome Time in a Cauſe, wherein the Glory of God, the Prerogative of his Majeſty, your Honours Dignity, and the Subjects Liberty, is ſo largely engaged? My good Lords, it may fall out to be any of your Lordſhips Caſes, to ſtand as Delinquents at this Bar, as we now do: It is not unknown to your Honours, the next Cauſe, that is to ſucceed ours, is touching a Perſon that ſometimes hath been in greateſt Power in this Court: And, if the Mutations and Revolutions of Perſons and Times be ſuch, then I do moſt humbly beſeech your Honours to look on us, as it may befall yourſelves. But, if all this will not prevail with your Honours to peruſe my Books, and hear my Anſwer read, which here I tender, upon the Word and Oath of a Soldier, a Gentleman, a Scholar, and a Phyſician: I will clothe them, as I ſaid before, in *Roman* Buff, and diſperſe them throughout the Chriſtian World, that future Generations may ſee the

Innocency of this Cauſe, and your Honours unjuſt Proceedings in it; all which I will do, though it coſt me my Life.

Lord Keeper. Mr. Doctor, I thought you would be angry.

Dr. *Baſtwicke.* No, my Lord, you are miſtaken, I am not angry nor paſſionate; all that I do preſs is, that you would be pleaſed to peruſe my Anſwer.

Lord Keeper. Well, hold your Peace. Mr. *Burton*, what ſay you?

Mr. *Burton.* My good Lords, your Honours (it ſhould ſeem) do determine to cenſure us, and take our Cauſe *pro Confeſſo*, although, we have laboured to give your Honours Satiſfaction in all Things: My Lords, What have you to ſay againſt my Book? I confeſs I did write it, yet did I not any Thing out of Intent of Commotion or Sedition: I delivered Nothing, but what my Text led me to, being choſen to ſuit with the Day, namely the Fifth of *November*; the Words were theſe, &c.

Lord Keeper. Mr. *Burton*, I pray ſtand not naming Texts of Scripture now, we do not ſend for you to preach, but to anſwer to thoſe Things which are objected againſt you.

Mr. Burton. My Lord, I have drawn up my Anſwer to my great Pains and Charges, which Anſwer was ſigned with my Council's Hands, and received into the Court, according to the Rule and Order thereof. And I did not think to have been called this Day to a Cenſure, but have had a legal Proceeding by Way of Bill and Anſwer.

Lord Keeper. Your Anſwer was impertinent.

Mr. Burton. My Anſwer (after it was entered into the Court) was referred to the Judges, but by what Means I do not know, whether it be impertinent, and what Cauſe your Lordſhips had to caſt it out, I know not. But, after it was approved of, and received, it was caſt out as an impertinent Anſwer.

Lord Finch. The Judges did you a good Turn to make it impertinent, for it was as libellous as your Book, ſo that your Anſwer deſerved a Cenſure alone.

Lord Keeper. What ſay you, Mr. *Burton*, Are you guilty, or not?

Mr. Burton. My Lord, I deſire you not only to peruſe my Book, here and there, but every Paſſage of it.

Lord Keeper. Mr. *Burton*, Time is ſhort, Are you guilty, or not guilty? What ſay you to that which was read? Doth it become a Miniſter to deliver himſelf in ſuch a railing and ſcandalous Way?

Mr. Burton. In my Judgment, and as I can prove it, it was neither railing nor ſcandalous; I conceive that a Miniſter hath a larger Liberty than always to go in a mild Strain: I being the Paſtor of my People, whom I had in Charge, and was to inſtruct, I ſuppoſed it was my Duty to inform them of thoſe Innovations, that are crept into the Church, as likewiſe of the Danger and ill Conſequence of them: As for my Anſwer, ye blotted out what ye would, and then the reſt, which made beſt for your own Ends, you would have to ſtand; and now for me to tender only what will ſerve for your own Turns, and renounce the reſt, were to deſert my Cauſe, which before I will do, or deſert my Conſcience, I will rather deſert my Body, and deliver it up to your Lordſhips to do with it, what you will.

Lord Keeper. This is a Place where you ſhould crave Mercy and Favour, Mr. *Burton*, and not ſtand upon ſuch Terms as you do.

Mr. Burton. There wherein I have offended through human Frailty, I crave of God and Man Pardon: And I pray God, that, in your Sentence, you may ſo cenſure us, that you may not ſin againſt the Lord.

Thus the Priſoners, deſiring to ſpeak a little more for themſelves, were commanded to Silence. And ſo the Lords proceeded to Cenſure.

The Lord Cottington's *Cenſure.*

I Condemn theſe three Men to loſe their Ears in the Palace-Yard at *Weſtminſter*; to be fined Five-thouſand Pounds a Man to his Majeſty: And to perpetual Impriſonment in three remote Places of the Kingdom, namely, the Caſtles of *Caernarvon*, *Cornwall*, and *Lancaſter*.

The Lord Finch *added to this Cenſure.*

MR. *Prynne* to be ſtigmatiſed in the Cheeks with two Letters (S and L) for a ſeditious Libeller. To which all the Lords agreed. And ſo the *Lord Keeper* concluded the Cenſure.

THE Execution of the Lords Cenſure in the *Star-Chamber* upon Dr. *Baſtwicke*, Mr. *Prynne*, and Mr. *Burton*, in the *Palace-yard* at *Weſtminſter*, the Thirtieth Day of *June* laſt 1637; at the Spectation whereof the Number of People was ſo great (the Place being very large) that it cauſed Admiration in all that beheld them, who came with tender Affections, to behold thoſe three renowned Soldiers and Servants of *Jeſus Chriſt*, who came with moſt undaunted and magnanimous Courage thereunto, having their Way ſtrewed with ſweet Herbs from the Houſe out of which they came to the Pillory, with all the Honour that could be done unto them.

Dr. *Baſtwicke* and Mr. *Burton* firſt meeting, they did cloſe one in the other's Arms three Times, with as much Expreſſions of Love as might be, rejoicing that they met at ſuch a Place, upon ſuch an Occaſion, and that God had ſo highly honoured them, as to call them forth to ſuffer for his glorious Truth.

Then immediately after, Mr. *Prynne* came, the Doctor and he ſaluting each other, as Mr. *Burton* and he did before. The Doctor, then, went up firſt on the Scaffold, and his Wife immediately following came up to him, and like a loving Spouſe ſaluted each Ear with a Kiſs, and then his Mouth; whoſe tender Love, Boldneſs, and Chearfulneſs ſo wrought upon the People's Affections, that they gave a marvellous great Shout, for Joy to behold it. Her Huſband deſired her not to be, in the leaſt Manner, diſmayed at his Sufferings: And ſo for a While they parted, ſhe uſing theſe Words: Farewel, my Deareſt, be of good Comfort, I am Nothing diſmayed. And then the Doctor began to ſpeak theſe Words.

Dr. Baſtwick. There are many that are, this Day, Spectators of our Standing here, as Delinquents, though not Delinquents, we bleſs God for it. I am not conſcious to myſelf, wherein I have committed the leaſt Treſpaſs (to take this outward Shame) either againſt my God, or my King. And I do the rather ſpeak it, that you, that are now Beholders, may take Notice, how far Innocency will preſerve you in ſuch a Day as this; for we come here in the Strength of our God, who hath mightily ſupported us, and filled our Hearts with greater Comfort than our Shame or Contempt can be. The firſt Occaſion of my Trouble was by the Prelates, for writing a Book againſt the Pope, and the Pope of *Canterbury* ſaid I wrote againſt him; and therefore queſtioned me; but, if the Preſſes were as open to us, as formerly they have been, we ſhould ſhatter his Kingdom about his Ears: But be ye not deterred by their Power, neither be affrighted at our Sufferings; let none determine to turn from the Ways of the Lord, but go on, fight courageouſly againſt *Gog* and *Magog*. I know there be many here who have ſet many Days a-part for our Behalf, let the Prelates take Notice of it, and they have ſent up ſtrong Prayers to Heaven for us; we feel the Strength and Benefit of them at this Time, I would have you to take Notice of it we have felt the Strength and Benefit of your Prayers all along this Cauſe. In a Word, ſo far I am from baſe Fear, or caring for any Thing that they can do, or caſt upon me, that, had I as much Blood as would ſwell the *Thames*, I would ſhed it every Drop in this Cauſe, therefore be not any of you diſcouraged; be not daunted at their Power, ever labouring to preſerve Innocency, and keep Peace within; go on in the Strength of your God, and he will never fail you in ſuch a Day as this; as I ſaid before, ſo I ſay again, had I as many Lives as I have Hairs on my Head, or Drops of Blood in my Veins, I would give them all up for this Cauſe; this Plot of ſending us to thoſe remote Places, was firſt conſulted and agitated by the Jeſuits, as I can make it plainly appear. O ſee what Times we are fallen into, that the Lords muſt ſit to act the Jeſuits Plots! For our own Parts we owe no Malice to the Perſons of any of the Prelates, but would lay our Necks under their Feet to do them Good as they are Men; but againſt the Uſurpation of their Power, as they are Biſhops, we do profeſs Enemies till Doom's-Day.

Mr. *Prynne* ſhaking the Doctor, by the Hand, deſired him that he might ſpeak a Word or two. With all my Heart, ſaid the Doctor.

The Cauſe (ſaid Mr. *Prynne*) of my Standing here, is for not Bringing in my Anſwer, for which my Cauſe is taken *pro Confeſſo* againſt me. What Endeavours I uſed for the Bringing in thereof, that, God and my own Conſcience, and my Council knows, whoſe Cowardice ſtands upon Record to all Ages. For, rather than I will have my Cauſe a leading Cauſe, to deprive the Subjects of that Liberty which I ſeek to maintain, I rather expoſe my Perſon to be a leading Example, to bear this Puniſhment: And I beſeech you all to take Notice

tice of their Proceedings in this Cauſe: When I was ſerved with a *Subpœna* into this Court, I was ſhut up cloſe Priſoner, that I could have no Acceſs to Council, nor be admitted Pen, Ink, or Paper, to draw up my Anſwer by my Inſtructions, for which I feed them twice (though to no Purpoſe) yet, when all was done, my Anſwer would not be accepted into the Court, though I tendered it upon my Oath. I appeal to all the World, if this was a legal or juſt Proceeding. Our Accuſation is in Point of Libel, but ſuppoſedly, againſt the Prelates; to clear this now, I will give you a little Light what the Law is in Point of Libel, of which Profeſſion I have ſometimes been, and ſtill profeſs myſelf to have ſome Knowledge in; you ſhall find, in Caſe of Libel, two Statutes: The one in the Second of Queen *Mary*, the other in the Seventh of Queen *Eliſabeth.* That in the Second of Queen *Mary*, the Extremity and Heighth of it runs thus: That, if a Libeller doth go ſo far and ſo high as to libel againſt King or Queen, by Denomination, the Height and Extremity of the Law is, that they lay no greater Fine on him than an hundred Pounds, with a Month's Impriſonment, and no corporal Puniſhment, except he does refuſe to pay his Fine, and then to inflict ſome Puniſhment inſtead of that Fine at the Month's End. Neither was this Cenſure to be paſſed on him, except it was fully proved by two Witneſſes, who were to produce a Certificate of their good Demeanor for the Credit of their Report, or elſe confeſſed by the Libeller. You ſhall find in that Statute 7 *Eliſ.* ſome further Addition to the former of 2 *Mariæ*, and that only in Point of Fine and Puniſhment, and it muſt ſtill reach as high as the Perſon of King or Queen. Here this Statute doth ſet a Fine of two-hundred Pounds; the other, but one: This ſets three Months Impriſonment, the former but one: So that therein only they differ. But in this they both agree, namely, at the End of his Impriſonment to pay his Fine, and ſo to go free without any further Queſtion: But, if he refuſe to pay his Fine, then the Court is to inflict ſome Puniſhment on him correſpondent to his Fine. Now ſee the Diſparity between thoſe Times of theirs, and ours. A Libeller in Queen *Mary*'s Time was fined but an hundred Pounds, in Queen *Eliſabeth*'s Time two-hundred: In Queen *Mary*'s Days but a Month's Impriſonment, in Queen *Eliſabeth*'s, three Months; and not ſo great a Fine, if they libelled not againſt King or Queen. Formerly the greateſt Fine was but two-hundred Pounds, though againſt King or Queen; now Five-thouſand Pounds, though but againſt the Prelates, and that but ſuppoſedly, which cannot be proved: Formerly, but three Months Impriſonment; now perpetual Impriſonment: Then, upon Paying the Fine, no corporal Puniſhment was to be inflicted; but now, infamous Puniſhment with the Loſs of Blood, and all other Circumſtances that may aggravate it. See now what Times we are fallen into, when that Libelling (if it were ſo) againſt Prelates only, ſhall fall higher, than if it touched Kings and Princes.

That, which I have to ſpeak of next, is this: The Prelates find themſelves exceedingly aggrieved and vexed againſt what we have written concerning the Uſurpation of their Calling, where indeed we declare their Calling not to be *Jure Divino.* I make no Doubt, but there are ſome Intelligencers or Abettors within the Hearing, whom I would have well to know and take Notice of what I now ſay: I here in this Place make this Offer to them, that, if I may be admitted a fair Diſpute, on fair Terms, for my Cauſe, that I will maintain, and do here make the Challenge againſt all the Prelates in the King's Dominions, and againſt all the Prelates in Chriſtendom, let them take in the Pope and all to help them, that their Calling is not *Jure Divino.* I will ſpeak it again, I make the Challenge againſt all the Prelates in the King's Dominions, and all Chriſtendom, to maintain, that their Calling is not *Jure Divino.* If I make it not good, let me be hanged up at the Hall-Gate: Whereupon the People gave a great Shout.

The next Thing, that I am to ſpeak of, is this: The Prelates find themſelves exceedingly grieved and vexed againſt what I have written in Point of Law, concerning their Writs and Proceſs, that the Sending forth of Writs and Proceſs in their own Name, is againſt all Law and Juſtice, and doth intrench on his Majeſty's Prerogative Royal, and the Subjects Liberties. And here now I make a ſecond Challenge againſt all the Lawyers in the Kingdom, in Way of fair Diſpute, that I will maintain, the Prelates Sending forth of Writs and Proceſs, in their own Names, to be againſt all Law and Juſtice, and intrencheth on his Majeſty's Prerogative Royal, and Subjects Liberty. Leſt it ſhould be forgotten, I ſpeak it again, I here challenge all the whole Society of the Law upon a fair Diſpute to maintain, that the Sending forth of Writs and Proceſs, in the Prelates own Names, is againſt all Law and Juſtice, and intrencheth on the King's Prerogative Royal, and the Subjects Liberty. If I be not able to make it good, let me be put to the tormentingeſt Death they can deviſe.

We praiſe the Lord, we fear none but God and the King: Had we reſpected our Liberties, we had not ſtood here at this Time: It was for the general Good and Liberties of you all, that we have now thus far engaged our own Liberties in this Cauſe. For, did you know, how deeply they have intrenched on your Liberties in Point of Popery; if you knew but into what Times you are caſt, it would make you look about you: And, if you did but ſee what Changes and Revolutions of Perſons, Cauſes, and Actions have been made by one Man, you would more narrowly look into your Privileges, and ſee how far your Liberty did lawfully extend, and ſo maintain it.

This is the ſecond Time that I have been brought to this Place, who hath been the Author of it, I think you all well know: For the firſt Time, if I could have had Leave given me, I could eaſily have cleared myſelf of that which was then laid to my Charge: As alſo I could have done now, if I might have been permitted to ſpeak; that Book for which I ſuffered formerly, eſpecially for ſome particular Words therein written, which I quoted out of God's Word and ancient Fathers, for which notwithſtanding they paſſed Cenſure on me; that ſame Book was twice licenſed by publick Authority, and the ſame Words I then ſuffered for, they are again made Uſe of, and applied in the ſame Senſe by *Heylin* in his Book lately printed, and dedicated to the King, and no Exceptions taken againſt them, but are very well taken.

Aye, ſaid Dr. *Baſtwicke*, and there is another Book of his licenſed, wherein he rails againſt us three at his Pleaſure, and againſt the Martyrs that ſuffered in Queen *Mary*'s Days, calling them Schiſmatical Hereticks; and there is another Book of *Pocklington*'s licenſed; they be as full of Lyes, as Dogs be full of Fleas; but, were the Preſſes as open to us, as they are to them, we would pay them, and their great Maſter that upholds them, and charge them with notorious Blaſphemy.

Said Mr. *Prynne*, You all, at this Preſent, ſee, there be no Degrees of Men exempted from Suffering: Here is a Reverend Divine for the Soul, a Phyſician for the Body, and a Lawyer for the Eſtate; I had thought they would have let alone their own Society, and not have meddled with any of them; and the next, for aught I know, may be a Biſhop. You ſee they ſpare none, of what Society or Calling ſoever; none are exempted that croſs their own Ends. Gentlemen, look to yourſelves, if all the Martyrs, that ſuffered in Queen *Mary*'s Days, are accounted and called Schiſmatical Hereticks, and factious Fellows: What ſhall we look for? Yet ſo they are called, in a Book lately come forth under Authority; and ſuch factious Fellows are we, for diſcovering a Plot of Popery. Alas! poor *England*, what will become of thee, if thou look not the ſooner into thy own Privileges, and maintaineſt not thine own lawful Liberty? Chriſtian People, I beſeech you all, ſtand firm, and be zealous for the Cauſe of God, and his true Religion, to the Shedding of your deareſt Blood, otherwiſe you will bring yourſelves, and all your Poſterities, into perpetual Bondage and Slavery.

Now the Executioner being come, to ſear him and cut off his Ears, Mr. *Prynne* ſaid theſe Words to him, Come, Friend, come burn me, cut me, I fear not; I have learned to fear the Fire of Hell, and not what Man can do unto me. Come ſear me, ſear me, I ſhall bear in my Body the Marks of the Lord Jeſus; which the bloody Executioner performed with extraordinary Cruelty, heating his Iron twice to burn one Cheek; and cut one of his Ears ſo cloſe, that he cut off a Piece of his Cheek. At which exquiſite Torture, he never moved with his Body, or ſo much as changed his Countenance, but ſtill looked up, as well as he could, towards Heaven, with a ſmiling Countenance, even to the Aſtoniſhment of all the Beholders, and uttering, as ſoon as the Executioner had done, this heavenly Sentence: *The more I am beaten down, the more am I lift up*; and, returning from the Execution in a Boat, made, as I hear, theſe two Verſes by the Way, on the two Characters branded on his Cheeks:

S. L. STIGMATA LAUDIS.

STIGMATA maxillis bajulans inſignia LAUDIS
Exultans remeo, victima grata Deo.

Which one ſince thus *engliſhed:*

S. L. LAUD's SCARS.

Triumphant I return, my Face deſcries
Laud's *ſcorching Scars, God's grateful Sacrifice.*

Mr. Burton's *heavenly and moſt comfortable Speech, which he made at the Time of his Suffering, both before, and while he ſtood in the Pillory, which was ſomething diſtant from the other double Pillory, wherein Dr.* Baſtwicke *and Mr.* Prynne *ſtood.*

THE Night before his Suffering, about Eight o'Clock, when he firſt had certain Notice thereof, upon Occaſion of his Wife's going to aſk the Warden, whether her Huſband ſhould ſuffer the next Day, immediately he felt his Spirits to be raiſed to a far higher Pitch of Reſolution and Courage to undergo his Sufferings, than formerly he did; ſo as he intreated the Lord to hold up his Spirits at that Heighth all the next Day, in his Sufferings, that he might not flag nor faint, leſt any Diſhonour might come to his Majeſty, or the Cauſe; and the Lord heard him: For all the next Day, in his Suffering, both before and after, his Spirits were carried aloft, as it were upon Eagle's Wings, as himſelf ſaid, far above all Apprehenſion of Shame or Pain.

The next Morning, being the Day of his Sufferings, he was brought to *Weſtminſter*, and, with much Chearfulneſs, being brought into the *Palace-yard*, unto a Chamber that looked into the Yard, where he viewed three Pillories there ſet up. Methinks, ſaid he, I ſee Mount *Calvary*, where the three Croſſes, one for Chriſt, and the other two for the two Thieves, were pitched; and, if Chriſt were numbered among Thieves, Shall a Chriſtian, for Chriſt's Cauſe, think much to be numbered among Rogues, ſuch as we are condemned to be? Surely, if I be a Rogue, I am Chriſt's Rogue, and no Man's. And, a little after, looking out at the Caſement towards the Pillory, he ſaid, I ſee no Difference between Looking out of this ſquare Window and yonder round Hole, pointing towards the Pillory; he ſaid, It is no Matter of Difference to an honeſt Man. And, a little after that, looking ſomewhat wiſhfully upon his Wife, to ſee how ſhe did take it, ſhe ſeemed to him to be ſomething ſad, to whom he thus ſpake, Wife, why art thou ſo ſad? To whom ſhe made Anſwer, Sweetheart, I am not ſad. No, ſaid he, ſee thou be not; for I would not have thee to diſhonour the Day, by ſhedding one Tear, or fetching one Sigh; for behold, therefore, thy Comfort, my triumphant Chariot, on the which I muſt ride for the Honour of my Lord and Maſter. And never was Wedding-day ſo welcome and joyful a Day, as this Day is; and ſo much the more, becauſe I have ſuch a noble Captain and Leader, who hath gone before me with ſuch Undauntedneſs of Spirit, that he ſaith of himſelf, I gave my Back to the Smiters, my Cheeks to the Nippers, they plucked off the Hair; I hid not my Face from Shame and Spitting, for the Lord God will help me, therefore ſhall I not be confounded; therefore have I ſet my Face like a Flint, and I know I ſhall not be aſhamed. At length, being carried towards the Pillory, he met Dr. *Baſtwicke* at the Foot of the Pillory, where they lovingly ſaluted and embraced each other; and, parting a little from him, he returned, ſuch was the Ardency of his Affection, and moſt affectionately embraced him the ſecond Time, being heartily ſorry he miſſed Mr. *Prynne*, who was not yet come, before he was gone up to his Pillory, which ſtood alone next the *Star-chamber*, and about Half a Stone's Caſt from the other double Pillory, wherein the other two ſtood, ſo as all their Faces looked Southward, the bright Sun all the While, for the Space of two Hours, ſhining upon them: Being ready to be put into the Pillory, ſtanding upon the Scaffold, he eſpied Mr. *Prynne*, new come to the Pillory, and Dr. *Baſtwicke* in the Pillory, who then haſted off his Band, and called for a Handkerchief, ſaying, What, ſhall I be laſt, or ſhall I be aſhamed of a Pillory for Chriſt, who was not aſhamed of a Croſs for me? Then being put into the Pillory he ſaid: Good People, I am brought hither to be a Spectacle to the World, to Angels, and Men; and, howſoever

ever I ſtand here to undergo the Puniſhment of a Rogue, yet, except to be a faithful Servant to Chriſt, and a loyal Subject to the King, be the Property of a Rogue, I am no Rogue; but yet, if to be Chriſt's faithful Servant, and the King's loyal Subject, deſerve the Puniſhment of a Rogue, I glory in it; and, I bleſs my God, my Conſcience is clear, and is not ſtained with the Guilt of any ſuch Crime, as I have been charged with, though, otherwiſe, I confeſs myſelf to be a Man ſubject to many Frailties and human Infirmities. Indeed, that Book intitled, *An Apology of an Appeal*, with ſundry Epiſtles, and two Sermons, for God and the King, charged againſt me in the Information, I have, and do acknowledge, the Miſprinting excepted, to be mine, and will, by God's Grace, never diſclaim it, whilſt I have Breath within me. After a While, he having a Noſegay in his Hand, a Bee came and pitched on the Noſegay, and began to ſuck the Flowers very ſavourly; which he beholding, and well obſerving, ſaid, Do ye not ſee this poor Bee? She hath found out this very Place, to ſuck Sweetneſs from theſe Flowers: And cannot I ſuck Sweetneſs in this very Place from Chriſt? The Bee ſucking all this While, and ſo took her Flight. By and by he took Occaſion, from the Shining of the Sun, to ſay, You ſee how the Sun ſhines upon us; but that ſhines as well upon the Evil as the Good, upon the Juſt and Unjuſt; but that the Sun of Righteouſneſs, *Jeſus Chriſt*, who hath Healing under his Wings, ſhines upon the Souls and Conſciences of every true Believer only, and no Cloud can hide him from us, to make him aſhamed of us; no, not of our moſt ſhameful Sufferings for his Sake; and why ſhould we be aſhamed to ſuffer for his Sake, who hath ſuffered for us? All our Sufferings be but Flea-bitings to that he endured; he endured the Croſs, and deſpiſed the Shame, and is ſet on the right Hand of God. He is a moſt excellent Pattern for us to look upon, that, treading in his Steps, and ſuffering with him, we may be glorified with him: And what can we ſuffer, wherein he hath not gone before us even in the ſame Kind? Was he not degraded, when they ſcornfully put on him a purple Robe, a Reed in his Hand, a thorny Crown upon his Head, ſaluting him with *Hail King of the* Jews, and ſo diſrobed him again? Was not he deprived, when they ſmote the Shepherd, and the Sheep were ſcattered? Was not Violence offered to his ſacred Perſon, when he was buffeted and ſcourged, his Hands and his Feet pierced, his Head pricked with Thorns, his Side gored with a Spear, *&c?* Was not the Croſs more ſhameful, yea, and more painful, than a Pillory? Was not he ſtripped of all he had, when he was left ſtark-naked upon the Croſs, the Soldiers dividing his Garments, and caſting Lots upon his Veſture? And was not he confined to perpetual cloſe Impriſonment, in Man's Imagination, when his Body was laid in a Tomb, and the Tomb ſealed, leſt he ſhould break Priſon, or his Diſciples ſteal him away? And yet did he not riſe again, and thereby bring Deliverance and Victory to us all, ſo as we are more than Conquerors through him that loved us? Here then we have an excellent Pattern indeed. And all this he uttered, and whatſoever elſe he ſpoke, with marvellous Alacrity.

One ſaid unto Mr. *Burton*, Chriſt will not be aſhamed of you at the laſt Day; he replied, He knew whom he had believed, and that Chriſt was able to keep that he had committed to him againſt that Day. One aſked him how he did; he ſaid, Never better, I bleſs God, who hath accounted me worthy thus to ſuffer. The Keeper keeping off the People from preſſing near the Pillory, he ſaid, Let them come, and ſpare not, that they may learn to ſuffer. This ſame Keeper, being weary, and ſitting him down, aſked Mr. *Burton* if he were well, and bade him be of good Comfort; to whom he replied, Are you well? If you be well, I am much more, and full of Comfort, I bleſs God. Some aſked him, If the Pillory were not uneaſy for his Neck and Shoulders? He anſwered, How can Chriſt's Yoke be uneaſy? This is Chriſt's Yoke, and he bears the heavier End of it, and I the lighter; and, if mine were too heavy, he would bear that too: O, good People, Chriſt is a good and ſweet Maſter, and worth the Suffering for! And, if the World did but know his Goodneſs, and had taſted of his Sweetneſs, all would come and be his Servants; and, did they but know what a bleſſed Thing it were to bear his Yoke, O who would not bear it! The Keeper going about to eaſe the Pillory, by putting a Stone or a Brick-bat between, Mr. *Burton* ſaid, Trouble not yourſelf, I am at very good Eaſe, and feel no Wearineſs at all; and eſpying a young Man at the Foot of the Pillory, and perceiving him to look pale on him, he ſaid, Son, Son, what is the Matter you look ſo pale? I have as much Comfort as my Heart can hold, and, if I had Need of more, I ſhould have it. One aſked ed him, a While after, if he would drink ſome *Aqua Vitæ*; to whom he replied, That he needed it not; for I have, ſaid he, laying his Hand upon his Breaſt, the true Water of Life, which, like a Well, doth ſpring up to eternal Life. Pauſing a While, he ſaid, with a moſt chearful and grave Countenance, I was never in ſuch a Pulpit before, but little do ye know, ſpeaking to them that ſtood about him, what Fruits God is able to produce from this dry Tree: They looking ſtedfaſtly upon him, he ſaid, Mark my Words, and remember them well; I ſay, little do you know what Fruits God is able to produce from this dry Tree; I ſay, remember it well, for this Day will never be forgotten; and through theſe Holes, pointing to the Pillory, God can bring Light to his Church. The Keeper going about again to mend the Pillory, he ſaid, Do not trouble yourſelf ſo much; but, indeed, we are the Troublers of the World. By and by, ſome of them offering him a Cup of Wine, he thanked them, telling them, He had the Wine of Conſolation within him, and the Joys of Chriſt in Poſſeſſion, which the World could not take away from him, neither could it give them unto him. Then he looked towards the other Pillory, and, making a Sign with his Hand, chearfully called to Dr. *Baſtwicke* and Mr. *Prynne*, aſking them how they did; who anſwered, Very well. A Woman ſaid unto him, Sir, every Chriſtian is not worthy this Honour which the Lord hath caſt upon you this Day. Alas, ſaid he, who is worthy of the leaſt Mercy? But it is his gracious Favour and free Gift, to account us worthy, in the Behalf of Chriſt, to ſuffer any Thing for his Sake. Another Woman ſaid, There are many Hundreds, which, by God's Aſſiſtance, would willingly ſuffer, for the Cauſe you ſuffer for this Day; to whom he ſaid, Chriſt exalts all of us, that are ready to ſuffer Afflictions for his Name, with Meekneſs and Patience: But Chriſt's Military Diſcipline, in the Uſe of his ſpiritual Warfare in Point of Suffering, is quite forgotten; and we have, in a Manner, loſt the Power of Religion, in not denying ourſelves, and following Chriſt, as well in Suffering as in Doing. After a While, Mr. *Burton*, calling to one of his Friends for a Handkerchief, returned it again, ſaying, It is hot, but Chriſt bore the Burthen in the Heat of the Day: Let us always labour to approve ourſelves to God in all Things, and unto Chriſt, for therein ſtands our Happineſs, come of it what it will in this World.

A Chriſtian Friend ſaid to Mr. *Burton*, The Lord ſtrengthen you. To whom he replied, I thank you, and I bleſs his Name, he ſtrengthens me. For, though I am a poor ſinful Wretch, yet I bleſs God for my innocent Conſcience, in any ſuch Crime as is laid againſt me; and were not my Cauſe good, and my Conſcience ſound, I could not enjoy ſo much unſpeakable Comfort in this my Suffering, as I do, I bleſs my God. Mrs. *Burton* ſends Commendation to him by a Friend: He returned the like to her, ſaying, Commend my Love to my Wife, and tell her, I am heartily chearful, and bid her remember what I ſaid to her in the Morning, namely, that ſhe ſhould not blemiſh the Glory of this Day with one Tear, or ſo much as one Sigh. She returned Anſwer, that ſhe was glad to hear him ſo chearful; and that ſhe was more chearful of this Day, than of her Wedding-day. This Anſwer exceedingly rejoiced his Heart, who thereupon bleſſed God for her, and ſaid of her, She is but a young Soldier of Chriſt's, but ſhe hath already endured many a ſharp Brunt, but the Lord will ſtrengthen her unto the End: And he, having on a Pair of new Gloves, ſhewed them to his Friends there about him, ſaying, My Wife Yeſterday, of her own Accord, bought me theſe Wedding-Gloves, for this is my Wedding-day.

Many Friends ſpoke comfortably to Mr. *Burton*, and he again ſpoke as comfortably to them, ſaying, I bleſs my God that called me forth to ſuffer this Day. One ſaid to him, Sir, by this Sermon, your Suffering, God may convert many unto him. He anſwered, God is able to do it indeed. And then he called again to Dr. *Baſtwicke* and Mr. *Prynne*, aſking them how they did? Who anſwered as before. Some ſpeaking to him concerning that Suffering of ſhedding his Blood; he anſwered, What is my Blood to Chriſt's Blood? Chriſt's Blood is a purging Blood, but mine is corrupted and polluted with Sin. One Friend aſked another ſtanding near Mr. *Burton*, If there ſhould be any Thing more done unto him? Mr. *Burton*, overhearing him, anſwered, Why ſhould there not be more done? For what God will have done, muſt be accompliſhed. One deſiring Mr. *Burton* to be of good Chear: To whom he thus replied: If you knew my Chear, you would be glad to be Partaker with me; for I am not alone, neither hath God left me alone in all my Sufferings and cloſe Impriſonment, ſince firſt I was apprehended. The Halbertmen ſtanding round about, one of them had an old ruſty Halbert, the Iron whereof was tacked to the Staff with an old crooked Nail; which one obſerving, and ſaying, What an old ruſty Halbert is that? Mr. *Burton* ſaid, This ſeems to me to be one of thoſe Halberts, which accompanied *Judas* when he went to betray and apprehend his Maſter. The People, obſerving Mr. *Burton*'s Chearfulneſs and Courage in Suffering, rejoiced, and bleſſed God for the ſame. Mr. *Burton* ſaid again, I am perſuaded that Chriſt, my Advocate, is now pleading my Cauſe at the Father's Right-hand, and will judge my Cauſe, though none be found here to plead it, and will bring forth my Righteouſneſs as the Light at Noon-day, and clear my Innocency in due Time. A Friend aſking Mr. *Burton*, If he would have been without this particular Suffering? To whom he ſaid, No, not for a World. Moreover, he ſaid, that his Conſcience, the Diſcharge of his Miniſterial Duty and Function, in admoniſhing his People to beware of the Creeping in of Popery and Superſtition, exhorting them to ſtick cloſe unto God and the King in Duties of Obedience, was that which firſt occaſioned his Sufferings; and ſaid, As for this Truth I have preached, I am ready to ſeal it with my Blood, for this is my Crown both here and hereafter. I am jealous of God's Honour, and the Lord keep us that we may do nothing that may diſhonour him, either in Doing or Suffering; God can bring Light out of Darkneſs, and Glory out of Shame: And what ſhall I ſay more? I am like a Bottle which is ſo full of Liquor, that it cannot run out freely; ſo I am ſo full of Joy, that I am not able to expreſs it.

In Concluſion, ſome told him of the Approach of the Executioner, and prayed God to ſtrengthen him. He ſaid, I truſt he will. Why ſhould I fear to follow my Maſter Chriſt? who ſaid, I gave my Back to the Smiters, and my Cheek to the Nippers, that plucked off my Hair; I hid not my Face from Shame and Spitting, for the Lord God will help me, therefore ſhall I not be confounded; therefore have I ſet my Face like a Flint, and I know that I ſhall not be aſhamed.

When the Executioner had cut off one Ear, which he had cut deep and cloſe to the Head, in an extraordinary cruel Manner: Yet this Champion of Chriſt never once moved or ſtirred for it, though he had cut the Vein, ſo as the Blood ran ſtreaming down upon the Scaffold, which divers Perſons ſtanding about the Pillory ſeeing, dipped their Handkerchiefs in, as a Thing moſt precious, the People giving a mournful Shout, and crying for the Surgeon, whom the Crowd and other Impediments for a Time kept off, ſo that he could not come to ſtop the Blood; this Patient all the While held up his Hands, and ſaid, Be content, it is well, bleſſed be God. The other Ear being cut no leſs deep, he then was freed from the Pillory, and came down, where the Surgeon, waiting for him, preſently applied a Remedy for ſtopping the Blood, after a large Effuſion thereof; yet for all this he fainted not, in the leaſt Manner, though through Expence of much Blood he waxed pale. And one offering him a little Wormwood Water; he ſaid, it needs not, yet, through Importunity, he only taſted of it, and no more, ſaying, his Maſter Chriſt was not ſo well uſed, for they gave him Gall and Vinegar, but you give me ſtrong Water to refreſh me, bleſſed be God. His Head being bound up, two Friends led him away to an Houſe provided for him in *King's-ſtreet*, where being ſet down, and bid to ſpeak little, yet he ſaid after a Pauſe, This is too hot to hold long: Now, leſt they in the Room, or his Wife, ſhould miſtake, and think he ſpoke of himſelf concerning his Pain, he ſaid, I ſpeak not this of myſelf; for that which I have ſuffered is nothing to that my Saviour ſuffered for me, who had his Hands and Feet nailed to the Croſs: And, lying ſtill a While, he took Mr. *Prynne*'s Sufferings much to Heart, and aſked the People how he did, for, ſaid he, his Sufferings have been great. He aſked alſo how Dr. *Baſtwicke* did, with much Compaſſion and Grief, that he, being the firſt that was executed, could not ſtay to ſee how they two fared after him. His Wife, being brought to him, behaved herſelf very graciouſly towards him, ſaying, Welcome, Sweetheart, welcome Home. He was often heard to repeat theſe Words: The Lord keep us that we do not diſhonour him in any Thing. *Amen.*

Thus, Chriſtian Reader, you have heard the Relation of ſuch a Cenſure, and the Execution thereof, as I dare ſay, all Circumſtances laid together, cannot be paralleled in any Age of Man, throughout the Chriſtian World, and I think I may take in even the World of *Pagans* and *Heathens* to it. Which though it be not drawn up in ſo elegant a Strain as it was delivered and deſerved, nor all the heavenly Words and eloquent Speeches recorded, which were uttered by theſe three Worthies of the Lord, both in the Preſence of the Lords themſelves at their Cenſure, and alſo at the Place of Execution: Yet I earneſtly beſeech you in the Bowels of *Jeſus Chriſt*, that you do not in the leaſt Manner undervalue the Glory and Dignity, either of the Perſons, or the Cauſe, but rather lay the Blame upon the Rudeneſs and mean Capacity of the Compoſer, who is an unfeigned Well-wiſher to them both.

The Counteſs of *Lincoln*'s Nurſery. At *Oxford*, printed by *John Lichfield* and *James Short*, Printers to the famous Univerſity, 1622. *Quarto*, containing twenty-one Pages.

To the right honourable, and approved virtuous Lady, Bridget, *Counteſs of* Lincoln.

FOR the better Expreſſing and Keeping in Memory my Love, and your Worthineſs, I do offer unto your Ladiſhip the firſt Work of mine that ever came in Print; becauſe your rare Example hath given an excellent Approbation to the Matter contained in this Book; for you have paſſed by all Excuſes, and have ventured upon, and do go on with that loving Act of a loving Mother, in giving the ſweet Milk of your own Breaſts, to your own Child; wherein you have gone before the greateſt Number of honourable Ladies of your Place, in theſe latter Times. But I wiſh many may follow you, in this good Work, which I deſire to further, by my kind Perſuaſion. And ſuch Women, as will vouchſafe to read this little ſhort Treatiſe, may be put in Mind of a Duty, which all Mothers are bound to perform; and I ſhall be glad if any will conſider, and put in Practice, that which is both natural and comfortable. I hope they will at leaſt commend with me ſuch as do this good Deed, and no more ſpeak ſcornfully of that which is worthy of great Praiſe; and, for my Part, I think it an Honour unto you, to do that which hath proved you to be full of Care to pleaſe God, and of natural Affection, and to be well ſtored with Humility and Patience, all which are highly to be praiſed; to give Praiſe to any Perſon or Thing deſerving Praiſe, I dare do it; and, for this lovely Action of yours, I can with much Thankfulneſs praiſe God, for all his gracious Gifts of Grace and Nature, whereby he hath enabled you to do the ſame; deſiring alſo with my Heart, that you may ever, and every Way, honour God, who hath honoured you many Ways, above many Women; and I rejoice, that I can bear Witneſs, that God hath adorned you with fair Tokens of his Love and Mercy to your Soul: As the Practice of true Chriſtian Religion; Dedicating yourſelf to God's Service; Anſwerableneſs to all holy Commands of the holy God, which are Teſtimonies of God's Love, and do challenge a very great Eſteem from me, amongſt the reſt, that can truly judge and rightly diſcern what is beſt: I am full of Thoughts in this Kind, or of this Matter; *yet I ſay no more but this,* Go on and proſper, Hold faſt *all* that is good, Truſt *in God for Strength* to grow and continue in faithful Obedience to his glorious Majeſty; and *I will not* ceaſe to intreat the Lord of Heaven, to pour abundantly all Bleſſings of Heaven and Earth upon you, and your Children, as they increaſe in Number.

Your Ladiſhip's, in the beſt and ſafeſt Love,

ELISABETH LINCOLN.

To the Courteous, chiefly moſt Chriſtian, Reader.

THE General Conſent of too many Mothers in an unnatural Practice (moſt Chriſtian Reader) hath cauſed one of the nobleſt and faireſt Hands in this Land to ſet Pen to Paper: As aſhamed to ſee her Sex farther degenerate; deſirous for the Glory thereof, to have all both rightly know, and anſwer their Kind, hath made Honour *itſelf ſtoop to theſe Pains, which now ſhe ſends thee to peruſe. Three Things eaſily invite to read what to View is offered:* Eminency *or* Intereſt *in the Author,* Rarity *in the handled Matter,* Brevity *in the quick Diſpatch. Theſe Three meet in this one. The Author, ſo* eminent *in* Honour, *thou canſt hardly be anciently* honourable, *and not be intereſted in her* Honour's Acquaintance, *ſcarcely not* Alliance. *Next for the* Rareneſs, *a peculiar Tract of this Subject, I believe, is not in thine Hands. Laſtly, It is ſo* brief, *as I am perſuaded, it ſmoothly gliding thee along in the Reading, thy Sorrow will be, it lands thee ſo ſoon. What may give* Satisfaction *to a Reader, let me acquaint thee next, is here to be found. Theſe are two Things,* Uſefulneſs *of the Subject,* Fulneſs *of the Proſecution. If* Method *and* Soundneſs *can make* full, *this is* full. *What, not alone* Confirmation *uſhering in the* Aſſertion, *but* Refutation, *for Uſhering out* Objections, *can do, to Making* ſound *and* thorough, *this is* ſuch. *The Accommodation to theſe Particulars (gentle Reader) I leave to thyſelf, leſt I become* tedious, *whilſt I am honouring* Brevity. *The* Pay, *aſſure thyſelf, will be larger than the* Promiſe: *The* Wine *much better than the* Buſh. *This one Word, and I will ſtand out of the Gate, thou mayeſt go in. If* Noble *who readeſt* (Likeneſs is Mother and Nurſe of Liking) *this comes from* Nobility; *approve the rather and practiſe. If* Meaner, *bluſh to deny, what Honour becomes* Speaker *to perſuade to,* Precedent *to lead the Way to. And ſo I either humbly take my Leave, or bid Farewel.*

Bleſs'd is the Land where Sons of Nobles reign.
Bleſs'd is the Land where Nobles teach their Train.
To Church for Bliſs, Kings, Queens, ſhould Nurſes be.
To State its Bliſs great Dames Babes nurſe to ſee.
Go then, great Book of Nurſing, plead the Cauſe;
Teach Higheſt, Loweſt, all, its God's and Nature's Laws.

THOMAS LODGE.

BEcauſe it hath pleaſed God to bleſs me with many Children, and ſo cauſed me to obſerve many Things falling out to Mothers, and to their Children; I thought good to open my Mind concerning a ſpecial Matter belonging to all Child-bearing Women, ſeriouſly to conſider of; and to manifeſt my Mind the better, even to write of this Matter, ſo far as God will pleaſe to direct me; in Sum, the Matter I mean, *Is the Duty of Nurſing, due by Mothers to their own Children.*

In Setting down whereof, I will, *firſt*, ſhew, that every Woman ought to nurſe her own Child; and, *ſecondly*, I will endeavour to anſwer ſuch Objections, as are uſed to be caſt out againſt this Duty, to diſgrace the ſame.

The *firſt* Point is eaſily performed, For it is the expreſs Ordinance of God, that Mothers ſhould nurſe their own Children, and, being his Ordinance, they are bound to it in Conſcience. This ſhould ſtop the Mouths of all Repliers; for God is moſt wiſe, and therefore muſt needs know what is fitteſt and beſt for us to do: And, to prevent all fooliſh Fears, or Shifts, we are given to underſtand, that he is alſo All-ſufficient, and therefore infinitely able to bleſs his own Ordinance, and to afford us Means in ourſelves (as continual Experience confirmeth) toward the Obſervance thereof.

If this, as it ought, be granted, then how venturous are thoſe Women that dare venture to do otherwiſe, and ſo to refuſe, and, by Refuſing, to deſpiſe that Order, which the moſt wiſe and almighty God hath appointed, and inſtead thereof to chuſe their own Pleaſures? O what Peace can there be to theſe Women's Conſciences, unleſs, through the Darkneſs of their Underſtanding, they judge it no Diſobedience?

And then they will drive me to prove that this Nurſing and Nouriſhing of their own Children in their own Boſoms is God's Ordinance. They are very wilful, or very ignorant, if they make a Queſtion of it. For it is proved ſufficiently to be their Duty, both by God's Word, and alſo by his Works.

By his Word it is proved, *firſt*, by Examples, namely, the Example of *Eve.* For who ſuckled her Sons *Cain*, *Abel*, *Seth*, &c. but herſelf? Which ſhe did not only of mere Neceſſity, becauſe yet no other Woman was created; but eſpecially, becauſe ſhe was their Mother, and ſo ſaw it was her Duty; and becauſe ſhe had a true natural Affection, which moved her to do it gladly. *Next*, the Example of *Sarah* the Wife of *Abraham*; for ſhe both gave her Son *Iſaac* Suck, as doing the Duty commanded of God; and alſo took great Comfort and Delight therein, as in a Duty well pleaſing to herſelf; whence ſhe ſpoke of it, as of an Action worthy to be named in her holy Rejoicing. Now if *Sarah*, ſo great a Princeſs, did nurſe her own Child, why ſhould any of us neglect to do the like, except (which God forbid) we think Scorn to follow her, whoſe Daughters it is our Glory to be, and which we be only upon this Condition, that we imitate her Well-doing. Let us look therefore to our worthy Pattern, noting withal, that ſhe put herſelf to this Work, when ſhe was very old, and ſo might the better have excuſed herſelf, than we younger Women can; being alſo more able to hire, and keep a Nurſe, than any of us. But why is ſhe not followed by moſt in the Practice of this Duty? Even becauſe they want her Virtue and Piety. This Want is the common Hinderance to this Point of the Woman's Obedience; for this Want makes them want Love to God's Precepts, want Love to his Doctrine, and, like Step-mothers, want due Love to their own Children.

But now to another worthy Example, namely, that excellent Woman *Hannah*, who having, after much Affliction of Mind, obtained a Son of God, whom ſhe vowed unto God, ſhe did not put him to another to nurſe, but nurſed him her ownſelf, until ſhe had weaned him, and carried him to be conſecrated unto the Lord; as well knowing that this Duty, of Giving her Child Suck, was ſo acceptable to God; as, for the Cauſe thereof, ſhe did not ſin, in Staying with it at Home from the yearly Sacrifice: But now Women, eſpecially of any Place, and of little Grace, do not hold this Duty acceptable to God, becauſe it is unacceptable to themſelves; as if they would have the Lord to like, and diſlike, according to their vain Luſts.

To proceed, take Notice of one Example more, that is, of the bleſſed Virgin; as her Womb bare our bleſſed Saviour, ſo her Paps gave him Suck. Now who ſhall deny the own Mother's Suckling of their own Children to be their Duty, ſince every godly Matron hath walked in theſe Steps before them: *Eve* the Mother of all the Living; *Sarah* the Mother of all the Faithful; *Hannah* ſo graciouſly heard of God; *Mary* bleſſed among Women, and called bleſſed of all Ages. And who can ſay, but that the reſt of holy Women, mentioned in the holy Scriptures, did the like; ſince no Doubt, that Speech of that noble Dame, ſaying, Who would have ſaid to *Abraham*, that *Sarah* ſhould have given Children Suck? was taken from the ordinary Cuſtom of Mothers in thoſe leſs corrupted Times?

And ſo much for Proof of this Office and Duty to be God's Ordinance, by his own Word according to the Argument of Examples: I hope I ſhall likewiſe prove it by the ſame Word from plain Precepts. *Firſt*, from that Precept, which willeth the younger Women to marry, and to bear Children, that is, not only to bear them in the Womb, and to bring them forth, but alſo to bear them on their Knee, in their Arms, and at their Breaſts; for this Bearing a little before is called Nouriſhing, and Bringing up; and to inforce it the better into Women's Conſciences, it is numbered as the Firſt of the good Works, for which godly Women ſhould be well reported of. And well it may be the Firſt, becauſe if holy Miniſters, or other Chriſtians, do hear of a good Woman to be brought to Bed, and her Child to be living; their firſt Queſtion uſually is, Whether ſhe herſelf give it Suck, yea, or no? If the Anſwer be ſhe doth, then they commend her; if ſhe doth not, then they are ſorry for her.

And thus I come to a *ſecond* Precept. I pray you, who that judges aright, doth not hold the Suckling of her own Child the Part of a true Mother, of an honeſt Mother, of a juſt Mother, of a ſincere Mother, of a Mother worthy of Love, of a Mother deſerving good Report, of a virtuous Mother, of a Mother winning Praiſe for it? All this is aſſented to by any of good Underſtanding. Therefore this is alſo a Precept, as for other Duties, ſo for this of Mothers to their Children; which ſaith, Whatſoever Things are true, whatſoever Things are honeſt, whatſoever Things are juſt, whatſoever Things are pure, whatſoever Things are worthy of Love, whatſoever Things are of good Report, if there be any Virtue, if there be any Praiſe, think on theſe Things; theſe Things do, and the God of Peace ſhall be with you.

So far for my Promiſe, to prove by the Word of God, that it is his Ordinance that Women ſhould nurſe their own Children; now I will endeavour to prove it by his Works: *Firſt*, by his Works of Judgment; if it were not his Ordinance for Mothers to give their Children Suck, it were no Judgment to bereave them of their Milk; but it is ſpecified to be a great Judgment to bereave them hereof, and to give them dry Breaſts; therefore it is to be gathered, even from hence, that it is his Ordinance, ſince to deprive them of Means to do it is a Puniſhment of them.

I add to this, *The Work that God worketh in the very Nature of Mothers*, which proveth alſo that he hath ordained that they ſhould nurſe their own Children; for, by his ſecret Operation, the Mother's Affection is ſo knit by Nature's Law to her tender Babe, as ſhe finds no Power to deny to ſuckle it, no not when ſhe is in Hazard to loſe her own Life, by attending on it; for in ſuch a Caſe it is not ſaid, Let the Mother fly, and leave her Infant to the Peril, as if ſhe were diſpenſed with; but only it is ſaid, Woe to her, as if ſhe were to be pitied, that for Nature to her Child, ſhe muſt be unnatural to herſelf; now if any then being even at Liberty, and in Peace, with all Plenty, ſhall deny to give Suck to their own Children, they go againſt Nature; and ſhew that God hath not done ſo much for them, as to work any Good, no not in their Nature, but left them more ſavage than the Dragons, and as cruel to their little ones as the Oſtridges.

Now another Work of God, proving this Point is the Work of his Proviſion, for every Kind to be apt and able to nouriſh their own Fruit; there is no Beaſt that feeds their Young with Milk, but the Lord, even from the firſt Ground of the Order of Nature, *Grow and multiply*, hath provided it with Milk to ſuckle their own Young, which every Beaſt takes ſo naturally unto, as if another Beaſt come towards their Young to offer the Office of a Dam unto it, they ſhew, according to their Faſhion, a plain Diſlike of it; as if Nature did ſpeak in them, and ſay it is contrary to God's Order in Nature, commanding each

Kind to increaſe and multiply in their own Bodies, and by their own Breaſts, not to bring forth by one Dam, and to bring up by another; but it is his Ordinance, that every Kind ſhould both bring forth, and alſo nurſe its own Fruit.

Much more ſhould this Work of God prevail to perſuade Women, made as Man in the Image of God, and therefore ſhould be aſhamed to be put to School to learn Good-nature of the unreaſonable Creature. In us alſo, as we know by Experience, God provideth Milk in our Breaſts, againſt the Time of our Children's Birth, and this he hath done ever ſince it was ſaid to us alſo, *Increaſe and multiply*; ſo that this Work of his Proviſion ſheweth that he tieth us likewiſe to nouriſh the Children of our own Womb, with our own Breaſts, even by the Order of Nature; yea it ſheweth that he ſo careth for, and regardeth little Children, even from the Womb, that he would have them nurſed by thoſe that in all Reaſon will look to them with the kindeſt Affection, namely their Mothers; and in giving them Milk for it, he doth plainly tell them that he requires it.

Oh conſider, how comes our Milk; Is it not by the direct Providence of God? Why provides he it, but for the Child? The Mothers then, that refuſe to nurſe their own Children, do they not deſpiſe God's Providence? Do they not deny God's Will? Do they not as it were ſay, *I ſee, O God, by the Means thou haſt put into me, that thou wouldſt have me nurſe the Child thou haſt given me, but I will not do ſo much for thee.* Oh impious and impudent Unthankfulneſs; yea monſtrous Unnaturalneſs, both to their own natural Fruit born ſo near their Breaſts, and fed in their own Wombs, and yet may not be ſuffered to ſuck their own Milk.

And this Unthankfulneſs and Unnaturalneſs is oftener the Sin of the higher and the richer Sort, than of the meaner and poorer, except ſome nice and proud idle Dames, who will imitate their Betters, till they make their poor Huſbands Beggars. And this is one Hurt which the better Rank do by their ill Example; egg and imbolden the Lower ones to follow them to their Loſs: Were it not better for us greater Perſons to keep God's Ordinance, and to ſhew the Meaner their Duty in our good Example? I am ſure we have more Helps to perform it, and have fewer probable Reaſons to alledge againſt it, than Women that live by hard Labour, and painful Toil. If ſuch Mothers as refuſe this Office of Love, and of Nature to their Children, ſhould hereafter be refuſed, deſpiſed, and neglected of thoſe their Children, were they not juſtly requited according to their own unkind Dealing? I might ſay more in handling this firſt Point of my Promiſe; but I leave the larger and learneder Diſcourſe hereof unto Men of Art, and Learning; only I ſpeak of ſo much as I read, and know in my own Experience, which if any of my Sex and Condition do receive Good by, I am glad; if they ſcorn it, they ſhall have the Reward of Scorners. I write in Modeſty, and can reap no Diſgrace by their immodeſt Folly.

And ſo I come to my *laſt* Part of my Promiſe; which is to anſwer Objections made by divers againſt this Duty of Mothers to their Children.

Firſt, it is objected, that *Rebecca* had a Nurſe, and that therefore her Mother did not give her Suck of her own Breaſts, and ſo good Women, in the firſt Ages, did not hold them to this Office of nurſing their own Children. To this I anſwer, that if her Mother had Milk, and Health, and yet did put this Duty from her to another, it was her Fault, and ſo proved nothing againſt me: But it is manifeſt, that ſhe, that *Rebecca* called her Nurſe, was called ſo, either for that ſhe moſt tended her while her Mother ſuckled her; or for that ſhe weaned her; or for that, during her Nonage and Childhood, ſhe did miniſter to her continually ſuch good Things as delighted and nouriſhed her up. For to any one of theſe the Name of a Nurſe is fitly given; whence a good Wife is called her Huſband's Nurſe; and that *Rebecca*'s Nurſe was only ſuch a one, appeareth, becauſe afterwards ſhe is not named a Nurſe, but a Maid, ſaying: Then *Rebecca* roſe, and her Maids; now Maids give not Suck out of their Breaſts, never any Virgin or honeſt Maid gave Suck, but that bleſſed one from an extraordinary and bleſſed Power.

Secondly, it is objected, that it is troubleſome; that it is noiſome to one's Cloaths, that it makes one look old, *&c.* All ſuch Reaſons are uncomely and unchriſtian to be objected, and therefore unworthy to be anſwered; they argue unmotherly Affection, Idleneſs, Deſire to have Liberty to gad from Home, Pride, fooliſh Fineneſs, Luſt, Wantonneſs, and the like Evils. Aſk *Sarah*, *Hannah*, the *bleſſed Virgin*, and any modeſt loving Mother, what Trouble they accounted it to give their little Ones Suck? Behold moſt nurſing Mothers, and they be as clean and ſweet in their Cloaths, and carry their Age, and hold their Beauty, as well as thoſe that ſuckle not; and moſt likely are they ſo to do; becauſe, keeping God's Ordinance, they are ſure of God's Bleſſing; and it hath been obſerved in ſome Women that they grew more beautiful, and better favoured, by very nurſing their own Children.

But there are ſome Women that object Fear, ſaying that they are ſo weak, and ſo tender, that they are afraid to venture to give their Children Suck, leſt they indanger their Health thereby. Of theſe, I demand, Why then they did venture to marry, and ſo to bear Children? And if they ſay they could not chuſe, and that they thought not that Marriage would impair their Health: I anſwer, that for the ſame Reaſons they ſhould ſet themſelves to nurſe their own Children, becauſe they ſhould not chuſe, but do what God would have them to do; and they ſhould believe that this Work will be for their Health alſo, ſeeing it is ordinary with the Lord to give good Stomach, Health, and Strength to almoſt all Mothers that take this Pains with their Children.

One Anſwer more to all the Objections, that uſe to be made againſt giving Children Suck, is this, that now the Hardneſs, to effect this Matter, is much removed by a late Example of a tender young Lady; and you may all be encouraged to follow after, in that wherein ſhe hath gone before you, and ſo made the Way more eaſy, and more hopeful, by that which ſhe findeth poſſible and comfortable by God's Bleſſing, and no Offence to her Lord nor herſelf; ſhe might have had as many Doubts, and Lets, as any of you, but ſhe was willing to try how God would enable her, and he hath given her good Succeſs, as I hope he will do to others that are willing to truſt in God for his Help.

Now if any reading theſe few Lines return againſt me, that it may be I myſelf have given my own Children Suck, and therefore am bolder and more buſy to meddle in Urging this Point, to the End to inſult over, and to make them to be blamed that have not done it. I anſwer, that, whether I have, or have not, performed this my bounden Duty, I will not deny to tell my own Practice. I know and acknowledge that I ſhould have done it, and, having not done it, it was not for Want of Will in myſelf, but partly I was over-ruled by another's Authority, and partly deceived by ſome ill Counſel, and partly I had not ſo well conſidered of my Duty in this Motherly Office, as ſince I did, when it was too late for me to put it in Execution. Wherefore being pricked in Heart for my Undutifulneſs, this Way, I ſtudy to redeem my Peace, *firſt*, by Repentance towards God, humbly and often craving his Pardon for this my Offence; *ſecondly*, by ſtudying how to ſhew double Love to my Children, to make them Amends for Neglect of this Part of Love to them, when they ſhould have hung on my Breaſts, and have been nouriſhed in my own Boſom; *thirdly*, by doing my Endeavour to prevent many Chriſtian Mothers from ſinning, in the ſame Kind, againſt our moſt loving and gracious God.

And for this Cauſe I add unto my performed Promiſe this ſhort Exhortation; namely, I beſeech all godly Women to remember, how we elder ones are commanded to inſtruct the younger, to love their Children; now therefore love them ſo as to do this Office to them, when they are born, more gladly for Love Sake, than a Stranger, who bore them not, ſhall do for Lucre Sake. Alſo I pray you to ſet no more ſo light by God's Bleſſing in your own Breaſts, which the Holy Spirit ranketh with other excellent Bleſſings; if it be unlawful to trample under Feet a Cluſter of Grapes, in which a little Wine is found; then how unlawful is it to deſtroy and dry up thoſe Breaſts, in which your own Child, and perhaps one of God's very Elect, to whom to be a nurſing Father is a King's Honour, and to whom to be a nurſing Mother is a Queen's Honour, might find Food of ſincere Milk, even from God's immediate Providence, until it were fitter for ſtronger Meat; I do know that the Lord may deny ſome Women, either to have any Milk in their Breaſts at all, or to have any Paſſage for their Milk, or to have any Health, or to have a right Mind; and ſo they may be letted from this Duty, by Want, by Sickneſs, by Lunacy, *&c.* But I ſpeak not to theſe: I ſpeak to you, whoſe Conſciences witneſs againſt you, that you cannot juſtly alledge any of thoſe Impediments.

Do you ſubmit yourſelves to the Pain and Trouble of this Ordinance of God? Truſt not other Women, whom Wages hires to do it, better than yourſelves, whom God and Nature tie to do it. I have found, by grievous Experience, ſuch Diſſembling in Nurſes, pretending Sufficiency of Milk, when indeed they had too much Scarcity; pretending Willingneſs, Towardneſs, Wakefulneſs, when indeed they have been moſt wilful, moſt froward, and moſt ſlothful, as I fear the Death of one or two of my little Babes came by the Default of their Nurſes. Of all thoſe which I had for eighteen Children, I had but two which were thoroughly willing and careful; divers have had their Children miſcarry in the Nurſes Hands, and are ſuch Mothers (if it were by the Nurſes Careleſneſs) guiltleſs? I know not how they ſhould, ſince they will ſhut them out of the Arms of Nature, and leave them to the Will of a Stranger; yea, to one that will ſeem to eſtrange herſelf from her own Child, to give Suck to the Nurſe-child: This ſhe may feign to do upon a covetous Compoſition, but ſhe frets at it in her Mind, if ſhe has any natural Affection.

Therefore be no longer at the Trouble, and at the Care, to hire others to do your own Work; be not ſo unnatural as to thruſt away your own Children; be not ſo hardy as to venture a tender Babe to a leſs tender Heart; be not acceſſary to that Diſorder of cauſing a poorer Woman to baniſh her own Infant, for the Entertaining of a richer Woman's Child, as it were, bidding her unlove her own to love yours. We have followed *Eve* in Tranſgreſſion, let us follow her in Obedience. When God laid the Sorrows of Conception, of Breeding, of Bringing forth, and of Bringing up her Children upon her, and ſo upon us in her Loins, did ſhe reply any Word againſt it? Not a Word; ſo I pray you all my own Daughters, and others that are ſtill Child-bearing, reply not againſt the Duty of ſuckling them, when God hath ſent you them.

Indeed, I ſee ſome, if the Weather be wet, or cold; if the Way be foul, if the Church be far off, I ſee they are ſo coy, ſo nice, ſo lukewarm, they will not take Pains for their own Souls. Alas! No Marvel if theſe will not be at Trouble and Pain to nouriſh their Children's Bodies; but fear God, be diligent to ſerve him; approve all his Ordinances, ſeek to pleaſe him, account it no Trouble or Pain to do any Thing that hath the Promiſe of his Bleſſing; and then you will, no Doubt, do this good, laudable, natural, loving Duty to your Children. If yet you be not ſatisfied, inquire not of ſuch as refuſe to do this, conſult not with your own Conceit, adviſe not with Flatterers; but aſk Counſel of ſincere and faithful Preachers. If you be ſatisfied, then take this with you, to make you do it chearfully: Think always, that, having the Child at your Breaſt, and having it in your Arms, you have God's Bleſſing there. For Children are God's Bleſſings. Think again how your Babe crying for your Breaſt, ſucking heartily the Milk out of it, and growing by it, is the Lord's own Inſtruction, every Hour, and every Day, that you are ſuckling it, inſtructing you to ſhew that you are his new-born Babes, by your earneſt Deſire after his Word, and the ſincere Doctrine thereof, and by your daily growing in Grace and Goodneſs thereby; ſo ſhall you reap Pleaſure and Profit. Again, you may conſider, that, when your Child is at your Breaſt, it is a fit Occaſion to move your Heart to pray for a Bleſſing upon that Work, and to give Thanks for your Child, and for Ability and Freedom unto that, which many a Mother would have done and could not; who have tried and ventured their Health, and taken much Pains, and yet have not obtained their Deſire. But they, that are fitted every Way for this commendable Act, have certainly great Cauſe to be thankful; and I much deſire that God may have Glory and Praiſe for every good Work, and you much Comfort, that do ſeek to honour God in all Things. *Amen.*

The Strangling and Death of the great *Turk*, and his two Sons; with the ſtrange Preſervation and Deliverance of his Uncle *Muſtapha* from Periſhing in Priſon, with Hunger and Thirſt, the young Emperor, not three Days before, having ſo commanded. A wonderful Story, and the like never heard of in our modern Times; and yet, all to manifeſt the Glory and Providence of God, in the Preſervation of *Chriſtendom* in theſe troubleſome Times. *Printed this Fifteenth of* July. Printed at *London*, by *J. D.* for *Nicholas Bourne* and *Thomas Archer*, and are to be ſold at their Shops at the *Exchange*, and in *Pope's-head Palace*. 1642. *Octavo*, containing ſeventeen Pages.

HAUD ſic magni conditor orbis,
Huic ex alto cuncta tuenti,
Nulla terræ mole reſpectant,
Non nox atris nubibus obſtat,
Quæ ſint, Quæ fuerint, Veniantque,
Uno mentis cernit in ictu,
Quem, quia reſpicit omnia ſolus,
Verum poſſis dicere ſolem.
Boetius Metro. 3 *Lib.* 5.

The Printer to the Reader.

I Am very loth to trouble you with a Preface, yet, at this Time, you muſt pardon me; for it is for God's Cauſe, to exemplify his Glory and Providence, that hath put an Hook in the Noſtrils of Leviathan, *and kept him from devouring poor Chriſtians, who yet are in Arms to devour one another; that hath thrown a Stone from Heaven, to ſtrike the golden Image to Powder, which was ſtretching itſelf to overlook and overtop the Provinces of* Europe; *that hath put an Ax to the great Tree, and felled it at a Blow, which was beginning to overſpread the Earth, and be a Shadow for the Beaſts of the Field. What, all* Chriſtendom *almoſt in Arms, and yet the* Turk *not to take the Advantage, but to be pulled ſhort by the Hand of God, and thrown backward into a Grave? Where are your dreaming* Gazettes *and* Coranto's *now, that talked of ſuch formidable Preparation, and ſo many Hundred-thouſand in an Army? Where is the Threatening of* Poland, *and Terrifying the* Coſſacks *with ſo many thouſand* Tartarians? *Where is their Coming into* Hungary, *to begin a new War there? What, all huſhed, and quiet? Why, then, thine be the Honour, O God, and all Power, and Majeſty, and Goodneſs be attributed unto thee; for thou haſt taken Pity upon our Afflictions, and wilt ſet upright thine own Cauſe, when the Children of* Edom *and Inhabitants of* Babylon, *cry,* Down with the Walls of *Jeruſalem, and inſult with Clapping their Hands, to ſee the Enemies of the Goſpel thrive in their Outrageouſneſs.*

This then is all I would ſay unto you, by the Way of Introduction, to give God the Praiſe, that the Great Turk *is dead ſo opportunely, whereby there is Hope, that* Europe *ſhall be preſerved from their Invaſion, and thoſe Affrightings. And the ſame God, that hath compaſſionated the general Diſtreſs of* Chriſtendom, *take Pity likewiſe on the particular Paſſions of Princes, that they rage not in their Revenges, nor run too violently forward in their Race of Blood and Deſtruction, but admit of Peace and Pacification to the eternal Memory of their Virtues and Worthineſs.*

THOUGH I need not ſpeak a Word of former Emperors of *Turkey,* or their Actions, or their Lives, or their *Alcoran*; from whence the ſpecial Impoſitions on their Government are, *firſt,* to erect ſome famous Monument toward the Exaltation of their Religion. *Secondly,* and perform ſome memorable Enterpriſe for the Enlarging their Empire; yet muſt I name *Mahomet the Third,* to keep myſelf cloſer to the Story, that you may know the ſeveral Paſſages in the ſame. This *Mahomet* left two Sons behind him, *Achmet* and *Muſtapha*; *Achmet,* at fifteen Years old, was choſen Emperor, and lived ſome fifteen Years longer, or thereabouts; and although, by Reaſon of the Peace between the Emperor *Rodolphus* of *Germany,* and himſelf, as alſo the Contract between the *Polonians* and himſelf, wherein thoſe *Antiqua Fœdera* were renewed, he did little worthy of Memory, concerning heroick Enterpriſes, and military Exploits; yet he had the Fortune to keep Correſpondency with his Baſhaws and Janiſaries, and took a Courſe, by enlarging their Entertainment, and other ſeveral Donatives, to enlarge their Hearts and good Liking towards him; ſo that he had very ſeldom Mutinies, or Innovation, becauſe the Viſier of the Army drew them ſtill into the Field in the Summer, and the Viſier of the City afforded them their ancient Liberty in the Winter; but, at laſt, there was a Rebellion by the Scrivano of *Aſia,* whom ſome confound with the Name of *Baſhaw* of *Aleppo,* which was fortunately and wiſely prevented; and, in the End of his Reign, the Controverſies of the Princes of *Moldavia* overwrought the *Polacks* to commiſerate the Cauſe, and wrought a Miſchief, which was not ended without unſpeakable Trouble: For the Diſtaſtings, beginning in *Achmet*'s Time, could never admit of Reconciliation, until *Achmet*'s Son came in Perſon, with Terror and Threatenings, into the Fields of *Bogdonia.*

Well, *Achmet* dies, leaving two young Sons behind him, *Oſman* and another; yet ſome will preſume to ſay, That, being not above thirty-four Years old, he had many Children, and three-hundred Wives, or Concubines; but, before he died, to make all ſure, he reſolves to ſtrangle his Brother *Muſtapha,* and, according to Cuſtom, will leave no Competitors in ſuch an Empire. For which Purpoſe, a Guard of Capagies attend at the iron Gates of the *Seraglio,* and the Mutes are placed in a Room accordingly. Now you muſt conſider, that, though they have many Ways to enlarge their Cruelties, and diſpatch Offenders, yet none is ſo affrighting, as the Preſenting of theſe Officers; for they never come along, without Death in their Company, and Ghaſtlineſs in their Looks. Sometimes an Offender is carried from the *Seraglio,* by the Officers of their Tapinaco, ſuch as we ſay, Maſter of the Ordnance, over the Sea, and, in the Midway, a great Stone is tied about his Neck, and he is caſt into the Bottom; and then, according to his Greatneſs, a greater Cannon is ſhot off, unleſs the Emperor ſend a Countermand, before he be from the Water. Sometimes an Offender is beheaded; ſometimes thrown off a Rock; ſometimes ſet upon by the Janiſaries, and cut in Pieces, as the Aga or Captain is limited; yet, in theſe Caſes, as the Emperor's Fury is leniated, they many Times eſcape; but, when the Mutes come in Place, all are diſplaced, againſt whom their Commiſſion is enlarged. Thus is *Muſtapha* to be diſpatched, but ſee how the ſtronger Arm puts out the ſtrong Men; the ſame Night, *Achmet* had a Dream, or fearful Viſion, which ſome of the Derviſes would needs preſume to rumour abroad in this Manner: That he thought, as he was entering into the *Seven Towers,* the princely Priſon of his Predeceſſors, his Brother kneeled down before him, and cried out, Oh when ſhall we leave this horrible Cuſtom of ſhedding innocent Blood? Look among all the Heathens,

Heathens, and ſee how quickly they loathed and caſt away that crying Sin of ſacrificing of human Fleſh. But, inſtead of Replying, he drew his Scimiter to ſtrike off his Head, had not one, as he conceited, held it faſt, that he could not ſtrike; whereupon he demanded angerly, What art thou? I am the good *Genius* of *Muſtapha*, and will not ſuffer him to periſh; therefore leave, and very ſhortly ſhall ſtrange Things happen in the Empire. Little thought the Great *Turk* to have found a greater Greatneſs in his Sleep; but ſuch was the Power of God, or, as the *Turks* conceited, the Fortune of *Muſtapha*, that his Brother *Achmet*, contrary to all Expectation, the next Morning after his Dream, ſent for him into the Room of State, where he lay on a ſtately Pallet, with all his Viceroys and Baſhaws groveling on the Ground, and the principal Mufti kneeling before him, reading on a Book. It ſhould ſeem that glad Tidings came firſt to the City, for he was taken out of the Priſon with great Reſpect and Obſervation; he was admitted to his Galley with high Ceremonies, and yet ſolemn Countenances; he was accompanied on the Sea with Thouſands of Boats, and Ten-thouſands of weeping Eyes; he landed at the Emperor's own Caſka, with great Reſpect and modeſt Stillneſs; he walked through the Garden of Cypreſs-trees, and, at laſt, came to an iron Gate, where his own Company left him, except two Baſhaws, who led him by the Arms: The Gate opens, and he muſt go through a Guard of Capagies; they bend to the Ground, and yet look chearfully, until, at laſt, the Prince ſpoke as chearfully to the Baſhaws, ſaying, What need all this Quoil and Ceremonies to a dying Man, or Tormenting of my Soul, when I go to the Execution of my Body? In all Extremities, there is a Courteſy in Diſpatch, and, when a Man muſt die, O let him die at once, and not be more tortured with the Fear and Circumſtances, than with the Thing itſelf: They durſt not reply, but brought him into the Room, where the Mutes ſtood, whoſe Preſence did no more appale him than the reſt, but that he ſaw the Cruelty confirmed, and their very Sight was worſe than an irreverſible Judgment; but, when he perceived no violent Hands laid upon him, and that he muſt yet go further, he was the more aſtoniſhed, and the more vexed, to endure ſuch a Procraſtination.

At laſt, he came where the Emperor lay ſick on his Pallet, before whom his Proſtitution was as the ordinary Slaves; but, contrary to all Expectation, he bade him riſe, and commanded certain *Perſian* Carpets to be ſpread, and rich Cuſhions to be laid; on which, according to their Manner, he ſat croſs-legged by him, and, when the Mufti had raiſed the Emperor up a little, with a faint Voice he thus diſcovered an unlooked for loving Heart:

Brother, ſaid he, I am taught by Story, and the Story of *Galba* among the *Romans*, to chuſe a Succeſſor for the Commonwealth, and not an Heir in my Family. This made him look upon *Piſo*, as worthy to be an Emperor, becauſe he had Experience of his Virtues, and not upon his Kindred, becauſe he was unacquainted with their Strength to bear ſo great a Burden: I cannot compare our Greatneſs with the *Romans*, but I am ſure, we are too great for Children or Fools. I have fair Iſſue of my own, but ſo weak Arms cannot ſway the Scepter of the *Ottoman* Family; and to leave them under Tutelage, Who is there worthy to adviſe ſuch Princes, or what Account can Slaves make of the Government, when their own Vices ſhall overflow their Banks without Reſtraint, and the Envy of others look upon them rather with Diſobedience than Obſervation? Therefore, to avoid all tumultuous Occaſions, and to make thee believe, thou art the Charge of our Prophet *Mahomet*, inſtead of a Death-like Preſent itſelf, inſtead of a Priſon, this is thy Palace: And, whereas thou cameſt in groveling, thou ſhalt go out triumphing; the Decree of Heaven will have it ſo, and a Voice from Heaven commands it ſo; only this I muſt conclude, that, as I have remembered thee, thou wilt not forget me and mine: Let not Cuſtom overmaſter Virtue, nor the Jealouſy in Sovereignty be an Enemy to thy Pity; but let young *Oſman* live, as I have determined, thou ſhalt not die; yea, the Wonder is the greater, that of a Captive I have made thee an Emperor, and, inſtead of the Terrors of Affliction, brought thee out to the Raviſhings of Majeſty.

He had no ſooner done, but he began to faint, and ſo read them all a Leſſon of Mortality, by opening a Book, wherein they ſaw Death written in capital Letters, and himſelf ſinking paſt Recovery; which made them recover new Spirits, and preſently bring his Brother out into the *Sophia*, where the principal Mufti proclaimed *Muſtapha* Emperor, intimating to the Janiſaries the Charge of *Achmet*, to the Diſcharging their Duties ; and the Pleaſure of *Muſtapha* to give them a Largeſs, which, equalling the Bounty of other Princes, overſwayed nicer Exceptions, and ſo, with great Acclamations, they ratified the Election, and cried out, *Live and reign great* Muſtapha ! The next Work, was the Solemnity of *Achmet*'s Funeral, for whom a ſumptuous Monument and Chapel were erected, not inferior to any of his Anceſtors : Then were Commiſſioners appointed, to overlook the *Seraglio*, and ſequeſter ſuch Women, as had been carnally known of *Achmet*, to their accuſtomed Palaces, and accuſtomed Manner of Magnificence and Expences. Preſently followed the Settling of the Baſhaws in their Authority, in their ſeveral Provinces, and Overlooking the City Officers, with Confirmation of ſuch as were worthy. Laſt of all, his Armies and Navies were muſtered ; not that he pretended any War, but becauſe he would commit no Soleciſm in Government, or give the Soldiers Occaſion to ſuſpect, that he knew not how to maintain his Greatneſs : Thus is *Muſtapha* Emperor ; and they had two Years Trial of his Diſpoſition, whereby they found him harmleſs, and rather ſubject to the Epithets of quiet Princes, than tranſcending Encomiums of great and ſtirring Spirits.

But O the Condition of Man, and Inſtability of terreſtrial Bleſſings ! Prince *Muſtapha* was ſcarce warm in this Throne of Sovereignty, and ſetting forward in the Race of Imperiouſneſs, before *Scander* and *Mahomet* Baſhaw takes the young *Oſman* out of the *Seraglio*, and preſents him to the Janiſaries, a comely, ſweet, young Youth, of nine or ten Years old, demanding, withal, If ſuch an Heir of the *Ottoman* Family were to be rejected without Cauſe ; or why they ſhould bring an harmleſs Prince, as they reputed *Muſtapha*, into the Danger of Uſurpation, and differing no further from a Traytor, but that it was not imputed to him ? As for *Achmet*'s Will, Empires are not ſo tranſlated ; and what could they tell, but private Men, for their own Ends, had wrought upon his Weakneſs, making a diſeaſed Tongue ſpeak that, which a healthful Heart, and perfect Senſe, would not conſent to ? For it was not probable, that a Father would diſinherit his Children for any Brother in the World ; beſides, there was no Trial or Cauſe, either of Inſufficiency or Diſability, and, therefore, they could not believe it. Laſt of all, for any Thing they ſaw, *Muſtapha* himſelf was not ſtirring or ſtrong enough, to play the Steerſman in ſuch an high-built Ship, conſidering the Seas were tempeſtuous, and many dangerous Shores and Rocks were to be paſſed by.

Theſe Speeches, to the turbulent Janiſaries, were like Fewel to Fire, and the Preſence of the lovely Youth made them amazed at their Inconſtancy ; ſo that, by Way of Penitence, and Satisfaction, they quickly altered the Acclamation of, *Live* Muſtapha, into the Cries of, *God ſave young* Oſman ; and ſo, without further Diſputing, he was advanced into the Throne, and brought into the *Seraglio*, when *Muſtapha* leaſt thought of the Alteration. But now there is no Remedy, he muſt needs be depoſed, and ſent Priſoner once again into the *Seven Towers* ; his Friends more confounded to be ſo affronted, than amazed at the Alteration ; yet, ſuſpecting the Worſt, they abandoned the Palace, and, thinking it Policy to ſhift for themſelves, had the leſs Honeſty to neglect their Emperor ; but the Truth is, they ſaw manifeſt Signs of a Rebellion, and the Conſpiracy was too great, and too ſtrong, for them to reſiſt, which made them give Way to the Violence, leſt they ſhould have been carried headlong to Deſtruction.

Now doth *Oſman* begin his *Phaeton*'s Flouriſh, and runneth the Courſe of Pleaſures with his Youth, ſpending four or five Years in Wantonneſs and Jollity, while his Baſhaws ſpent the Time in Covetouſneſs, and ambitious Over-ruling others ; yet, not without careful Overlooking the Janiſaries, and provident Preventing their Diſcontents, and turbulent Diſpoſition ; but all doth help, for they, overaccuſtomed to active Employment, and living upon the Spoil of foreign Nations, as much as the Emperor's Entertainment, cried out to the War ; and when Anſwer was made, that the *Perſians* had contracted a new League, and the Emperor of *Germany*'s old Covenants were not yet determined, or ended, they preſently replied, The Indignities which the *Ruſſians* had offered to their Neighbours, the *Tartarians*, were not to be endured ; and they need go no further, than the Piracies of the *Black Sea*, and the Injuries of the *Coſſacks* and *Polonians :* Nay, why ſhould they not march to the Expugnation of *Leopolis*, and the Foraging of the Countries of *Moldavia* and *Bogdonia* ; and ſo forward, to teach *Poland* a better Leſſon, than to diſpleaſe the *Ottoman* Family and Mightineſs?

The Baſhaws knew there was no Replying, nor, how the Fire was kindled, no other Quenching it, than letting it conſume to Cinders; whereupon, they preſently anſwered, they were glad that the Soldiers were ſo memorable of the Glory of the Empire, and ſo ready to employ themſelves for the Dignity of the Nation, and, therefore, they would not, by any Means, hinder them, or the Cauſe; but they ſhould find the Emperor as careful to ſatisfy their Demands, as they were willing to augment his Greatneſs; ſo that, if they would give Way unto Time for the Preparing of all Things fit for the Army, and the Sending for the *Tartarians* to accompany them in the Journey, the Emperor ſhould go in Perſon into the Field, and *Poland* ſoon find, what it was to exaſperate ſuch a Majeſty.

Whereupon, ſome will have it, that there were Letters of Defiance preſently ſent againſt *Sigiſmond*, and the War proclaimed, by Sound of Trumpet, to affright all *Europe*: In what Manner the *Turk* proceeded, I will not now diſpute; ſure I am, that the King of *Poland* made all Chriſtian Princes acquainted with the Threatenings, and implored their Aſſiſtance for the Oppoſition: He ſent unto the Emperor to hearken to a Peace, if it were poſſible, and correſpondent with his Honour, that he might ſpare his Forces, rather againſt the general Enemy of *Chriſtendom*, than the particular Revenges of one another: Oh! bleſſed be the Feet of thoſe that bring the glad Tidings of Peace, and happy is that Princely Diſpoſition, that would avoid the Effuſion of Chriſtian Blood: He ſent unto his Holineſs, to remember the Cauſe of the Church, and the Affrightings of Religion, ſo that now was the Time to aſſiſt him with Men and Money; and, if ever *Poland* were reputed the Bulwark of Chriſtianity, and to be maintained accordingly, it was, at this Inſtant, to be looked upon with the Eyes of Pity and Commiſeration; for two-hundred Thouſand *Turks* and *Tartars* were in Readineſs to over-run the Country, and devour the Inhabitants: He ſent into *France*, by Way of Interceſſion, to ſpare his Hand from taking ſuch fearful Revenges on his own People, and to ſpare him but thoſe Men, which the Wars muſt conſume, and the Wrath of a Prince bring to Deſtruction: He ſent into *England*, with Intimation of the Terror, which ſo many barbarous Nations and People, united, muſt needs afflict one Country withal; and his well delivered Diſcourſe made ſuch Impreſſion upon his Majeſty's Princely Heart, that he had a preſent Supply both of Men and Money: In a Word, Whither did he not ſend to ſet forward the Enterpriſe? And what did he not do, befitting the Goodneſs of a King, and the Greatneſs of a General, and heroick Captain? His Army was ſoon ready, and his *Coſſacks* prepared: By the End of *July*, he was incamped in the Fields of *Bogdonia*, and, within eight Days, intrenched with twenty Pieces of Ordnance mounted; but the *Coſſacks* quartered by themſelves, and, after their accuſtomed Manner, lying between two Rivers, were the more emboldened to make their daily Excurſions upon the *Tartars*; for, having a Bridge in the Rear of their Camp, with which the *Turks* were unacquainted, they quickly tranſported their Men, and as quickly damnified their Enemies.

When the Grand Seignior was acquainted with the Forwardneſs of theſe *Polonians*, and underſtood they were already incamped, and expected his Coming, he was too young to apprehend any Fear, and not old enough to lay the Blame of his Retardance where it was; therefore they made the more Haſte, when he underſtood the Occaſion, and ſo, according to former Preparation, the Eſtabliſhment of divers Governments, the Ordering the Provinces, the Settling the great City, the Muſtering his Gallies, the Guarding of his Caſtles, and the Watching of the *Black Sea*: The *Tartars* united themſelves to his Army, and, both together, made a Body of two-hundred Thouſand; which, with all magnificent Preparation, he preſented in the ſame Fields, and within Sight of the *Polonians*, where he pitched his Imperial Tent, and ſettled himſelf with unparalleled Majeſty; the High Prieſts, and Doctors of Law, attended him; the two great Baſhaws accompanied him, the Throng of Janiſaries waited upon him, and the Fry of *Tartars* brought the Carriages up a-pace:

When all Things were ſettled, the *Tartars*, after their accuſtomed Manner, with great Clamours and Outcries, and with as great Multitudes, gave upon the *Polonians*, and thought to have made but one Battle and Day of Trial of the Buſineſs; but when they came to paſs over Rivers, and aſſail Trenches;

when they heard the Thunders of twenty Pieces of Ordnance, and felt the Miſchief and Damage; when they were encountered with ten-thouſand well-armed Horſe, and driven back with the Fury of courageous Hearts; they knew not what to ſay, and leſs to do; nay, though the Janiſaries came as a Second unto them, and brought many Field-pieces, to anſwer the Diſcourteſy of their Camp's Ordnance; yet, by Reaſon they had not the Diſcipline of *Gabions*, they were ſubject to the greater Deſtruction; and the Soldiers, wanting Armour, found themſelves too weak for the *Coſſacks*; whereupon they retreated, and were altogether appalled to be ſo diſappointed, which, when *Scander* Baſhaw perceived, he took an Opportunity of exprobrating their Audaciouſneſs, and chiding their Oſtentation, whereas now they could perform nothing; which he did, as ſome report, to this or the like Purpoſe:

Now, you that are ſo powerful in Inſolency and Tumults, and were ſo forward to the War, that we muſt either take the Field to ſpend your Humours, and ſatisfy your Impatience, or be taken by you, and ſuffer the Indignity of your Outrages: What ſay you now to the War? What can you do to theſe Men? Nay, What will you do for the Emperor's Honour, and your own Reputation? Well, ſeeing you ſee, by Experience, that the Times are changed, and the Diſcipline of War muſt take you out other Leſſons of Fury; leave your fooliſh Finding Fault with your Friends, and ſpend your Courages upon your Enemies; there is now no Retiring by Mutinies, but, ſetting forward upon Advantages, you muſt either force theſe Trenches, or be forced to endure a Slaughter: But I will now anſwer for you, What is paſt is remedileſs; we come to fight, and, I know, you are reſolute to play the Men; therefore follow me, and I will lead you the Way to Death or Glory: Whereupon, without any Reply, they came forward with Fifty-thouſand, and, under the Security of a rolling Trench, gave a brave Camizado on the *Polonian* Camp, with many Pieces of Ordnance, which they mounted upon pretty good Banks, as the Pioneers caſt up Earth before them.

But, as they were in this Forwardneſs, the *Coſſacks* came ſo violently upon the unarmed *Tartars*, that they were ſubject to a great Slaughter; ſo that both they and the Janiſaries, were glad to retire with Loſs, and the young Emperor, unacquainted with the War, was yet acquainted with Oaths and Curſes, to chide both himſelf and Fortune. At laſt, the Baſhaws, ſeeing no Remedy, and finding ſo great Obſtacles of their Attempts, projected the Preſervation of the Emperor's Perſon; but it may be to ſecure their own Lives; and ſo intrenched themſelves, being, as they ſaid, the firſt Time that ever ſo great an Army of *Turks* was incloſed within Walls; by which Occaſion, Neceſſity compelled them to confeſs, they had new Work in Hand, and that there was nothing ſo eaſy, as to cry to the War, but nothing ſo difficult, as to return with Victory.

In this Manner they lay all the Summer, looking upon one another with revengeful Eyes, and taking the Advantage of ſo many Sallies, that the *Turks* loſt at leaſt, in ſeveral Skirmiſhes, fifty-thouſand Men; for many Times they met about the Seeking of Victuals, and there fought it out: Many Times they encountered in Foraging, and getting Proviſion for their Horſes: Many Times their Courages were ſo exaſperated, that, with equal Encounters, and appointed Sallies, they returned Home again, finding the Iſſue nothing but Slaughter and Blood; and many Times they determined to deceive one another, by taking the Rivers, and paſſing the Fords, which ended not without Deſtruction, and Periſhing of whole Companies. As for ſet Battles, or one Day's Trial, by equal Agreement of both Parties, it never came to ſo formidable a Buſineſs, or remarkable Adventure; and therefore I cannot but wonder at the ſhameleſs Reports of ſtrange Men, and weak Certificates by Courants from foreign Parts, eſpecially to have them printed; to talk of ſo many Thouſands ſlain, the Prince killed, *Sigiſmond* defeated, and the whole Army put to Flight, when yet, as I ſaid, there was never any ſuch Matter, nor any ſet Battle fought.

Yet, although the *Polonians* had rather the Better, than the *Turks*, they did not run away ſo faſt with Proſperity, but they were ſubject to many Inconveniences, and they ſaw plainly the Wars were no *May-games*; for they endured both Hunger and Cold, Slackneſs of Payment, and their Entertainment came many Times ſhort.

The noble General died in the Camp, the Prince lay ſick of a Fever, their Horſe miſcarried, and other lamentable Effects taught them extraordinary Patience, which made them attend good Conditions of Peace; and, when they found they might be entertained, they were not ſcrupulous, or thought it any Diſparagement to propoſe the ſame.

When the Baſhaws were thus diſappointed (eſpecially *Mahomet* Baſhaw) who was ever an Enemy to the *Moldavian* Buſineſs, and that he ſaw the young Emperor every Way diſcontented, but eſpecially with himſelf; as blaming his own Unhappineſs, that he ſhould, in the firſt Trial of his Manhood, be ſo unfortunate, as to open the Door of Chriſtian Apprehenſion; that the *Ottoman* Fame was now at the higheſt, and the *Turkiſh* Empire ſubject to Diminution: He went another Way to work, and perſuaded the young Prince to make Trial of another Time, and Peace for the preſent; nay, he did talk of another Country, to which, when the *Turk* angerly replied, he would die firſt, he inforced the Argument, that it ſhould be to his Honour, and the *Polack* ſhould ſeek it with great Mediation.

It is ſaid, the young Emperor ſhed Tears, and was more afraid of his Diſreputation among his Soldiers, than glad of any Pacification of the preſent Troubles; yet Neceſſity had no Law, and he was, in the End, compelled to the propoſed Compoſition. But how? By a politick Contriving the Buſineſs, and ſecret Workings of more nimble Spirits; for preſently a Prieſt of *Moldavia* was ſet on Work to go among the *Polonians*, and, by Way of general Complaint againſt the outrageous Effects of War, to enlarge the Happineſs of Peace, and infer, what a Bleſſing it were to procure the ſame: Whereupon he was brought to the young Prince of *Poland*, and Commanders of the Army, with whom he at laſt prevailed ſo well, and ſo far, that they ſent a ſolemn Ambaſſy to the Great *Turk*, as he lay intrenched in the Fields, to intreat a Peace, and deſire the Renovation of the *Antiqua Pacta*, which had been ever between the two Nations. The *Turk* had learned his Leſſon ſo well, that he ſeemed to make the Matter ſtrange, and of great Humiliation, if he ſhould conſent thereunto, and rather a Courteſy granted, than a Neceſſity impoſed, and ſo deferred them a While, till at laſt (as if he had been overwrought by the Interceſſion and Mediation of his Baſhaws) he was contented to capitulate the Matter, and, after many Meetings, and a great deal of Conference, Articles were drawn, and confirmed with a Kind of Solemnity, and proclaimed by Sound of Trumpet in both the Camps.

But ſee the Condition of Men, and the Inconveniencies that great Emperors are ſubject unto; for all the Janiſaries themſelves neither durſt, nor could maintain the War any longer, and were indeed affronted with an over-maſtering Power, and an over-ruling Diſcipline of War: Yet they rather complained of the Emperor, as being unfortunate, than their own Cowardice, as being overmatched, and ſo broke up the Camp with a Kind of Murmuring and Repining. The Great *Turk* took eaſy Journies towards *Adrianople*, where he diſcharged the *Tartars*, and ſent moſt of his Janiſaries before-hand to *Conſtantinople*. *Sigiſmond*, King of *Poland*, raiſed his Army, and, rewarding the *Coſſacks*, diſmiſſed them Home again into their own Country; he went in Perſon to *Leopolis*, from whence (by this Time *Oſman* was come to the great City) and ſent a ſolemn Ambaſſador to be there a Lieger, as it had been in former Times.

By *Chriſtmas Oſman* comes Home, and had the accuſtomed Acclamations of the People, with all the Ceremonies of his Return; whereupon he goes in great Pomp to the *Sophia*, and had the uſual Guard of his Court, Janiſaries, to attend him: But, within ſhort Space, many fearful Accidents appalled them all, and ſuch a Miſchief followed, as they could not example by any Precedent. *Firſt*, they were aſtoniſhed at a blazing Comet, about which many Men did rave in the Interpretation. *Secondly*, they were affrighted at a great Fire happening among the *Jews*, which they preſaged ominous to the Government. *Thirdly*, a ſore Earthquake made their Hearts quake for Fear: But this is ſo uſual in thoſe Parts, by Reaſon of the Aſcending up the Hills, and many Caverns under Ground, that they needed not have made it, or taken it, for any Sign of Diſpleaſure. *Fourthly*, the Sea ſwelling extraordinarily, and the Wind from the South-weſt driving the Billows into the Corner of the Harbour, made ſuch a Noiſe and formidable Sound, as Catching the Tackle of the Ships and Gallies in its Whiſtling, that they were afraid even of common Accidents.

Laſt of all, and worſt of all, by Reaſon of the great Concourſe of People, and Reſort of Strangers, ſuch a Famine happened in the City, and Dearth in the Country, that every one complained; and, though it was remedileſs by the Policy of Man, yet was the Fault laid upon Superiors, and the Emperor himſelf did not eſcape Scandal and Calumniation.

For, while the Viſiers and principal Officers endeavoured the common Good, and ſtudied the Weal Publick, which could not be done, but by diſcharging the City of Multitudes of Inhabitants, all was interpreted to be done for their private Wealth, and ambitious Over-ruling of others; but, when it came to the Diſcharging of many Janiſaries and Soldiers out of the City, to live as it were in Gariſon in the Country, and that the Emperor was ſlack in their Donatives, and former Allowances out of his Treaſury; they ſtormed beyond Meaſure, and threatened the Viſiers and Baſhaws to have a better Account of the Buſineſs; crying out, They would not be quiet, till they were employed in one Service or other. To this the Viſier replied, That he wondered at their Baſeneſs and Audaciouſneſs, that, having failed in all their Enterpriſes, they durſt yet complain of any Accident, more than their own Cowardice. As for the Satisfying of wilful Men, they would not violate the Laws of Nations, or infringe the contracted Peace with other Kingdoms, to appeaſe the Mutinies of turbulent Spirits, who, if they might have their own Demands, knew not what to demand. As for yourſelves, what would you have? You know the Treaſury is exhauſted, and the Dearth is ſo great, that we have not ſufficient to buy us Bread; and, for your Murmurings and Repinings againſt the Majeſty of the Prince, as if he alone were branded with Misfortune, or born under ſome diſaſtrous Conſtellation; how can this be, that, with the ſame Hands, wherewith you boaſt you uphold the Empire, you will preſumptuouſly pull it in Pieces? But I ſee the Reaſon, this is for Lack of Diſcipline to make you know yourſelves; and ſo I cannot reſemble you better than unto ſtinking Weeds and Nettles, which, cruſhed hard, loſe their Force, and cannot hurt at all; but, gently handled, will ſting and endamage one.

Till this they were not much enraged, but now no Flames could exeſtuate more than their Fury and Ravings; for they dared to condemn the Viſiers, and cried out on their childiſh and unfortunate Emperor, that, having neither ſufficient Wit nor Courage to govern the State, muſt be over-ruled by ſuch, as made Policy, Covetouſneſs, and Ambition, the Supportation of their Greatneſs, and the commanding Voice to do what they liſt, without Controul; yea, ſuch was the refractory Diſobedience of them at this Time, that many offered to lay violent Hands both on himſelf and his Servants, and had not the Aga, or their Captain, come in to their Pacification, they had queſtionleſs begun a War of Miſchief, and inſolent Trouble.

Well, they are quieted all this Time; the Suſpicion of further Uproars and Miſchiefs made the whole City ſtand upon their Guard, and every Baſhaw ſtrengthened himſelf with as many Friends as he could; and the Viſiers, for Security of the Emperor, aſſembled the Cauſes, Cappagies, Spaheis, and Janiſaries of the Court, to guard the *Seraglio*, and watch the Paſſages. Now you muſt conſider, that there hath been ever Enmity and Emulation between theſe Janiſaries of the Palace, and Janiſaries at large; whereupon, when theſe underſtood, that they were appointed for Oppoſition, and ſaw plainly, that there was a Device to ſingle them out, that ſo they might be brought in Queſtion for their Mutinies; they reſolved, with *Heroſtratus*, that burnt the Temple of *Diana*, to perform ſome nefarious and notorious Outrage, to be remembered to Poſterity, or be regiſtered for an exorbitant Action; and ſo, in Multitudes paſt Belief, they ſet upon the Emperor's *Seraglio*, broke open the iron Gates, diſſipated the Guards, ſeized on the Women, and took as many Baſhaws as they could: But the chiefeſt Reaſon, why they offered this Outrage, is as followeth:

Sultan *Oſman* having taken out of the Treaſury of *Seven Towers* a good Quantity of Gold, and being therewith paſſed over into *Aſia*, with Reſolution to go unto *Mecca*: The great Mufti, his Father-in-Law, having laboured with all the Greateſt of the Court, whom it pleaſed not at all, that their Emperor, being ſo young, ſhould make ſo far and long a Voyage; not being able to remove him from his Reſolution, as he deſired, did, in Policy, ſpread a Rumour abroad, that the Emperor had taken ſo many Millions of Gold away with him, purpoſing therewith to make new Wars againſt his Enemies, notwithſtanding the ſmall Satisfaction he had given in the late Wars againſt *Poland*. Which coming to the Underſtanding of the Spahies and Janiſaries, they riſe, and in a Fury ran unto the Tower wherein Sultan *Muſtapha* was impriſoned, and, taking him thereout, ſaluted him Emperor, who was lawfully elected by the Father of *Oſman*. This coming to the Knowledge of the young Emperor, he ſent his Grand Viſier, and the Aga of his Janiſaries, to appeaſe the ſame, who were preſently ſlain by the Soldiers in their Fury. By which Accident the young Emperor, to remedy this Diſorder, being forced to come himſelf in Perſon, was inſtantly made Priſoner, and brought to the Preſence of his Uncle *Muſtapha*; who, having framed Judgment againſt him, cauſed him to be carried Priſoner to the ſame Tower where he himſelf had been Priſoner, and the Night following to be ſtrangled, with two of his Sons but lately born; which was moſt inhumanly commanded by *Muſtapha*, his own Uncle; who, for the more Security, to keep the Empire from another Uſurpation, cauſed it to be effected.

It is alſo written, that, although he condeſcended to deliver into their Hands all the chief Men they required, which were the Principalleſt of the *Ottoman* Court, who afterwards were all ſlain with the Sword; though he proffered them great Gifts, yea to increaſe their Stipends, and other Preferments; all could not avail, to aſſwage the Anger of the Soldiers.

It is further reported, that the Emperor had given in Charge to the Keeper of the Tower, that he ſhould ſuffer *Muſtapha* to die of Hunger, to avoid thoſe Diſgraces and Accidents which ſince had befallen him; and it ſeems he had already ſuſtained ſome Want of Food; for, ſo ſoon as he came to be ſet at Liberty by the People, he preſently cried out for Water, ſaying, He was ready to die of Thirſt, and that, if he had not come out of Priſon when he did, he preſently had yielded up his Life, being, as he ſaid, wonderfully preſerved by his God *Mahomet*.

When the young Emperor *Oſman* was brought to his Preſence, he kneeled on his Knees, and craved Pardon of him for his Life, as heretofore *Ottoman* had done the Like to him: But *Muſtapha* anſwered, ſaying, That Favour I have received cometh from Heaven, and not from your Hand.

He afterwards cauſed the Grand Mufti, the Great *Turk*'s Uncle, to be put to Death, who had formerly bereaved him of ſo great an Empire, and made him a *Maſul*, which is as much as to ſay, as a Man depoſed from his Office. He placed, in the Room of the dead Viſier, *Daut Paſcias*, a Man of great Wiſdom, and one that had demeaned himſelf well in Matters of greateſt Importance.

It is alſo ſaid, that the Death of the young Emperor is very ill taken by the Soldiers; for they deſired the Death of none of them, but that they might be reconciled, and govern them as their natural Lords and Princes, as they beſt could agree; and the rather, for that, by Reaſon of the Death of the aforeſaid *Oſman*, the whole Race of the *Ottomans* is extinguiſhed, if the two Children are put to Death, as is reported, for that Sultan *Muſtapha*, now Emperor, is held unable for Generation.

Others report, that Sultan *Oſman* was not as yet gone over into *Aſia*, but was upon Going, and that the Mufti, and other his Adherents, not being able to remove him from his Reſolution, did uſe this but as a Device to divert him, caſting this Rumour among the People, *viz.* the Spahies and the Janiſaries, as is aforeſaid, which happened to his Ruin, and a Declination and Ending of the *Ottoman* Empire.

To come to a Concluſion: Never was ſo violent an Act ſo ſuddenly performed, nor ſo quickly repented: For the Janiſaries ſtood amazed at their own Villainy, and, by Night, there was not a Man ſeen, that durſt juſtify their Treaſons; for they fled for the Preſent, no Man knew whither; and thoſe, which remained, were afraid to ſtand for the Glory of the Houſe of *Oſman*, but they would live and die in the Obedience of a worthy Emperor.

But how this Uproar ceaſed, or Tumult was appeaſed; what Offenders be taken, or how puniſhed; what Baſhaws be ſlain, or from whence others are admitted; by what Means the Doctors of the Law came together again, or whether they eſcaped; if you long to know, I long as much to inform you; which, if I may do, I will do, according to the next Certificate that comes.

A Diſcourſe upon prodigious Abſtinence*, occaſioned by the twelve Months Faſting of *Martha Taylor*, the famed *Derbyſhire* Damſel: Proving that, without any Miracle, the Texture of human Bodies may be ſo altered, that Life may be long continued without the Supplies of Meat and Drink. With an Account of the Heart, and how far it is intereſted in the Buſineſs of Fermentation. By *John Reynolds*. Humbly offered to the Royal Society. *London*, printed by *R. W.* for *Nevil Simmons*, at the Sign of the *Three Crowns* near *Holbourn* Conduit; and for *Dorman Newman*, at the *Surgeons Arms* in *Little-Britain*, 1669. *Quarto*, containing thirty-ſeven Pages, beſides the Title and Dedication.

To the deſervedly famous and my honoured Friend, *Walter Needham*, Doctor of Phyſick, as alſo a Member of, and Curator Elect to the *Royal Society*.

SIR,

IT were a Soleciſm of the firſt Magnitude to entertain you with any Thing like a Narrative of the Superennial Faſt, under all the Havocks and Depredations whereof the Derbyſhire *Damſel hath hitherto been ſuſtained, though emaciated thereby into the Ghaſtlineſs of a Skeleton, to the great Aſtoniſhment of the* Vulgus. *Your Correſpondencies are ſo faithful, and your Circumſtances ſo advantageous, as wholly to ſuperſede the Neceſſity of my engaging in, and the Poſſibility of my gratifying you, by ſuch a Province. However, indulge me, while bemoaning myſelf, the Liberty to tell you, that, concerning the* Phænomena's *attending this prodigious Abſtinence, my own Thoughts have been ſo miſerably ravelled, and my ſcanty Intellectuals ſo much overmatched thereby, that I could not with any Complacency look into thoſe, nor with any Delight conſult theſe. A juſt Reverence to Reformed* Theologues, *aſſerting a total Ceſſation of Miracles, forbade me to immure myſelf in any ſuch ſupernatural Aſylum; and a prejudicate Opinion of human Bodies, in this animal State, allowed me not to eurefuge my fluctuating Mind in Phyſical Cauſes clubbing together, by an anomalous Copulation, to ingender ſo great an Heteroclite. While thus loſt in the Chaos of confuſed Apprehenſions, and ſmarting under the Hurricane of my own tumultuary Thoughts, I hurry away to a very worthy and compaſſionate Friend, who with a little Deliberation runs through the Diagnoſticks of my Malady, pitieth my Caſe, and, after ſome ſharp Conflicts with his own Modeſty, affords the Relief of a Philoſophical* Elixir *(for ſo I call the enſuing Diſcourſe) wholly transferring the Right, which he had in the happy Reſults of his own Contemplations, upon me. Now (Sir!)*

---

* This is the 55th Number in the Catalogue of Pamphlets, in the *Harleian* Library.

what by much Importunity I extorted from him, for my own private Satisfaction, I make bold to tender the World a View of, under the Countenance and Protection of your great Name, which is not only able to ſecure it from the Critical Pharaphraſes of an envious Age, but alſo to command it the Juſtice of an unprejudicate Peruſal, with ſuch as know your Worth. To my own Grief, I have found it much an Anodyne; or as a pleaſant Lullaby to my whimpering Fancy; the Iſſue of all hath been Reſt: Not knowing, but it may miniſter the like ſeaſonable Relief to others, who have not Wit and Philoſophy enough to ſtart any greater Objections, than myſelf; I judged it worthy to travel the World. The Confidence, wherein I ſeek to intitle you to the Patrociny of it, is no leſs than an Aſſurance of your benign Nature, ſingular Ingenuity, and obliging Goodneſs, which have begotten and pupilled in me that Perſuaſion, ever ſince I had the Happineſs and Honour to know you. Beſides, your clearer Intellectuals, and your vaſt Acquaintance with Nature's recondite Myſteries, made it wholly incongruous to adopt any other the Object of this Dedication. I do ſtill remember, with the deepeſt Reſentments of a grateful Heart, the happy Diſtinction betwixt Parts Spermatick and Parts Hematick, wherewith in Pity you relieved me, when anxiouſly enquiring, upon a religious Account, after the Principium Individuationis *in Human Bodies; a Notion (as to me it ſeems) more able to reſcue the grand Article of our Creed concerning the Reſurrection of the ſame individual Body from under Suſpicion, and the many groſs Abſurdities, that ſome Philoſophaſters, and half-witted Atheiſts, would fain clog it with, than any Offerture of human Reaſon, that I ever yet had the Happineſs to meet with! Here (methinks I could break forth into an* εὕρηκα, *and congratulate my great, though late, Felicity, that the* εἶδος χαρακτηρίζον τὸ σῶμα) *as* Origen, *in one Senſe or other, calls it) the Principle maintaining a Numerical Identity in human Bodies, through the whole Series of Viciſſitudes, Changes, and* Sanctorian *Tranſmutations, betwixt the Uterine Formation, and the ultimate Reunition of Soul and Body, ſhould, after many a tedious Search, and fruſtraneous Diſquiſition, at laſt, be ſuggeſted by an Hand able, in the Maintenance of it, to grapple with any Contradictor. In this you have ſatified not only my Reaſon, but my Curioſity too; and therefore, Sir, ſo great is my Opinion of your Skill* (abſit omnis adulationis ſuſpicio !) *that, whatever* Dogma *ſteps Abroad with your Name written upon it, I could almoſt ſurrender up myſelf as a perfect Captive to it, were I not a Man, and which is more a Proteſtant, upon an implicit Faith! But I have, I know not well how, digreſſed, and ſtepped aſide into Things heterogeneous to the Purport of this Dedicatory Addreſs. I therefore return to my ingenious Friend's Diſcourſe, upon which, were my Judgment in theſe Matters worth any Thing, I could afford to be liberal in the Beſtowance of my Encomiums. But, as it is ſhrouded under your Patronage, ſo it is ſubmitted to your Cenſure; (this I am bold to do, knowing the Author ſo much an Admirer of you, that he cannot reluctate) whether more worthy of your Pity or your Approbation, none can better judge, than your diſcerning and deſerving Self. Therefore, ſuch as it is, I leave it to your Mercy; and beg Leave to tell you, that I ſhould preſently fall out with myſelf, did I not, upon a faithful Scrutiny, find myſelf in the Number of thoſe that really love and honour you.*

Farewel.

Worthy Sir,

YOUR Requeſts to take into Conſideration the ſo much famed prodigious Twelve-months Abſtinence of the *Derbyſhire* Maid, having the Force of Commands, have produced theſe lean Reſults of the impoſed Meditations. It cannot be unknown to a Perſon of your large Endowments, and hot Purſuit after ſubſtantial Science, that both Divines, Medicks, Hiſtorians, yea, Poets and Legenders, have preſented the Learned World with a great Variety of wonderful Abſtinents, ſome whereof I ſhall briefly recite, as well to reſerve your ſliding Time for more noble Employments, as to manifeſt that our Contemporary *Derbenſe* is not ſo ſingular as ſome may imagine.

Moſt certain it is, that the [*] learned *Moſes* [†] faſted forty Days, and as many Nights, whilſt he abode on the *burning Mount*; the great [‡] *Elijah* went as long in the Strength of a Meal, and no leſs was the Faſt of the [‖] holy *Jeſus*. [§] St. *Auſtin* reports, that, in his Time, one ſurvived forty Days Faſting: But moſt ſtrange is the Story fathered on [**] *Nicephorus*, of three Brethren affrighted by Perſecution into a Cave, where they ſlept Three-hundred and ſeventy-three Years, as was known by the Coin they produced, when they awaked. The learned [††] *Fernelius* ſaith, he ſaw a pregnant Woman that lived two Months without Meat or Drink. [‡‡] *Zacutus Luſitanus* reports, that at *Venice* there lived a Man that faſted forty Days, another there forty-ſix Days; and from *Langius* and *Forſtius*, two conſiderable Writers, another, full three Years, and that with juſt Stature, good Habit, free Countenance, and youthful Wit. The famous [‖‖] *Sennertus* is copious in ſuch Stories; he relates from *Sigiſmundus* and *Citeſius*, a Perſon, he ſaith, worthy of Credit, that the People of *Lucomoria*, inhabiting ſome Mountains in *Muſcovy*, do every Year die, in a Sort, or rather, ſleep or freeze, like Frogs or Swallows, on *November* 27, and ſo continue in that rigid State till *April* 24; in which Time they uſe no Evacuation, ſave only that a tenuious Humour, diſtilling from their Noſtrils, is preſently condenſed by the ambient Cold, much like to Iſicles, by the which thoſe patent Pores are precluded, and the moſt endangered Brain fortified againſt the fatal Aſſaults of brumal Extremities. The ſame *Sennertus* rehearſes a Story of a Virgin at *Padua*, from *Viguntia*, Profeſſor there, who, *Anno* 1598, was afflicted with a Fever, then a Tumour, then Arthritick Pains, and Pains in the Ventricle, and whole Abdomen; then with Vomiting and Nauſeating of Food, till, at laſt, ſhe could take no Food for two Months; then, after another Fit of Vomiting, Purging, and Bleeding, ſhe faſted eight Months, and, after a little Uſe of Food, ſhe faſted two Months more. And, to be ſhort, he ſtories it of three Perſons that faſted each two Years, one three Years, another four, one ſeven, another fifteen, another eighteen, and one twenty; yea, one twenty-nine, another thirty, another thirty-ſix, and one forty Years. Famous is the Story, perhaps Fiction, being Poetical, of [§§] *Epimenides* (whoſe Words St. *Paul* is thought to cite in his Epiſtle to *Titus*, Κρῆτες ἀεὶ ψεῦσται) whom ſome report to have ſlept ſeventeen Years, ſome ſeventy-ſeven Years together: But enough of Story; thoſe, that are deſirous to read more, are referred to Marcellus Donat. *Lib.* iv. *de Med. Hiſt. Mirab. c.* 12. Schenk *Lib.* iv. *Obſerv.* Guaguinus, *Lib.* iii. *Hiſt.* Franc. Petrarch. *Lib.* iii. *de Mirabil. c.* 22. Portius *de Hiſt. Puellæ German. Uſpergenſis in Chron.* Lentulus *in Hiſt. Admir.* Apol. Baccius *Lib. de Vini Nutritione.* Bozius *Lib.* xi. *c.* 4. *de Signis Eccl.* Fulgoſius, *Lib.* i. *c.* 6. Leſſæus, *Lib.* ix. *Hiſt. Scot.* Favorinus *apud* Gellium, *Lib.* xvi. *c.* 3. and eſpecially *Licetus* that wrote a particular Tract to ſolve the *Phænomena* of this Prodigy.

Now, Sir, it would be our Ambition to advance towards the ſame noble Work, were it not our Duty to ſerve thoſe a While that blot all theſe Stories with one Daſh of Unbelief: That Pen certainly drops Blaſphemy, that dares to raſe the ſacred Records; and that Uncharitableneſs which preſumes to write *Falſhood* upon all human Teſtimonies; they that aſſent to nothing, not confirmed by *Autopſia*, are unfit to converſe in human Societies; for how can I expect that any Body ſhould believe me, whilſt I myſelf will believe no Body? It is an Argument of an empty Brain, to preſume to comprehend all Things, and thereupon to reject thoſe Things, from an Exiſtence in the World, that have not their Science in its Intellectuals. Many Things foreign and ſtrange may well be admitted on good Teſtimonies, ſince the moſt obvious Objects are ſcarce pervious to the moſt Eagle-eyed Philoſopher; witneſs the Miſtakes diſcovered by *Deſcartes*, *Gaſſendus*, &c. in *Ariſtotle* himſelf, one of the moſt ſublimated Wits in all the Republick of Natural Philoſophy; and likewiſe the Spots in *Hippocrates* and *Galen*, thoſe Mirrors in Medicine, modeſtly pointed at by our famous *Harvey*, *Gliſſon*, *Willis*, &c. but, further to ſatisfy theſe incredulous Perſons, it is affirmed, that ſome of theſe Abſtinents have been * watched by the moſt wakeful Eyes and jealous Ears, to detect their Fraud, if guilty of any; as was that Maid that refuſed all Food, except only Water, for three Years, by *Bucoldianus*, with whom ſhe abode for twelve Days, at the Command of *Ferdinand* the Emperor; ſo that *Apollonia Schrejerana* was taken by the Senate of *Bern*, and put into the Hoſpital of their Town, and there watched till they were ſatisfied in the Truth of her total Abſtinence.

---

[*] Καὶ ἐπαιδεύθη Μωσῆς πάσῃ σοφίᾳ Αἰγυπτίων. *Acts* vii. 22. [†] *Exod.* xxxiv. 28.

[‡] 1 *Kings* xix. 8. [‖] *Matt.* iv. 2. [§] *Auguſt.* in Epiſt. 86. ad *Caſulanum.*

[**] *Nicephor.* Lib. xiv. Cap. 45. [††] *Fernel.* Lib. vi. Patholog. Cap. 1.

[‡‡] *Zac. Luſit.* de Medic. Princ. Hiſt. *p.* 914. [‖‖] *Sennert.* Pract. Lib. iii. Par. 1. Sect. ii. Cap. 2. de longâ Abſtin. p. 383. [§§] Vid. *Sennert.* ubi ſupra. *Zac. Luſit.* ubi ſupra. *Plutarch.* in Sympoſ. & Lib. de Facie in Orb. Lunæ.

But enough to theſe that cut the Knot to ſave the Trouble of untying it; yet I may not ſtep aſide to thoſe in the contrary Extream, that believe a Century of ſuch Reports, with a Faith almoſt as miraculous as theſe Miracles themſelves, for ſo they ſeem to them: But, Sir, as it is human Infidelity to diſbelieve all ſuch Reports, becauſe ſome are falſe, ſo it is ſuperſtitious Charity to believe all, becauſe ſome are true. Some Perſons, as ſcant in their Reading, as they are in their Travels, are ready to deem every Thing ſtrange to be a Monſter, and every Monſter a Miracle; true it is, the Faſt of *Moſes*, *Elijah*, and the Incarnate Word, was miraculous, and poſſibly of ſome others; yet why we ſhould make all Miracles, I underſtand not; for what Need have we now of Miracles? Since ſuch ſupernatural Operations † are for them that believe not, not for them that believe, as witneſſeth that ‡ celeſtial Philoſopher St. *Paul*; and thence we infer, Beings are not to be multiplied without Neceſſity. Moreover, to what End are ſuch Miracles wrought? Certainly, the infinitely wiſe Operator labours not for Nought; therefore theſe Abſtinents, if miraculous, ſhould confirm ſome Doctrine rejected, or refute ſome Error received; infranchiſe ſome Saints oppreſſed, ſubvert ſome Wickedneſs exalted, foretel ſome extraordinary Events and Iſſues of Providence to be performed, or for ſome other End, at which Miracles have been uſually levelled; but not a Cry of theſe from moſt of our Abſtinents; moreover, the Faſt of our bleſſed Saviour and his *Prodromi* procured not the leaſt Detriment to their Health, but it is otherwiſe with moſt of theſe.

Near of Kin to theſe Miracle-mongers are thoſe that ſuppoſe theſe pretended Faſters to be inviſibly fed by Angels; but it is incredible that ſuch a Favour ſhould be ſhewn to Perſons of no known Sanctity, as ſome of theſe (reported to be *Ethnicks*) were; moreover, either this Food was viſible, or inviſible; if viſible, it is ſtrange, that vigilant Obſervers, and jealous Suſpecters, could neither diſcover the Ingreſs at the Fore-door, nor the excrementitious Egreſs at the Back-door; but, if it were inviſible, then altogether incongruous to our Bodies, and therefore miraculous; of which before. Neither is it of eaſy Credibility, that Food ſhould be ſupplied by Dæmons poſſeſſing them; for we read of no Footſteps of ſuch a Poſſeſſion in the Story, and it would be ſtrange if the Devil ſhould grow ſo modeſt as to content himſelf with a ſingle Trophy of a captivated Rational; and as ſtrange, that a cloven Foot ſhould make ſuch Inroads, and not leave a doubled, yea redoubled Impreſſion. Couſingermans to theſe are the Preſumers that the Faſters are dead, and acted by Dæmons; but this Notion is alſo incongruous, not only to their Tranſmigration, from Feeding to Faſting, without any Shew of a Diſſolution, but alſo to their Regreſs from Faſting to Feeding (as it happened to ſome of theſe) and Health again.

And as for the Admirers of occult Philoſophy, who reſolve theſe Phraſes into the Effects of occult Qualities, we only repoſe, that, though an Antipathy to this or that Food, and poſſibly to all Food, may cauſe Abſtinence; yet, without Food, I cannot underſtand how it gives Suſtenance; but others attribute all this to the Influence of celeſtial Bodies, whoſe Operations I deny not to be great on ſublunary Wights; yet it is not imaginable, that this univerſal Cauſe, diffuſing its Energy ſo promiſcuouſly, ſhould now and then in a Century, here and there in a Country, produce ſuch ſtupendious Effects, without ſome univerſal Preparation and Prediſpoſition of Bodies to determine its general Efficacy to the Production of ſuch a Prodigy; but, as the Former affect Darkneſs, and theſe an inviſible Light, we leave them to their Retirements, whilſt we hunt the more perceptible Prints of Nature's Progreſs in theſe anomalous Productions.

---

* *Sennert.* ubi ſupra.

† 1 *Cor.* xiv. 22.

‡ 2 *Cor.* xii. 3.

By this Time, Sir, I hope you will grant that the old inconvenient and tottering Building is, in a Meaſure, demoliſhed, the Rubbiſh removed, and the Ground cleared; let us now propound the Neceſſities and Conveniencies, the Ends and Uſes by our new Building to be ſupplied and attained; and then we will fall to the Architecture itſelf; I mean, let us conſider, what the Defect of Aliment doth require for the Support of human Life. *1ſt.* The natural Evacuations, by Urine, Stool, Salivation, Terms, and Tranſpiration, are ſo laviſh, that, without Reparation by Feeding, it ſeems impoſſible to avoid a ſudden Diſſolution. *2dly,* How ſhall natural Heat be preſerved from Extinction without a conſtant Feeding on the radical Moiſture? And how ſhall this oleaginous Humour be ſecured from a nimble Conſumption, if it receive not Additions from Feeding? *3dly,* How ſhall Fermentation be continued in the Blood without new Additions of Chyle? And how ſhall Chyle be added, if no Food is received? *4thly,* How ſhall there be a Supply of vital Spirits, and conſequently of animal, without Food and Fermentation? *5thly,* How can Life conſiſt without Sleep? And how ſhall we attain Sleep, without aſcending Fumes to the Brain from ingeſted Food?

For a Foundation, I ſhall premiſe a few Severals: 1. The long Finger of powerful Providence is undoubtedly to be obſerved in the Production of theſe wonderful Effects; though theſe be not advanced to the Zenith of Divine Miracles, wrought by the immediate Hand of Omnipotency, yet the firſt Cauſe muſt be acknowledged in the Proportioning, Marſhalling, Dividing, Uniting, and Actuating of concurrent ſubordinate ſecond Cauſes for ſuch heteroclite Productions; *Plato* himſelf could ſay, γεομετρεῖ ὁ Θεὸς, and the admirable Dr. *Willis* acknowledges, that Nature's Parent orders natural [*] Principles as to their Quantity and Mixture, and conſequently as to their Operations.

2. It is very evident, that, when higher Cauſes ſhall disjoin what Nature uſually conjoineth, and *vice verſâ*, and exalt one Principle and depreſs another, then very aſtoniſhing Reſults appear upon the Stage of human Bodies; ſuch is the ſtupendious Voracity of ſome *Helluo's*, the monſtrous Digeſtion of your *Lithophagi*, the ſtrange Metamorphoſis of your Sanguineans into Midnight Melancholy, and of lucid Intellectuals into piceous Mopiſhneſs, &c.

1. Now to ſupply the Defect of Food in its moſt uſeful Reſtoration of what by daily Evacuations the Body is deprived of; as I need not compute the vaſt Expence of the Microcoſm by Stool, Urine, Spitting, and Terms, theſe being vulgarly known; ſo neither of the tranſcendent Loſs by Tranſpiration, reckoned by [†] *Sanctorius* to preponderate all the reſt; all which exact conſtant Additions to be made by Aliment, without which the Body would quickly be depopulated. But 1. Let it be conſidered, that this Perſon (as it is moſt credibly reported) empties nothing by Urine or Stool; and, it is probable, next to nothing by Salivation or Tranſpiration; not by Salivation through a conſiderable Defect of Drinks; nor by Tranſpiration, becauſe, wanting Food, there is a partial Defect of Fermentation in the Blood, and thence of natural Heat, and ſo, by the Coldneſs of the Parts, the Pores are precluded, and the Diaphoreſis impeded; whence it will follow, that, where the Parts are duly warm, and the Pores patent, there the more active Principles are apt to take Flight; yet, where the the Parts are cold, and the Pores corked up, there it is otherwiſe; as generous Wines and ſubtile Spirits, left in open Veſſels, will quickly bid Adieu to their more volatile and briſk Principles;

---

[*] Si hujuſmodi limitationis cauſa inquiratur, dicimus, quod naturæ Parens poſuit in primogenio cujuſque rei ſemine talem ſpiritus ſalis & ſulphuris copiam quæ producendis ultimis croporum ſtaminibus, ſeu lineamenti, ſufficeret. *Willis* de Ferment. p. 48, 49.

[†] *Sanctorius* de Staticâ Medicina.

ciples ; yet, if ſhut up in ſafe Veſſels, theſe Fugitives are impriſoned and kept to their daily Offices : The ſame is verified in aqueous Humours, which (our Kitchens as well as Laboratories experiment) quickly evaporate through intenſe ſubjacent Heats, but not without, and ſo it is here. Thus, theſe plentiful Evacuations being ſuppreſſed, Reſtoration by Food is rendered leſs neceſſary : Yet, leſt you ſhould dread from this Hypotheſis a ſuffocating Maſs of excrementitious Humours to aſſault the Heart, *&c.* I therefore ſubjoin, that a Defect of nutritious Aſſumptions muſt needs precede a Defect of Humours ; moreover, the Blood commands much of theſe remaining Humours for its own Chariot Uſe ; neither may it ſeem diſſonant to Reaſon, that the Ventricle and ſome of the Inteſtines are uſed as a Receptacle of the more tartarous and terreſtrial Feculencies ; as Embryo's, though they receive large Quantities of liquid Nutriment, yet there is ſeldom obſerved the leaſt Excretion by the Fundament, but a Retention of a Quantity of excrementitious Terreſtreities in the Inteſtines, during their whole Abode in their maternal Cells ; likewiſe, in fermenting Liquors, the more active Principles do precipitate the more ſluggiſh to the Bottoms, Chinks, and Walls of their Continents ; further it cannot be denied, that, by Expiration, there is a conſiderable Evacuation, as appears both by the Heat of our Breath, and its Moiſture, which is diſcovered by the Reception of it into any concavous Body. But 2. admit that there is ſome Waſte either by Salivation or Tranſpiration, yet theſe, being ſmall, produce only a lingering Conſumption, which doth often conſiſt for many Years with a declining Life : Such as our Virgin's is.

2. How ſhall natural Heat be preſerved, if not fed by Oil, continually ſupplied and renewed by Aliment? There are, Sir, divers Opinions touching human Ignicles, and therefore it highly concerns us to proceed cautiouſly : It cannot be denied, that there is a potential Heat, more or leſs, in all human Bodies, which is the *Calor mixti*, remaining, when we are dead and key-cold ; ſuch as is the Heat of Sulphur, Arſenick, *&c.* though in a great Allay. This appears from Chymical Operations on Man's Blood, by which it is forced to acknowledge its Endowments with Spirits and volatile Salts in great Quantities, and ſome Sulphur alſo. Likewiſe, it muſt be granted, that there is an actual Heat abiding in us, whilſt we live, and ſome While after Death : This is obvious to the Senſe of Feeling itſelf ; this is the Heat, as I conceive, joined with the primogenite Humour, to which *Ariſtotle* aſcribes Life itſelf. But yet, Sir, I am ſomewhat doubtful, whether this Heat be properly called *Calor vivens*, though the great * *Riverius* term it ſo ; or an immediate Cauſe of Life, though an *Ariſtotle* pronounce it ſo ; for, certainly, holy Scripture aſcribes Life to the Blood, *The Blood is the Life thereof* ; and Death to a Diſſolution of the *Compoſitum*, *The Body returns to the Duſt, and the Spirit to God that gave it.* But of this Diſſolution, I ſuppoſe, the Soul is not ordinarily the Cauſe, but the Body ; and, What Part of the Body may more juſtly be challenged to be the Parent, if I may ſo phraſe it, of Death, than the Blood, which is, in a famous Senſe, the Parent of Life ; So, then, † moſt killing Diſtempers muſt ariſe from the exceſſive Multiplication, Conſumption, or Depravation of the Blood, and the pernicious Effects thereof ; yet, miſtake me not, this hinders not other Parts of the Body, Bowels, and Humours to be often peccant, as undoubtedly they are, by infecting the Blood, and receiving Infections morbifick from it. Moreover, this Heat continues ſome Hours without Life, even after the Diſſolution ; and, as it is without Life, ſo is Life often found without it, as, not only in ſome Vegetables, as, Lettuce, Hemlock, Cucumbers, *&c.* but in Animals, as, Frogs and Fiſh, which are ſaid to be actually cold, and the Salamander, reputed cold in a high Degree. This Heat may, poſſibly, be but the Effect of Matter and Motion, *i. e.* of the Blood, or, before it, of the Seed impregnated with active Principles, which, through their Activity and Heterogeneity, ſuffer mutual Colliſions, or Fermentations, whence Ebullition ; and thence this Heat, which is, by Circulation, not only promoted, but alſo conveyed to all Parts of the Body, and by the ſame Cauſes preſerved ; which, poſſibly, may prove the Sum of ‡ *Riverius*'s implanted and influent Heat. Theſe Things preſuppoſed, it

---

* *Riverii* Inſtit. Med. Lib. i. Sect. 4. c. 3. de Calido innato. Ἐςὶ μονὴ τῆς θρεπτικῆς σὺν τῷ θερμῷ. *Ariſt.* de Reſpirat. † *Willis* de Morb. Convulſ. p. 175. *Needham* de formato Fœtu, p. 138. *Loweri* Diatribæ, p. 115. *Fernel.* de Abdit. Lib. ii. c. 7. ‡ *Riverius*, ubi ſupra.

will not be impoſſible to gueſs, that this Heat is no ſuch celeſtial Fire, as the moſt famous *Fernelius* would have it, but only the igneous Reſult of the Combinations and Commotions of the moſt active elementary Principles; and, if there be any other Heat, it may prove to be, according to the Conjecture of the great *Riverius*, the Product of the immaterial Soul: But of that I underſtand little; only this is unqueſtionable, That the celeſtial Soul chuſeth, for its more immediate Organs, the moſt ſubtiliated, ſpirituous, and active Parts of Matter, ſuch as the vital and animal Spirits, and the Heat beforementioned, which ſeems to be of the ſame Genius, and all but the mechanick Productions of various Fermentations, Percolations, and Diſtillations in the human Engine: Wherefore I ſhall crave Leave to diſmiſs this Fire, till we come to diſcourſe of Fermentations.

And ſo I paſs on to the next Flame; which is the *Biolychnium*, or the actual Flame of the Blood kindled in the Heart, aſſerted both by Ancients and Moderns of aſtoniſhing Titles and tremendous Veneration; which devouring Flame, if once kindled, will quickly depredate all the oleaginous Aliment, if not renewed by frequent and plentiful Aſſumptions: But, therefore, it is greatly ſuſpected to have no Exiſtence in our Bodies, becauſe, in theſe Jejunants, it muſt needs extinguiſh, for Want of ſulphureous Supplies, and produce Death to thoſe that have lived long enough to help to entomb it. It is ſtrange to me, that provident Nature ſhould require ſuch vaſt Supplies, both of Meat and Drink, out of which to extract a ſmall Quantity of nutritious Juice; which, with divers Ferments, Colatures, Emunctories, and rapid Motions, it endeavours to exalt and defæcate; and yet, after all, ſhould expoſe what ſhe hath attained of Purity and Activity, and conſequently of nobleſt Uſe, by her unparalleled Artifices, Coſt, and Toil, to the improvident Diſpoſal of waſteful Flames; for, indeed, Flames are great Waſters, as appears in the Preparation of the Balſam of Sugar, *&c.* No leſs wonderful is it, that a Flame ſhould continually burn in the Heart, and yet the fleſhly Walls thereof not boiled, roaſted, nor ſo much as a fuliginous, or cineritious Colour imparted. But, leſt, Sir, you ſhould be confident, that this perennial Flame ſcorns an Extinction by theſe few Drops, I therefore commend to your Obſervation thoſe numerous and plentiful Buckets, that are poured thereupon by the dexterous Hand of the very learned and * candid Dr. *Needham*. But yet, leſt you ſhould be ſo far prepoſſeſſed, by the Determinations of venerable Antiquity, as to reject this new Doctrine, and avowedly maintain this unſeen Fire, I ſhall therefore add, 1. That this Flame can be but ſmall, through the Defect of bodily Exerciſe, and freer Ventilations (theſe Faſters being moſtly cloſe Priſoners) as alſo of ſtrong Fermentations; therefore, the leſs the Lamp, the leſs Oil will ſuſtain it. 2. Through the Defect of Heat, the Pores are bolted, and Tranſpiration reſtrained; whence a ſcarce credible Quantity of Moiſture is retained, which, returning both by Veins and Lymphaticks, gives no contemptible Quantity of Food to this Fire. 3. Through the Reſtraint of Tranſpiration, the igneous Particles are ſecured from their Excurſions, to the great Increaſe of inteſtine Heat; for, in Feeders, the Loſs of Tranſpiration often kindles in the Blood a feveriſh Fire. 4. The Air (as impregnated ſometimes eſpecially) entering by the Mouth, the Noſe, and Pores, in Parts paſſing the various Concoctions, may be converted into a Humour not altogether unapt to preſerve the lingering Life of this dying Flame. 5. In pituitous Bodies, the Abundance of Phlegm, through the various Concoctions which it undergoes in the Body, may become uſeful, in the Room of more proper Aliment, to this analogous Lamp in its Table-ſupplies: Which Phlegm though ſome reject as excrementitious, yet, I ſuppoſe, they do it only, when Conſideration is from Home of its Uſefulneſs in the Maſtication of our Food, wherein, as ſome ſay, lies the firſt Concoction; at leaſt, therein lies the main Preparation for the grand Concoction in the Ventricle: The conſtant Mixture of our Food with our Spittle, in the Jaw-mill, may force ſome conſidering Men to think, that it is nearer of Kin to our natural Moiſture, than hath been formerly acknowledged. 6. The Colliquation of the Parts of theſe emaciated Bodies may yield Oil to theſe Lamps, as it is uſually affirmed in Hectick Fevers: Beſides, if Fire be nothing but an innumerable Hoſt of ſulphureous Atoms, breaking the Priſons of their former Compoſitions with other Heterogeneities, * then, certainly, all Fire is αὐτοφαγὴς, for nothing of that Sulphur remains; it leaves only the heterogeneous Principles, with which it was combined. 7. It is probable, that the Moiſture of theſe jejune Bodies is much not only condenſed by their Cold, but alſo loaded with Terreſtreities, thro' the Non-reception of Aliment impregnated with active Principles; whereby it is rendered more durable in this Flame; as Oils, the more impure, thick, and clammy they are, the leſs fiercely they burn; but, the more tenuious and ſpirituous, the more nimbly do they flame, and expeditiouſly conſume: As my Face and Hair did ſadly experiment, upon the unexpected and ſudden Conflagration of a Quantity of the Oil of Turpentine, as I, not long ſince, drew it from the Fire; I dare ſay, the Turpentine itſelf would not, or rather could not, have ſerved me ſo. 8. This Moiſture, being drawn from more jejune Principles (as, Air, Phlegm, and Lympha) † is the leſs impregnated with nitro-ſulphureous Particles, and therefore leſs inflammable; as, in oligophorous Wines, where the Spirit and Sulphur are greatly exhaled, and with a Quality abundantly dilated, there Fire ſlowly burns. 9. It is probable, that the Craſis of theſe Bodies is ſo altered, by the Predominancy of fixed Salts not duly actuated by powerful Fermentations, that they much retard the Conſumption of Oil by this vital Fire; as, if Quick-lime, Sope, or other ſaline Concretes be added to Wax, or Tallow, they will (ſay Chymiſts) make a Candle of far greater Duration than ordinary. Strange is that Story of St. ‡ *Auguſtine*, who reports a Lamp to be found in the Temple of *Venus*, that no Storms could extinguiſh; yet much more ſtrange was that Torch, reported ‖ to have burnt Fifteen-hundred and fifty Years, in the Tomb of *Tullia*, *Cicero*'s Daughter, which being expoſed to the Air, by the Opening of the Tomb, was quickly extinguiſhed: Now, if our Humours ſhould chance to attain the Diſpoſition of theſe ancient Oils, they might ſupply the *Biolychnium* long enough. 10. Or, if theſe fixed Salts ſhould attain Fluidity, as it is probable they have done, becauſe ſome of theſe Abſtinents were of melancholick Complexions §, then the ſulphureous Parts of the Humours would be ſo fettered and oppreſſed thereby, that they could not ſo quickly burſt from under the Yoke into violent Flames, but by Degrees, and leiſurably, as they could diſentangle themſelves; from whence will ariſe a more durable, though leſs forceable Fire. *Laſtly*, It ſeems probable, that extraneous Particles of Fire may be conveyed into a Body, and therein lodged, which ſhall afterwards cauſe Heats to kindle therein. That igneous Particles paſs from one Body to another, ſeems a Matter of daily Experience; for it is not eaſy to demonſtrate, how our Bodies are warmed by their Approach to the Fire, if there be not fiery Effluviums from the burning Matter, that enters our Bodies; and, that theſe fiery Atoms, thus lodged in a foreign Body, may afterwards, by Water, Air, or the like, break forth into a conſiderable Heat, is very imaginable; as in Quick-lime, which, before it is burnt, is not at all ſubject to Combuſtions by Air, or Water; but, when it hath endured the Kiln-fire, then it is readily kindled by the Addition of almoſt any Humidity: Which Humidities may not be ſuppoſed directly to contribute to the Kindling of the Atoms, but to the Diſſolving of the Concrete, and, thereby, the Diſentangling of the Atoms; whereupon they fly out into a conſiderable Heat; like whereunto is that Powder **, boaſted by Chymiſts, to take Flame in your Hands, by the only Addition of Spittle. Thus, Sir, having tendered a ſlender Repaſt for your antique Lamp, I crave Leave to attend the more modern Hypotheſis of famed Fermentation.

---

* *Needham* de formato Fœtu, p. 129, &c.

Thirdly, How ſhall Fermentation be continued in the Blood, without the Addition of Chyle? And how can Chyle be added, without Food aſſumed? It is the Opinion of ingenious †† *Henſhavius*, That Fermentation is cauſed by the Addition of Chyle to the Blood in the Heart, like that of Wine by the Adding of Muſt; from whence doth ariſe (he ſaith) a Neceſſity of frequent Feeding; which the excellent ‡‡ Dr. *Needham* ſeems much to approve. And both the incomparable * *Willis* and ingenious † *Caſtle* cite *Hogeland* for Aſcribing Heat to a Fermentation in the Heart, like to that which happens upon the Pouring of Spirit of Nitre on Butter of Antimony. *Reſp.* Now, Sir, to help us out at this dead Lift alſo, I ſhall take Notice of the ſeveral Opinions of the Learned, touching the Cauſes of Fermentation. *Firſt*, There is a Ferment placed in the Heart itſelf by the great ‡ *Willis* and his *Hypaſpiſtes*, the dexterous Anatomiſt Dr. *Lower* ‖, with Dr. *Caſtle* §, and other renowned Aſſertors of Fermentation. This, Sir, would ſerve us eximiouſly to ſupply the Defect of new Chyle, if it were but ſufficiently evinced; but, I muſt confeſs ingenuouſly, though (as it is not unknown to you) I have laboured to advance the antique Glory of the Heart, yet I cannot ſatisfy myſelf, though I would, that there is any ſuch implanted Ferment therein; for I find not this Ferment confirmed by any Experiment, or other ſufficient Evidence, but *(abſit invidia verbo)* too precariouſly aſſerted; nor any Neceſſity aſſigned for ſuch a Ferment, the Doctrine of Fermentation being ſufficiently demonſtrated without it; and, though the Honour aſcribed to the Heart may ſeem to require it, yet I cannot approve of Conferring Honours, which infer a Neceſſity of multiplying Beings above what the *Opus* and *Uſus* of Nature createth. Neither can I conceive where this Ferment ſhould be neſted; it muſt be either in the Walls of the Heart, or in the Chambers thereof: In the Walls (ſaith Dr. *Caſtle* **, from *Severinus*, *Danus*, *Des Cartes*, and *Hogeland)* are mechanick Spirits, ſeminal Salts, or Ferments; but yet, *pace tanti viri*, the Heart, by its carnous Fibres, Membranes, Colour, and Conſiſtence, ſeems to be but a Muſcle, as our worthy Dr. *Needham* †† and acute *Steno* ‡‡ affirm; and, if ſo, how a Ferment ſhould be there generated, any otherwiſe than in other Muſcles, I do not underſtand: It hath not the Parenchyma of the Liver, Spleen, or other Parts which are Colatures to the Blood, whereby they eaſily ſeparate, and, having ſeparated, retain what may conduce to conſtitute Ferments; but the Walls of the Heart ſeem only, like other Muſcles, to receive Blood for their own private Uſe, but none for a publick Stock. Moreover, if there were ſuch a ſalt Ferment, it is a Wonder it doth not diſcolour the rutilous Fibres, as the Salt in the Spleen manifeſtly doth, but leave it of the ſame Hue with other non-fermenting Muſcles; neither are there any Cavities, within theſe Walls, capacious enough to contain theſe mechanick Spirits for publick Offices; nay, it is obſervable, that the Heart is more firm, faſt, hard, and leſs ſtored with Poroſities, than other Muſcles: Neither in the Auricles, or Ventricles, can theſe Spirits keep quiet Poſſeſſion, by Reaſon of that impetuous Torrent, which many Times in every Minute waſheth both Floors and Walls; and, though theſe Cavities have their Cellars, yet, by the ſo frequent Conſtrictions of the omnimodous Fibres cauſing the Syſtole, there is not only a Mixture of the Blood at the Bottom with that on the Top, but alſo a violent Extruſion of both, made in the ſame Pulſation: Neither, in Diſſections, is there any conſiderable Difference found betwixt that in the Heart, and that in the Veins, as famous *Harvey* obſerveth. Yet, with a *Non obſtante* to theſe Premiſes, I muſt tell you, I opine that Fermentation may, not abuſively, be aſcribed to the mechanick Structure and Operations of the Heart, though not inriched with an innate Ferment; of which hereafter more ſeaſonably.

---

* *Willis* de Ferment. p. 66. † *Willis* de Febr. p. 103. Idem, de Ferment. p. 866. *French*'s Art of Diſtillation, p. 148. *Joh. Baptiſt. Porta.* *Card.* de Subtilitate. ‡ *Ludovic. Vives*, in Lib. xxi. c. 6. de Civitate Dei *Auguſtin.* ‖ *Guido Panci. o'lus.* § *Sennert.* Pract. Lib. iii. Part. 2. Sect. 2. de longa Abſtinentia. ** *French*'s Art of Diſtill. p. 130. †† *Henſhav.* in ἀεροχαλίνω. ‡‡ *Needh.* de form. Fœtu, p. 132.

Secondly, It is not unknown, that ſeveral Liquors are ſelf-ſufficient to command a Fermentation, and that perfective, as Wines, Cyder, with other like ſpirito-ſulphuro-ſaline Fluids; as alſo Fruits of a more craſs Conſiſtence, as Apples, Pears, Plums, &c. whereof many are advanced, by Lying, to a greater Perfection, after pulled from their Mother's Breaſt: And it is, at leaſt, a violent Preſumption, that the Blood, confected by ſuch ſelf-fermenting Bodies, and they exalted greatly by the various additional Concoctions, Percolations, and, as it were, Diſtillations in the tranſcendently exquiſite and Proto-laboratories of human Bodies, is crowned with the ſame Diadem of ſelf-fermenting Principles: And, indeed, an ordinary Analyſis of Blood, according to the Rules of Pyrotechny, will diſcover all thoſe Principles of Spirit, Sulphur, Salt, Water, and Earth, lodged in its Embraces, which are ſufficient to elaborate Fermentations: Which is further confirmed, in that, when ſome of the innate fermenting Principles (as, ſuppoſe, Salts) begin to languiſh, ſeveral artificial Ferments prove highly uſeful. Under this Notion, ſaith the ſagacious *Willis* *, are the fixed Salts of Vegetables, Chalybeates, *&c.* of ſuch ſovereign Efficacy.

---

* *Willis* de Febr. p. 113. † *Caſtle*'s Chym. Gal. p. 81, 82. ‡ *Willis* de Ferment. p. 24, 25. De Febr. p. 101, 102, 103 ‖ *Loweri* Diatr. p. 121, 124. § *Caſtle*'s Chym. Gal. p. 81, 82. ** Ubi ſupra. †† De formato Fœtu, p. 132. ‡‡ *Steno* de Muſc. & Gland.

Thirdly, After various Diſquiſitions touching the Uſe of the Spleen, ſome exalting it to the Honour of Sanguifying for the lower Belly, others depreſſing it to the vile Uſe of a Sink, it is now, by many, upon Conſideration of its Colour, Site, and Veſſels, reſolved to be a Colature; wherein the more black and feculent Juice is ſevered from the Blood; and, being there reſerved, it becomes a Ferment to the ſcarlet Liquor, even as a ſmall Parcel of Dough, reſerved in a ſaline Condiment, grows acid, and ſo arrives to the Dignity of a Leven, or Ferment, to the new farinaceous Maſs. The Principles, which, in this Bowel, are ſuppoſed to be regent, are ſalino-terreſtrial; which, by over-long Abode, attain Fluidity, and ſo become acetous, like Spirit of Vitriol, Nitre, and of other ſaline Concretes: And that, which renders this the more probable, is, the ſowre Belchings of hypochondriack Perſons, the Whiteneſs of their Tongues, the Soreneſs of their Throats, the Exceſs of their Appetite, and the Emaciating of their Bodies; all which ſeem to proceed from a preternatural Acidity: And, *vice verſa*, when the Spleen hath loſt its Ferment, then the Blood grows too inſipid, as appears in Cachexies, Aſcites, Tympanites, *&c.* Theſe Things premiſed, it will be no Difficulty to prove, that the Blood is fermented by the Spleen. It is but very lately that I added Spirit of Vitriol to a ſmall Quantity of the recent Blood of a Patient, which cauſed a viſible Fermentation, and ſuch a Coagulation, that it became almoſt of the Colour and Conſiſtence of our Table-muſtard, only there remained ſome perfect black Parts, but no red ones; from whence I conjecture, that it is an acid Humour, which cauſes ſuch a black Sediment in the Urine of many hypochondriack Perſons; and that the ſame Humour it is, that coagulates the Blood often, if not always, and renders it ſo unapt for Circulation: Wherefore, by the Way, I would offer it to your Conſideration, whether that Sort of Scorbute and Melancholy, which is rooted in Blood more than ſufficiently hot, florid, and fluid, as oft-times they are, can aſcribe its Origination to a mere Acidity, or to fluid Salts? And, conſequently, Whether it be not a Miſapplication of the nitro-ſulphureous Plants, which renders them, of late, ſuſpected of Impertinency? For, To what End ſhould theſe Plants be given to thoſe Perſons, whoſe Blood exceeds with Salt and Sulphur already? Yet, in the colder, more cachectical Sorts of Scurvy and Melancholy, nothing poſſibly may be found more proper; for it is well known, that fixed Salts and fluid Salts, or (which is the ſame Thing) acid Spirits, do highly ferment, and cauſe a conſiderable Heat; as lately diſcovered itſelf to me, in the Preparation of *Tartarus Vitriolatus*: Whence I further conjecture, that thoſe Preparations of Chalybs, Coral, and other ſaline Concretes, which rob them of their Salts, or (which is the ſame Thing) that glut them with Acidities ſo plentifully, as to leave no Capacity to receive more Acids, do ſpoil them, *eo nomine*, of their fermenting Virtue. But, leſt I ſhould ſeem to tranſgreſs, whilſt I intend ſcarcely to digreſs, I return to remind you, that you have a *third* Ferment, which, in theſe Abſtinents, is preſumable to be highly uſeful; for ſeveral of them (not to ſay all) were Spleneticks, before they were Abſtinents.

Fourthly, It is probable, that the ſeminal Humours, in theſe Virgins, may, by a long Abode in their Veſſels, grow acid, and thereby ſupply the Blood with a more than ordinary Ferment. Here are two Things ſuppoſed: The firſt is, That the Seed is impregnated with Salt; and that is proved by the many Arguments of the Philoſophical Dr. *Ente* †. The other is, That the Seed, by its Principles, may elaborate the Blood: This is evident in Females, whoſe Seed being grown fecundate and vegete, it ſo levens the Blood, that, except it purge itſelf by menſtrual Terms, it expoſes to innumerable Diſeaſes; but much more manifeſt in Men, by the Eruption of their Beards, the Greatening of their Voice, the Heating of their Blood, effeminate Deſires, *&c.* Theſe Things being evidently ſo, it will much ſtrengthen our Hypotheſis to obſerve, That moſt of theſe Damſels fall to this Abſtinence between the Age of fourteen and twenty Years, when the Seed hath ſo fermented the Blood, that various Diſtempers will probably enſue, without due Evacuations; except in our Caſe, wherein, through the Defect of fermenting Food, we are enabled to bear the Exceſs of theſe ſo much the better.

---

* De Ferm.

† Apologia pro Circulo.

Fifthly, There are ſeveral other innate Ferments, placed by Nature in human Bodies, as the Learned teſtify; as, that aſcribed by Dr. *Willis* [*] to the Brain, for the Freeing the Spirits from the Entanglements of other Principles, to which they were married, whilſt they abode in the Blood, that ſo the Brain's Diſtillation might proceed the more proſperouſly: Likewiſe that in the Reins, which is, like Rennet to Milk, to precipitate the Seroſities, that the Ureters may exterminate them, as uſeleſs, burdenſome Excrements. There are many more aſſigned, yet more than can be numbered, if Dr. *Willis's* [†] Doctrine be true, of a Fermentation through the Habit of the Body, cauſed by the Concurrence of arterial Blood and nervous Juice: But theſe I lightly paſs over, becauſe, I conceive, they are not immediately intended for the Elaborating of the bloody Maſs; yet I may not forget them, becauſe, working upon the Blood, it is not to be doubted, but the Veins derive ſomewhat of their Virtue with the retrieved Blood.

Sixthly, But to approach yet nearer to our Mark: I affirm, that, though there be no Edibles received, yet it follows not, that there is no Sort of new Chyle to renew the Blood's Fermentation; for, *firſt*, In theſe cold Bodies, there muſt of Neceſſity be a far greater Quantity, *conſideratis conſiderandis*, of pituitous Humours, than ordinary; for, if Tranſpiration be denied to our Bodies but a very ſmall Time, What a Redundance of Phlegm doth preſently oppreſs us! Which Phlegm, being led into the Mouth by a great Variety of ſalivating Ducts, and thence conveyed into the Ventricle, may take off the Acidity, the Edge of the Appetite; by which they tolerate their Abſtinence with greater Patience, and alſo ſuffer a ſorry Concoction, which is much advanced by the Attendance of all the concoctive Forces, to ſubact this ſluggiſh Matter, which, in other Bodies, are variouſly diverted by the great Variety of Food frequently admitted. *Secondly*, It is probable, that ſome of theſe Faſters were more than ordinarily addicted to Phlegm before their Abſtinence; which is uſual with thoſe whoſe Concoctions are low; and, with theſe, it is more than an even Lay they were not very high, which muſt needs be augmented by the Defect of Urine and Stool; which, if granted, adds ſomewhat to our Purpoſe. *Thirdly*, The Air, received continually into the Stomach by the Mouth and Noſe, and alſo into the Blood more directly, though ſparingly by the Pores, and virtually, if not formally, by the Lungs, may contribute much to this Humour, but more to the Fermentation of the Blood. That the Air is impregnated with Salts, the learned Dr. *Ente* [‡] affirms, and aſcribes Vegetation, as alſo the Production of various Animals thereunto, as the worthy *Willis* doth Froſt and Ice: And it is aſſerted by Chymiſts, that *Caput Mortuums* lixiviated, if expoſed to the open Air for a good Space, they ſhall re-attain their ſaline Principle; and, that Salts cauſe Fermentation in the Blood, hath been already noted. Yet one Step further I may advance upon good Ground, and that is, Theſe Salts may much renew the Ferment of the Stomach alſo, in Lieu of other Condiments. Moreover, the Liver being an ample Bowel [‖], inſtructed with a great Variety of Veſſels, inriched with conſtant Traffick from moſt of the Corporations in the Microcoſm, ſo curious in its Elections and Collections of the ſulphuro-ſaline Commodities, ſo diligent in reconding them in a peculiar Cell, and thence tranſmitting them to the Inteſtines, upon all Occaſions: Theſe Severals, I ſay, conſidered, it may be rationally inferred, that it is not only helpful to the Guts in their Excretions, but alſo in their Fermentations; whereby the Chyle is rendered not only fermentiſcible in the Blood, but alſo more fermenteſcent thereunto. Yet, Sir, leſt this lean Meat ſhould not ſatisfy your more delicate Palate, I muſt advertiſe you, that the Blood in theſe Perſons muſt needs be ſparing, and therefore the leſſer Chyle may ferment it; eſpecially conſidering, that their Fermentations are but ſmall, as appears by the Smallneſs of their Heat; and, therefore, pray do yourſelf the Right not to expect an Account of robuſt ones.

---

[*] De Ferment. p. 27, 28.

[†] Anat. Cerebri, c. 20. p. 139.

[‡] Apolog. de Ferment. p. 93.

[‖] *Gliſſon*. Anatom. Hepatis.

Seventhly, The Heart itſelf contributes much to the Fermentation. It is acknowledged by all, that the Circulation of the Blood, being a rapid Motion through the indefatigable Pulſation of the Heart, adds much to the Fermentation; we ſee that Motion given to Wine, Ale, Cyder, or Cream of Milk, though ſufficiently fermented, will yet, without a new Ferment, give a new Fermentation. But, Sir, leſt you ſhould miſtake me, when I ſtumbled at an innate Ferment in the Heart, and yet ſtood upon it, that Fermentation may be aſcribed thereto, let me unboſom myſelf, that you may ſee what the Heart contributes thereunto. *Firſt*, The Heart is as it were a Ciſtern, into which the blood Veins, milky Veins, and water Veins, or Lymphæducts, by mutual Conſent, depoſit their multiform Juices. *Secondly*, It hath the Force of a Mill, by its quaquaverſe Fibres, continually buſied in their Conſtrictions and Dilatations to grind and make ſmall the more craſſy Particles of the Juices. *Thirdly*, Of a Mortar, wherein the more exact Mixture of theſe different Juices is highly promoted. *Fourthly*, Of a Gin, expelling the Blood ſufficiently ſubacted, and then, to the further Execution of its Offices, but too too troubleſome; and, by the Way, the Burden of the Blood may be one Cauſe of its Pulſation; for it is ſaid, if a live Heart be taken out of the Body, the Prick of a Pin will renew its Pulſation. *Fifthly*, Of a Pump to give Motion, and, according to the ſanguiterious Ducts, to the ſeveral Parts, Diſtribution of this Juice adapted to Nutrition *. *Sixthly*, Of a Loom, wherein the Blood is fermented. *Seventhly*, Of a Kind of Philoſophical Furnace, wherein a ſpiritual *Biolychnium* is kindled; I intend only a Heat perchance, cauſed only by the Motion and Fermentation aforeſaid. *Eighthly*, Of a Pelican, to rarefy and exalt the vital Spirits. *Ninthly*, Of an Alembick, not vulgar, whereby the Spirits receive a Kind of Separation, though yet they run with the Blood, which being condenſed in the Refrigeratory of the Habit of the Body, as the learned *Walæus* expreſſeth it, are the more eaſily ſubject to the Brain's Philtration, and the Nerves Preſervation. *Tenthly*, Of a potential Philtre, whereby there is made ſuch a Segregation of homogeneous Particles into their proper Claſſes, as renders the Blood much more obedient to the Colatures and Emunctories of the Body; as Rennet in the Milk potentially ſeparates the Whey, and prepares it for an actual Separation by the Sieve; and, in Chymical Preparations, the acid Liquor, or Diluting a large Quantity of weakening Water, provoke a Kind of Fermentation, whereby the ſuſpended Atoms, in the ſtrong Menſtruums, are precipitated, and ſo prepared for a more facile Separation; ſo that, indeed, all the Engines, in Nature's Shop, depend mainly upon the right Tone, Texture, and Operation of the Heart. From which it ſeems apparent to me, which yet I ſubmit to clearer Minds, that the Heart is further ſerviceable to Fermentation, and other Offices of Nature, than, meerly Pump-like, to conciliate Motion; which may be further confirmed, by the Site of the Heart in the Center of the Body; as as alſo, by its firmeſt Muniments, by which it is gariſoned on its Back by the Spine, on its Face by the Sternum, on its Sides by the Ribs, under its Feet by the Diaphragm, and over its Head by the Canopy of the pyramidal Thorax, and, laſtly, by its Buff-coat, the Pericardium; and, which is not nothing, the curious Fabrick, with various Camerations, the retiform Fibres, and various Paſſages, the uniform Procedure of Nature, in the Formation of the Hearts of Animals, whilſt often it ſports itſelf in the Building of other Parts, and its Primogeniture, as appears by the *Veſicula palpitans* firſt formed in Eggs, according to the renowned *Harvey*, the Rudiment of the Heart, and the Blood's conſtant Flux and Reflux to and from the Heart, even then when the Liver and Lungs, though famous Bowels, are paſſed by unſaluted in the Circulation of Embryo's; as alſo Nature's great Care to ſupply the defective Paſſages of thoſe *Viſcera* by a *Foramen ovale* in the Septum of the Heart, leſt the Intercourſe of the Blood with the Heart ſhould be impeded; which Hole is yet afterwards precluded, when the Infant is midwived into a new World; much of this Curioſity of Nature, about the Heart, ſeems utterly unneceſſary, if it ſerved only for Motion; but we are ſure that God and Nature does nothing fruſtraneouſly. Neither am I yet ſatisfied, that the Whole of the Blood's Motion is to be aſcribed to the Heart's Pulſation; for *Conringius* affirms, that, in live Diſſections, the Blood ſtrongly circulates a long Time after the left Ventricle hath loſt its Pulſe; yea, though the Heart be taken out, yet preſently is not the Motion of the Blood deſtroyed; which ſeems to be confirmed by the Experiment upon Frogs, which leap ſo nimbly, and ſwim ſo freely, after their Hearts are exempted, that they cannot be known from unwounded Frogs, that exerciſe in their Company[*]; the Story whereof that moſt dexterous Anatomiſt, Dr. *Needham*, hath publiſhed; moreover, if a Ligature be applied to a Vein or Artery, whereby the Pulſe is intercepted with the Undulation of the Blood alſo, yet the Blood, beyond the Bond, runs its Courſe toward the Heart; and which is ſo much the more ſtrange, becauſe it is the Motion of a heavy Body, contrary to its natural Tendency, upward. Moreover, if the Pulſe of the Heart were the only Cauſe of the Motion of the Blood, Why then is not the menſtrual Blood thruſt into other Parts, as well as into the Uterine? Since the other Parts, equally with theſe, receive the conſtant Force of the Heart's even Pulſations and impartial Diſtributions; likewiſe we ſee, that the animal Spirits in the Nerves, with their Juice, the Lympha in its Ducts, the Chyle in its Thoracicks, the Seed in its Seminals, the Urine in the Ureters, and the Phlegm in its pituitary Veſſels are all in Motion, without the Force of any ſuch Engine to give the Origin thereto. Whereupon, I am apt to conjecture, that Nature hath furniſhed ſeveral Parts with an attractive Power, the Blood with Fermentation, and ſeveral Veſſels with a Kind of vermicular Motion of their own, no Doubt excited by the Nerves, the Porta with Aſinus in the Liver, which ſerves for a Pump, and the Cava, or one Part of it, with a pulſifick Energy (by which Blood is thruſt into the right Ventricle, as the learned *Walæus* aſſerts) by which the Motion of Humours is promoted; and conſequently, that the Rareneſs of the Structure, Unweariedneſs of the Pulſations of the Heart, &c. are deſigned to ſome higher Ends, than merely, and as ſuch, to give Motion, though that it doth with an Emphaſis.

---

* *Walæus* in Meth. Medend.

Fourthly, How can Spirits, both vital and animal, be prepared and ſeparated without Food, and frequent Fermentations? *R.* 1. Whether there be a Flux of animal Spirits through the *Genus nervoſum* ſeems yet not fully reſolved; and, if no Flux, then the Waſte is ſmall, and a ſmall Reparation may ſupply a ſmall Waſte; but, I confeſs, I underſtand not how narcotick Fumes, nor redundant Humours, reſtagnating in the Brain, can cauſe an Apoplexy, Epilepſy, Palſy, &c. in the whole Body, if there be no Flux of Spirits from the Brain; nor how the Hurt from a Coach in the ſeventh Vertebre of the Back, mentioned by great *Galen*, could cauſe a Palſy in three Fingers; nor why we anoint the Vertebres of the Back for Palſies in the extreme Parts, if there be no Flux of Spirits. 2. Suppoſing a Flux of animal Spirits through the nervous Syſtem, yet, according to the Doctrine of famous Dr. *Wharton*[†], much of the nervous Juice, ſeparated by the Glandules, is returned by the Veins and Lymphaticks, and ſo not loſt, though infeebled by its Peregrination; and more yet depoſited, according to Dr. *Willis*, the great Reformer of Phyſick, by the Extremity of the Nerves in the Habit of the Body, is again retrieved by the Lymphaticks, which, ſerving in our Abſtinents little or nothing to Aſſimulation, only ſomewhat to the Cheriſhing of the implanted Spirits, is the more plentifully returned, and ſo the Loſs, thus far forth, leſs conſiderable than ordinary. 3. It is apparent, that there is a Decay of theſe Spirits, as well as an Obſtruction, in moſt of theſe Abſtinents, as witneſſeth their great Inability to Motion. 4. The Fermentations, mentioned before, though ſmall, may contribute ſomething to the Increaſe of theſe Spirits; for Chymiſts know that there are few Juices ſo inſipid, ſo ſterile, but, by the Help of Fermentation, may yield a not contemptible Spirit. 5. Thoſe Spirits that paſs from the Brain to the Extremity of the Body, and thence returned, as before, by the Lymphaticks, and that more forceably and plentifully, being reflected by the impervious Cold and conſtipated Skin, ſeem rather tired than exhauſted, which may, by the ſmall Ferments aforementioned, the Contritions, Mixtions, and Exaltations of the Heart, and the perpetual Motions of the ſcarlet Liquor, be rarefied and volatiliſed, to do, at a dead Lift, further good Service. 6. It is notorious, that Scents do hugely affect the Brain; as to inſtance in Apoplexies, Hyſterical Paſſions, and in ſome

---

[*] De format. Fœtu.

[†] De Glandulis.

Sort of Syncopes and Cephalalgies, common Practice doth demonſtrate; ſo then, if feeding Animals perceive ſuch ſtrange Alterations, by odoriferous Exhalations, as of *Aſſa fætida*, *Galbanum*, *Verrucæ Equinæ*, &c. which, according to the prodigious Invention of the moſt Philoſophical Dr. *Willis*, are able to reſtrain the moſt violent Exploſions (like thoſe of Gunpowder, than which none more violent) of the nitro-ſulphureous Atoms, with which, in ſpaſmodick Diſtempers, the nervous Juice is impregnated, and by which it is reduced to the greateſt Diſorders, Why may not theſe Abſtinents be relieved by ſuch inriched Fumes alſo?

Fifthly, Without Sleep no long Life, and, without Food, no Sleep; for, ſay the Ancients *, Sleep is the Binding up of the firſt Senſorium, or Common-ſenſe, cauſed by the Food digeſting in the Stomach, elevating its Fumes to the Brain, which, there condenſing, ſtop the Paſſages of the animal Spirits, whereby they are detained from their juſt Viſitations, whence the Senſes are diſabled for the Execution of their Offices. *R.* 1. It is not certain, that Sleep is abſolutely neceſſary to Life, for we read of many that lived waking: It is ſaid that *Ramus* ſtudied Philoſophy ſo inceſſantly, that he became blind, or deaf, or both, through Defect of Sleep. *Rhaſis* watched ſo long at his Study of Phyſick, until, at laſt, he could not ſleep at all; likewiſe a Doctor of the Law ſtudied ſo indefatigably, that he never laid his Eye-lids together for four Months; yet all recovered by the Uſe of Hypnoticks. The moſt inquiſitive *Galeniſt*, *Fernelius*, reports a certain Man to have ſurvived fourteen Months waking. The grave *Heurnius* relateth a Story from, he ſaith, a truly learned Man, *Jerom Montuus*, of a noble Matron that lived thirty-five Years without Sleep, nor hurt thereby; and of another that lived ten Years waking. *Seneca* reports, that *Mæcenas* lived three Years without Sleep, and at laſt was recovered by Muſick. 2. But I affirm not that our Jejunants are Vigilants, and therefore add, that, though theſe Perſons receive no external Food, yet airy Condenſations and Concretions, the phlegmatick Humours, Colliquations of the Parts, &c. afford Matter for ſuch Vapours; and ſo much the more plentifully, becauſe they are environed with a thick Wall, whoſe very Creviſes, and much more Gates, and publick Outlets, are ſo cloſe ſhut up and barricadoed, that theſe Troops of Exhalations, that were wont to be diſperſed, are now crouded together, which, aſſaulting the Brain, may do much to bind up her Common-ſenſe. 3. It ſeems probable, by apoplectical Dormitators, that a cold Humour, lodged in the Brain, is a great Cauſer of Sleep; and why ſuch a Humour may not lodge in a ſufficient Proportion, in theſe conſtipated Brains, to procure intermitting Sleeps, I ſee not. 4. It is apparent that Narcoticks, as *Opium*, and in their Meaſure, Wines, Tobacco, &c. provoke Sleep; not by any cold Quality, for they are all proved to be hot, but, it is probable, by adding ſuch a Ferment to the Blood, as renders the Spirits, ſeparated in the Brain, more torpid, ignave, and, conſequently, unapt to Motion, and the Execution of their Offices; or, which is almoſt the ſame Thing, as renders the Blood unapt for Separation of Spirits in the Brain's Alembick, whence the wearied Spirits, for Want of freſh Supplies, are becalmed and quieſcent: So then, if the Humours, in the Bodies of theſe Abſtinents, ſhould happily partake of theſe narcotick Sulphurs, they may prove ſomniferous, without the Elevation of Fumes from digeſting Food. But, Sir, leſt you ſhould be ſtartled at this Unphiloſophical Diſcourſe, in repreſenting Sleep rather as a Non-emiſſion of Spirits from the Brains, than a Non-immiſſion of them to the Brain from the external Senſes, and conſequently, as a Negation of Action, rather than of Paſſion, I crave Leave to mind you, that I am not only deficient in the Beard, but much more in the Brain, of ſome very great Philoſophers, who rank not only the external Senſes, but the firſt internal, or Common-ſenſe, in the Predicament of Paſſions; which, I confeſs, I cannot underſtand, becauſe I know, that when devout Perſons are taken up in Divine Services, though their Eyes be wide open, and preſented with various Objects, yet they ſee them not, becauſe they mind them not; likewiſe, when diligent Students are intent upon their

---

* *Ariſtot.* de Somn. & Vigil. c. 3 Ἡ τοῦ πρώτου αἰσθητηρίου κατάληψις πρὸς τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι ἐνεργεῖν. • *Galen.* de Sympt. Cauſ. c. 8 & de Motu Muſcul. c 4. *Zacut. Luſitan.* de Med. Princ. Hiſt. p. 23, 24, 25. Lib. v. Patholog. Lib. de Morb. Cap. c. 16. Lib. de Providentia.

Books, they hear not the Clock that ſtrikes at their Ears; and ſound Sleepers, with lethargical Perſons, feel not the Pulling and Hauling of their Friends that would awake them, &c. From whence I conjecture, that, though Objects act *ad ultimum virium* upon the external Senſes in imprinting their Species, yet that cauſeth not Senſation, except there be an actual Attendance of the ſenſitive Spirits upon the ſenſible Objects, a Framing of their Effigies or Species, and a Conveyance thereof to the Underſtanding. Can you imagine that *Columbus*'s Journey to the *Indies*, his Surveying that unknown World, and Returning a Map thereof to his own Countrymen, was a mere Paſſion of his, and only the Action of a novel Jig of *American* Atoms? Or, *Camden*'s Perambulation through all the Coaſts of this Iſland, with his Obſervations thereon, which he digeſted into a valuable Volume, was merely his Suffering, but wholly the Doing of ſubtile Spirits, and æthereal Globules magically charmed into a once happy Combination? But to return, 5. Cold Juices, as of Houſleek, Lettuce, Violets, &c. will conduce to our Sleep, and, it is not to be doubted, but the Juices in theſe Bodies may be cold enough to effect the ſame. 6. The animal Spirits, in theſe Perſons, being but languid, are the leſs active, and, conſequently, can give the fewer Repulſes to the inſinuating Courtſhips of ſomniferous Cauſes. 7. The Spirits of theſe Languiſhers, it is probable, are ſcant and defective, and, therefore, eaſily tired by their conſtant Operations, and conſequently eaſily perſuaded, either by a Command of the heaven-born Soul, or an Exhalation from the earthy Body, to yield to this temporary Death. 8. Great Security of Mind, pleaſing Fancies, either from Imagination, ſuch as ſome of theſe are ſaid to be ſwelled withal, or from the Senſes affected by Muſick, dropping Waters, gliding Rivers, whiſtling Winds, &c. are uſual Promoters of Inſenſation. By all which you may perceive, that there are more Doors to our Bed-chamber than one.

Thus, Sir, to ſatisfy your Curioſity, I have traveled ſomewhat an unbeaten, yet not altogether unpleaſant Path; and, that I might not return theſe Fruits of my Travels as jejune and ſterile as the Country viſited, I have, therefore, taken a ſlight View of ſome of the Monuments of Antiquity, as alſo of the ſtately Superſtructures of the new Model, that occurred in our Journey; yet there is one Thing remaining, that ſhould have been premiſed, and that is, an exact Hiſtory of our Damſel; but that you cannot expect, becauſe you did not demand; and, I ſuppoſe, you did not demand, becauſe you knew I was unable to perform; yet, that I might not ſeem to build on the Sands, I ſhall preſent you with a ſhort Narrative, received ſince I began this Diſcourſe, from a Perſon of known Ingenuity and Honeſty, and therefore moſt worthy of Credit:

‘ This Abſtinent is one *Martha Taylor*, a young Damſel, born of mean Parentage, inhabiting not far from *Bakewell* in *Derbyſhire*; who, receiving a Blow on the Back from a Miller, became a Priſoner to her Bed for ſeveral Days; which being expired, ſhe obtained ſome Enlargement for a Time, but, by increaſing Diſtempers, was quickly remanded to her Bed-priſon again; where continuing ſome Time, ſhe found, at laſt, a Defect in her *Gula*, and, quickly after, a Dejection of Appetite, ſo that, about the Twenty-ſecond of *December*, *Anno* 1667, ſhe began to abſtain from all ſolid Food, and ſo hath continued (except ſomething ſo ſmall, at the ſeldom Ebbings of her Diſtemper, as is altogether inconſiderable) till within a Fortnight before the Date hereof, which amounts to thirteen Months and upwards; as alſo from all other Sorts, both of Meats and Drinks, except now and then a few Drops of the Syrup of ſtewed Prunes, Water and Sugar, or the Juice of a roaſted Raiſin, &c. but theſe Repaſts are uſed ſo ſeldom, and in ſuch very ſmall Quantities, as are prodigiouſly inſufficient for Suſtentation; ſhe evacuates nothing by Urine, or Stool; ſhe ſpits not, that I can hear of, but her Lips are often dry, for which Cauſe ſhe takes Water and Sugar with a Feather, or ſome other Liquids; but the Palms of her Hands are often moiſt, her Countenance freſh and lively, her Voice clear and audible, in Diſcourſe ſhe is free, her Belly flapped to her Back-bone, ſo that it may be felt through her Inteſtines, whence a great Cavity is admitted from the *Cartilago enſiformis* to the Navel; and, though her upper Parts be leſs emaciated, though much too, yet her lower Parts are very languid, and unapt for Motion, and the Skin thereof defiled with a dry pruriginous Scurf, for which, of late, they have waſhed them with Milk; ſhe ſleeps ſo ſparingly, that once ſhe continued five Weeks waking: I hear nothing of any extraordinary previous Sanctity, though, ſince her Affliction, being confined to her Bed, which lieth in a lower Room, by the Fire-ſide, ſhe hath learned to read; and being viſited ſo plentifully by the Curious from many Parts, as alſo by the Religious of all Perſuaſions, ſhe hath attained ſome Knowledge in Sacred Myſteries, but nothing of Enthuſiaſm, that ſhe pretends unto. And, leſt ſhe ſhould prove a Cheat, ſhe hath been diligently watched by Phyſicians, Surgeons, and other Perſons, for, at leaſt, a Fortnight together, by the Appointment of the noble Earl of *Devonſhire*, as is already publiſhed by Mr *Robins* B. of D. that is, Ballad-maker of *Derby*, whoſe Ballad, they ſay, doth much excel his Book. Likewiſe ſeveral other Perſons, at other Times, have been pleaſed to watch for their own Satisfaction, who, detecting no Fraud, have given the Account abovementioned; which was, for the Main, confirmed to me by a Sophy, the Renown of whoſe Wiſdom hath often made *England* to ring, who aſſured me, that he had an exact Account of her.'

This Story being born thus out of due Time, it may ſeem neceſſary to make ſome Reflexions therefrom on the precedent Diſcourſe. And 1. Her Age confirms the Probability of a Ferment in the Seminals. 2. An Antipathy to Meat was not the Promoter of the Tragedy, but an Inability to ſwallow. 3. Her Aſſumptions of Liquors, though ſeldom and ſlender, contributed not only to a petite Concoction in the Ventricle, but alſo to a Fermentation in the Heart. 4. Her reſtrained Evacuations, by Urine and Stool, add much to her Moiſture, as well as to our Trouble to render the Aſſumption and Non-evacuation conſiſtent; to the Performance whereof, let it be remembered, that, in this Reſpect, ſhe was formerly compared to Embryo's, who uſe no Excretion by the Fundament, but retain, in their Inteſtines, the more craſs Feculencies, till the Time of their Excluſion, the uterine Embraces; which is the rather to be admitted, becauſe ſhe, as well as they, receives nothing but Liquids; only in this ſhe differs, they evacuate, by the Urachus, into the Allantoides their urinal Excrement, but ſhe hath no Excretion of Urine at all; the Defect whereof may yet be ſupplied by theſe three Advantages, which ſhe hath above them, as are her Expiration, extraordinary Tranſpiration in the Palms of her Hands, and the far ſmaller Quantity of Liquors that ſhe receives. 5. Her Non-excretion, and the Dryneſs of her Mouth, argue the Remanding of the Humours to the further Services of Nature. 6. The Atrophy of the Parts, and Inability to Motion, ſeem to argue a Defect of nervous Juice and animal Spirits; which weakens the Neceſſity of our giving a perfect Account, how Nature may be completely ſuſtained in the Abſence of Food. 7. Her impetiginous Eruptions argue the Saltneſs of her Blood, which adds the greater Probability to the ſeveral ſaline-Ferments mentioned before. 8. Her ſparing Sleep ſhews not only the no Neceſſity of the ordinary Meaſures of healthful Dormitators, but alſo that Sleep may be conciliated otherwiſe, than by the powerful Mediation of fuming Food. 9. There is no Cauſe, from any antecedent Sanctity, to aſcribe this mirandous Production to miraculous Cauſes. 10. Her Abode, in a lower Room, doth accommodate her with a moiſter Air, which is more generative of Humours. 11. Her Propinquity to the Fire conduceth to the extraneous Reception of igneous Atoms. 12. Her Non-pretenſions to Revelations, and the conſtant Viſits ſhe receives from Perſons of all Forms, may ſerve to occlude, not only the Mouths, that are ſo Unevangelical, as to cry her up for a Miracle, but thoſe alſo, that are ſo Unphiloſophical, as to cry her down for the Cheat of a Faction.

Now, Sir, ſhould I take my Hand from the Table, did I not ſuſpect, that ſome one may poſſibly reply upon me and ſay, If I take it to be poſſible to live without Food, it is a Wonder I fall not myſelf to this Piece of Frugality; I therefore add, though with this jejune Table one may poſſibly live, yet it follows not that I can; for, according to the old Saying, *That, which is one Man's Meat, is another Man's Poiſon*; and, even in Phyſick, it is affirmed by that noble Philoſopher, Eſquire *Boyle*[*] (a worthy Fellow of the Royal Society, of whoſe admirable Deſigns I would you ſhould know that I am a great Admirer) that ſome Medicines, as particularly Salt of Amber, is effectual for epileptical Children, not ſo for adult Epilepticks; and the deſerving Dr. *Caſtle* affirms * that *Mercur. dulc.* is more ſafe for Children, than grown Perſons, eſpecially if irrigated with Acidities. But, Sir, I find myſelf launching into a wide Sea; I ſhall therefore tack about to do my Devoir, and crave your Acceptance of this ſlender Offering, an your *Quietus eſt* for the Preſent, giving yo Aſſurance, that, in ſo doing, you may hereafter command,

---

[*] Scept. Chym. p. 251.

S I R,

King's-Norton, Feb. 22, 1668.

Your obſervant Servant,

Jo. Reynolds.

---

* Chym. *Gal.* p. 26.

The Lord *Churchill*'s Letter to the King.

SIR,

SINCE Men are ſeldom ſuſpected of Sincerity, when they act contrary to their Intereſts; and though my dutiful Behaviour to your Majeſty, in the worſt of Times (for which I acknowledge my poor Services much over-paid) may not be ſufficient to incline you to a charitable Interpretation of my Actions; yet I hope, the great Advantage I enjoy under your Majeſty, which I can never expect in any other Change of Government, may reaſonably convince your Majeſty and the World, that I am acted by a higher Principle, when I offer that Violence to my Inclination, and Intereſt, as to deſert your Majeſty at a Time when your Affairs ſeem to challenge the ſtricteſt Obedience from all your Subjects, much more from one who lies under the greateſt perſonal Obligations imaginable to your Majeſty. This, Sir, could proceed from nothing but the inviolable Dictates of my Conſcience, and neceſſary Concern for my Religion (which no good Man can oppoſe) and with which, I am inſtructed, nothing ought to come in Competition; Heaven knows with what Partiality my dutiful Opinion of your Majeſty hath hitherto repreſented thoſe unhappy Deſigns, which inconſiderate and ſelf-intereſted Men have framed againſt your Majeſty's true Intereſt and the Proteſtant Religion. But, as I can no longer join with ſuch to give a Pretence by Conqueſt to bring them to Effect, ſo will I always, with the Hazard of my Life and Fortune (ſo much your Majeſty's Due) endeavour to preſerve your Royal Perſon and Lawful Rights with all the tender Concern and dutiful Reſpect that becomes, Sir,

Your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and

Moſt obliged Subject and Servant.

A brief Relation * of Sir *Walter Raleigh*'s Troubles: With the Taking away the Lands and Caſtle of *Sherburn* in *Dorſet* from him and his Heirs, being his indubitable Inheritance. *London*, printed for *W. T.* 1669. *Quarto*, containing eleven Pages.

---

* This is the 100th Number in the Catalogue of Pamphlets in the *Harleian* Library.

To the Right Honourable, the Commons of *England*, aſſembled in Parliament. The humble Petition of *Carew Raleigh*, Eſq; only Son of Sir *Walter Raleigh*, late deceaſed,

Humbly ſheweth,

THAT *whereas your Petitioner conceiveth, that his late Father, Sir* Walter Raleigh, *was moſt unjuſtly and illegally condemned and executed; and his Lands and Caſtle of* Sherburn *wrongfully taken from him and his, as may more at large appear by this brief Narrative hereunto annexed; the Particulars whereof your Petitioner is, upon due Proofs, ready to make good: Your Petitioner therefore, humbly ſubmitting to the great Juſtice and Integrity of this Houſe (which is no Way more manifeſted, than by relieving the Oppreſſed) humbly craveth, that he may receive ſuch Satisfaction, for theſe his great Oppreſſions and Loſſes, as to the Wiſdom and Clemency of this Honourable Houſe ſhall ſeem fit.*

And your Petitioner ſhall humbly pray, *&c.*

WHEN King *James* came into *England*, he found Sir *Walter Raleigh* (by the Favour of his late Miſtreſs Queen *Eliſabeth*) Lord Warden of the *Stannaries*, Lord Lieutenant of *Devonſhire* and *Cornwall*, Captain of the Guard, and Governor of the Iſle of *Jerſey*; with a large Poſſeſſion of Lands both in *England* and *Ireland*. The King for ſome Weeks uſed him with great Kindneſs, and was pleaſed to acknowledge divers Preſents, which he had received from him being in *Scotland*, for which he gave him Thanks. But finding him (as he ſaid himſelf) a Martial Man, addicted to Foreign Affairs, and great Actions, he feared, leſt he ſhould engage him in a War, a Thing moſt hated, and contrary to the King's Nature; wherefore he began to look upon him with a jealous Eye, eſpecially after he had preſented him with a Book, wherein, with great Animoſity, he oppoſed the Peace with *Spain*, then in Treaty, perſuading the King rather vigorouſly to proſecute the War with that Prince, then in Hand, promiſing, and that with great Probability, within few Years to reduce the *Weſt-Indies* to his Obedience. But Sir *Walter Raleigh*'s Enemies, ſoon diſcovering the King's Humour, reſolved at once to rid the King of this Doubt and Trouble, and to inrich themſelves with the Lands and Offices of Sir *Walter Raleigh*. Wherefore they plotted to accuſe him, and the Lord *Cobham*, a ſimple paſſionate Man, but of very noble Birth and great Poſſeſſions, of high Treaſon. The Particulars of their Accuſation I am utterly ignorant of, and I think all Men, both then and now living; only I find in general Terms, they were accuſed for plotting with the *Spaniard*, to bring in a Foreign Army, and proclaim the Infanta of *Spain*, Queen of *England*; but without any Proofs, and the Thing itſelf as ridiculous as impoſſible. However, Sir *Walter Raleigh* was condemned without any Witneſs brought in againſt him, and the Lord *Cobham*, who was pretended to have accuſed him barely in a Letter, in another Letter to Sir *Walter Raleigh*, upon his Salvation, cleared him of all Treaſon, or treaſonable Actions either againſt King or State to his Knowledge; which original Letter is now in the Hands of Mr. *Carew Raleigh*, Son of Sir *Walter*, to be produced at any Time. Upon this Condemnation, all his Lands and Offices were ſeized, and himſelf committed cloſe Priſoner to the *Tower*; but they found his Caſtle of *Sherburn*, and the Lands thereunto belonging, to be long before entailed on his Children, ſo that he could not forfeit it, but during his own Life. And the King, finding in himſelf the Iniquity of Sir *Walter*'s Condemnation, gave him all what he had forfeited, again, but ſtill kept him cloſe Priſoner; ſeven Years after his Impriſonment, he enjoyed *Sherburn*; at which Time it fell out, that one Mr. *Robert Car*, a young *Scotch* Gentleman, grew in great Favour with the King; and having no Fortune, they contrived to lay the Foundation of his future Greatneſs upon the Ruins of Sir *Walter Raleigh*. Whereupon they called the Conveyance of *Sherburn* in Queſtion, in the *Exchequer* Chamber, and for Want of one ſingle

Word (which Word was found notwithſtanding in the Paper-book, and was only the Overſight of a Clerk) they pronounced the Conveyance invalid, and *Sherburn* forfeited to the Crown; a Judgment eaſily to be foreſeen without Witchcraft, ſince his chiefeſt Judge was his greateſt Enemy, and the Caſe argued between a poor friendleſs Priſoner, and a King of *England.*

Thus was *Sherburn* given to Sir *Robert Car* (after Earl of *Somerſet*;) the Lady *Raleigh* * with her Children, humbly and earneſtly petitioning the King for Compaſſion on her, and her's, could obtain no other Anſwer from him, but that he mun have the Land, he mun have it for *Car*. She being a Woman of a very high Spirit, and noble Birth and Breeding, fell down upon her Knees, with her Hands heaved up to Heaven, and in the Bitterneſs of Spirit, beſeeched God Almighty to look upon the Juſtice of her Cauſe, and puniſh thoſe who had ſo wrongfully expoſed her, and her poor Children, to Ruin and Beggary. What hath happened ſince to that Royal Family, is too ſad and diſaſtrous for me to repeat, and yet too viſible not to be diſcerned. But to proceed: Prince *Henry*, hearing the King had given *Sherburn* to Sir *Robert Car*, came with ſome Anger to his Father, deſiring he would be pleaſed to beſtow *Sherburn* upon him, alledging that it was a Place of great Strength and Beauty, which he much liked, but indeed, with an Intention to give it back to Sir *Walter Raleigh*, whom he much eſteemed.

The King who was unwilling to refuſe any of that Prince's Deſires, for indeed, they were moſt commonly delivered in ſuch Language, as ſounded rather like a Demand than an Intreaty) granted his Requeſt; and to ſatisfy his Favourite gave him Five and Twenty-thouſand Pounds in ready Money, ſo far was the King or Crown from gaining by this Purchaſe. But that excellent Prince, within a few Months, was taken away; how and by what Means is ſuſpected by all, and I fear was then too well known by many. After his Death, the King gave *Sherburn* again to Sir *Robert Car*, who not many Years after, by the Name of Earl of *Somerſet*, was arraigned and condemned for poiſoning Sir *Thomas Overbury*, and loſt all his Lands. Then Sir *John Digby*, now Earl of *Briſtol* begged *Sherburn* of the King, and had it. Sir *Walter Raleigh*, being of a vigorous Conſtitution, and perfect Health, had now worn out ſixteen Years Impriſonment, and had ſeen the diſaſtrous End of all his greateſt Enemies; ſo that, new Perſons and new Intereſts now ſpringing up in Court, he found Means to obtain his Liberty, but upon Condition, to go a Voyage to *Guiana*, in Diſcovery of a Gold Mine; that unhappy Voyage is well known, almoſt, to all Men, and how he was betrayed from the very Beginning, his Letters and Deſigns being diſcovered to *Gondamore*, the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, whereby he found ſuch Oppoſition upon the Place, that though he took and fired the Town of St. *Thoma*, yet he loſt his eldeſt Son in that Service, and being deſperately ſick himſelf, was made fruſtrate of all his Hopes.

Immediately upon his Return Home, he was made Priſoner, and by the violent Purſuit of *Gondamore*, and ſome others, who could not think their Eſtates ſafe, while his Head was upon his Shoulders, the King reſolved to take Advantage of his former Condemnation ſixteen Years paſt, being not able to take away his Life for any new Action, and though he had given him a Commiſſion under the Broadſeal to execute Martial Law upon his own Soldiers, which was conceived, by the beſt Lawyers, a full Pardon for any Offence committed before that Time, without any further Trouble of the Law, cut off his Head.

Here Juſtice was indeed blind, blindly executing one and the ſame Perſon upon one and the ſame Condemnation, for Things contradictory; for Sir *Walter Raleigh* was condemned for being a Friend to the *Spaniard*, and loſt his Life for being their utter Enemy. Thus Kings, when they will do what they pleaſe, pleaſe not him they ſhould, God, and, having made their Power ſubſervient to their Will, deprive themſelves of that juſt Power whereby others are ſubſervient to them. To proceed: Mr. *Carew Raleigh*, only Son of Sir *Walter*, being at this Time a Youth of about Thirteen, bred at *Oxford*, after five Years, came to Court, and, by the Favour of the Right Honourable *William* Earl of *Pembroke*, his noble Kinſman, hoped to obtain ſome Redreſs in his Misfortunes; but the King, not liking his Countenance, ſaid, he appeared to him like the Ghoſt of his Father; whereupon the Earl adviſed him to travel, which he did until the Death of King *James*, which happened about a Year after. Then coming over, and a Parliament ſitting, he, according to the Cuſtom of this Land, addreſſed himſelf to them by Petition to be reſtored in Blood, thereby to inable him to inherit ſuch Lands, as might come unto him either as Heir to his Father, or any other Way; but, his Petition having been twice read in the Lords Houſe, King *Charles* ſent Sir *James Fullerton* (then of the Bed-chamber) unto Mr. *Raleigh*, to command him to come unto him; and, being brought into the King's Chamber by the ſaid Sir *James*, the King, after uſing him with great Civility, notwithſtanding told him plainly, that, when he was Prince, he had promiſed the Earl of *Briſtol* to ſecure his Title to *Sherburn* againſt the Heirs of Sir *Walter Raleigh*; whereupon the Earl had given him, then Prince, ten-thouſand Pounds, that now he was bound to make good his Promiſe, being King; that therefore, unleſs he would quit all his Right and Title to *Sherbourn*, he neither could nor would paſs his Bill of Reſtoration. Mr. *Raleigh* urged the Juſtice of his Cauſe; that he deſired only the Liberty of a Subject, and to be left to the Law, which was never denied any Free-man. Notwithſtanding all which Allegations, the King was reſolute in his Denial, and ſo left him. After which Sir *James Fullerton* uſed many Arguments to perſuade Submiſſion to the King's Will; as, the Impoſſibility of Conteſting with kingly Power; the not being reſtored in Blood, which brought along with it ſo many Inconveniencies, that it was not poſſible without it to poſſeſs or enjoy any Lands or Eſtate in this Kingdom; the not being in a Condition, if his Cloke were taken from his Back, or Hat from his Head, to ſue for Reſtitution. All which Things being conſidered, together with ſplendid Promiſes of great Preferment in Court, and particular Favours from the King not improbable, wrought much in the Mind of young Mr. *Raleigh*, being a Perſon not full twenty Years old, left friendleſs and fortuneleſs, and prevailed ſo far, that he ſubmitted to the King's Will.

---

* She was the only Daughter of Sir *Nicholas Throckmarton*, who was arraigned, in Queen *Mary*'s Time, and acquitted. See *Fox*'s Acts and Monuments.

Whereupon there was an Act paſſed for his Reſtoration, and, together with it, a Settlement of *Sherburn* to the Earl of *Briſtol*; and, in Shew of ſome Kind of Recompence, four-hundred Pounds a Year Penſion, during Life, granted to Mr. *Raleigh* after the Death of his Mother, who had that Sum paid unto her, during Life, in Lieu of Jointure.

Thus have I, with as much Brevity, Humility, and Candour (as the Nature of the Caſe will permit) related the Preſſures, Force, and Injuſtice committed upon a poor oppreſſed, though not undeſerving *, Family; and have forborne to ſpecify the Names of thoſe, who were Inſtruments of this Evil, leſt I ſhould be thought to have an Inclination to ſcandaliſe particular, and perchance noble Families.

Upon the Conſideration of all which, I humbly ſubmit myſelf to the Commons of *England*, now repreſented in Parliament; deſiring, according to their great Wiſdom and Juſtice, that they will right me and my Poſterity, according to their own beſt Liking; having, in my own Perſon (though bred at Court) never oppoſed any of their juſt Rights and Privileges, and, for the Future, being reſolved to range myſelf under the Banner of the Commons of *England*; and, ſo far forth as Education and fatherly Inſtruction can prevail, promiſe the ſame for two Sons whom God hath ſent me.

---

* Sir *Walter Raleigh* diſcovered *Virginia* at his own Charge, which coſt him forty-thouſand Pounds. He was the firſt, of all the *Engliſh*, that diſcovered *Guiana* in the *Weſt-Indies*. He took the Iſlands of *Fayall* from the *Spaniard*, and did moſt ſignal and eminent Service at the Taking of *Cadiz*. He took from the *Spaniard* the greateſt and richeſt Carick, that ever came into *England*: And another Ship laden with nothing but Gold, Pearls, and Cochineal.

Pope Joan: A Dialogue * between a *Proteſtant* and *Papiſt*; manifeſtly proving, That a Woman, called *Joan*, was Pope of *Rome*; againſt the Surmiſes and Objections made to the Contrary, by *Robert Bellarmine* and *Cæſar Baronius*, Cardinals; *Florimondus Ræmondus*, *N. D.* and other *Popiſh* Writers, impudently denying the ſame. By *Alexander Cooke*. *London*, printed by *John Haviland*, for *William Garrat*; and are to be ſold at his Shop in *Paul*'s *Church-yard*, at the Sign of the *Bull*'s *Head*. 1625. *Quarto*, containing One-hundred and forty Pages.

To the moſt Reverend Father in God, Tobias, *my Lord Archbiſhop of* York's *Grace, Primate and Metropolitan of* England.

IT is lamentable to conſider how many Stars are fallen of late from Heaven, how many Goddeſſes on Earth have departed from the Faith, and given Heed unto the Spirit of Errors and Doctrines of Slanderers, to wit, the *Papiſts*; yet, methinks, it is no Matter of Wonderment, becauſe we read, That, [1] *if Men receive not the Love of the Truth, that they might be ſaved, God, in his Juſtice, will give them ſtrong Deluſions to believe Lyes, that they may be damned*: For few or none of theſe late Apoſtates, for any Thing I can learn, were ever in Love with the Truth. Among us they were, but they were not of us, as now appears by their Departing from us; for, if they had been of us, they would have continued with us; doubtleſs, they would never have fallen to Popery. For, though Popery be managed after the moſt politick Manner, yet, in itſelf, it is a groſs Religion; and the *Perfecters* thereof as ſhameleſs Men in avowing manifeſt Untruths, and denying known Truths, as ever ſet Pen to Paper; all which it is as eaſy to prove, as to object againſt them. But my Purpoſe, at this Time, is, to lay open their Shame in denying known Truths; which though it may be ſhewed by divers Particulars, as, namely, by [2] *Parſons*'s and [3] *Biſhop*'s Denying that they call their Pope their *Lord God*; by [4] *Bellarmine*'s Denying that any Jeſuit had any Hand in the Powder-treaſon; by their [5] general Denying that Pope *Honorius the Firſt* was an Heretick, and by ſuch like; yet moſt apparently their Impudency appears in denying the Report of Pope *Joan*, which is proved by a Cloud of Witneſſes, in this Diſcourſe (which I make bold to preſent unto your Grace) for they are driven to feign, to forge, to cog, to play the Fools, and, in plain *Engliſh*, to lye all Manner of Lyes for the Covering of their Shame in this. *Onuphrius*, *Harding*, *Saunders*, *Cope*, *Genebrard*, *Bellarmine*, *Bernartius*, *Florimondus*, *Papyrius Maſſo*, *Baronius*, *Parſons*, and divers others, who have joined Hand in Hand, with Purpoſe to carry this Cauſe away by a ſtrong Hand, are ſo intangled in it, that it is with them, as with Birds in the Lime-twigs, which ſtick the faſter in, by how much they flutter the more to get out. Which if your Grace, upon Peruſing at your beſt Leiſure, ſhall find true, my humble Deſire is, That you will give me Leave to publiſh it under your Grace's Name; partly, that, by it, the ſimpler Sort (for I write not for the Learned) may have a Taſte, by this, of the Honeſty, or rather Diſhoneſty, of *Papiſts* in handling of Points in Controverſy; and, partly, that it may be a Teſtimony of that reverent Reſpect, which I acknowledge due to ſuch Church-Governors, as your Grace is, who *give Attendance unto Reading* (which the [1] Apoſtle willed *Timothy* to do) and, after the Example of the ancient Biſhops, preach often, drawing on others, not by Words only, but by Example alſo, to Performance of like Exerciſes. Hereafter, if it pleaſe God, that Health and Means of Books ſerve, I ſhall light on ſome more profitable Argument. In the mean While, I pray God ſtrengthen your Grace's Hands to the Finiſhing of the Lord's Work, in the Province wherein you ſit, as one of the ſeven Angels in the Seven Churches mentioned in the *Revelation*; that, by your Grace's Means, the Epha, wherein *Popiſh Wickedneſs* ſitteth, may be lifted up between the Earth and the Heaven, and carried out of the *North* into the Land of *Sinar*, and ſet there upon his own Place.

---

* This is the 191ſt Number of the Catalogue of Pamphlets in the *Harleian* Library.

[1] 2 Theſſ. ii. 10, 11.

[2] *N. D.* in his Warnword to Sir *Francis Haſtings*'s Watchword, Encounter I. cap. 2.

[3] In his Reproof of Dr. *Abbot*'s Defence of Mr. *Perkins*'s Preface to the Reader, p. 10.

[4] Apologia ad Lib. *Jacob. Mag. Britan.* Regis, cap. xv. p. 208.

[5] *Bellarm. Paron. Pighius*, &c.

Your Grace's at Commandment,

ALEXANDER COOKE.

---

[1] 1 Tim. iv. 13.

To the *Popiſh*, or *Catholick* READER.

PAPIST, *or* Catholick, *chuſe whether Name thou haſt a Mind to (for, though I know, that, of late Years, thou art proud of both, even of the Name* [1] Papiſt, *as well as of the Name* [2] Catholick, *yet I envy thee neither; only I would have thee remember, that that Firebrand of Hell,* Hildebrand, *commonly called* Gregory the Seventh, [3] *was the firſt Man, who challenged it, as his ſole Right, to be called* Papa, *that is,* Pope, *whence thou art called* Papiſt; *and that divers are of Opinion, as* [4] Hugo de Victore *noteth, that, in ſome Senſe, the Devil might be called a* Catholick) *I offer unto thee here a Diſcourſe touching Pope* Joan (*if thou dareſt read it, for Fear of falling into thy Pope's Curſe*) *whoſe Popedom I will make good unto thee, not by the Teſtimonies of* Pantaleon, *and* Functius, *and* Sleidan, *and* Illyricus, *and* Conſtantinus Phrygio, *and* John Bale, *and* Robert Barnes, *becauſe thou* [5] *haſt condemned their Perſons, and their Books too, to Hell; but by the Teſtimonies of thy Brethren, the Sons of thy own Mother, becauſe, as* [6] *one ſaith,* Firmum eſt genus probationis, quod etiam ab adverſario ſumitur, ut veritas etiam ab inimicis veritatis probetur: '*That is a ſtrong Proof, which*

---

[1] *Baron.* Annot. in Martyrol. Rom. Octob. 16. b. *Lorinus* in Act. Apoſt. cap. xx. verſ. 30. *Anaſtaſius Cochelet.* Palæſtrita Honoris D. Hallenſis pro Lipſio, cap. i. pag. 6.

[2] *Bellarm.* Lib. iv. de Eccleſia, cap. 4. Rhem. Annot. in Act. xi. 26.

[3] *Baron.* Annot. in Martyrol. Rom. Jan. 10. c.

[4] Annot. in 1 ad Cor. xiii.

[5] In Indice Lib. prohibit.

[6] *Novatian.* de Trinitate, cap. 18. num. 86. inter Opera *Tertulliani.*

‘ *is wrung out of the Adverſary, when the Enemies of Truth are driven to bear Witneſs unto* ‘ *the Truth.*’ *And, as* [1] *another,* Amici contra amicum, & inimici pro inimico, invincibile teſtimonium eſt : *Which ſounds, as I conceive it, thus :* ‘ *The Teſtimony of a* ‘ Papiſt *againſt a* Papiſt, *and the Teſtimony of a* Papiſt *for a* Proteſtant, *is without Ex*‘ *ception.*’ *The Reaſon, why I have framed it in Way of Dialogue, was, that I might meet more fully with all the Cavils, which thy Proctors uſe in pleading of this Caſe ; and that it might be better underſtood of common Readers, who are ſooner gulled with continued Diſcourſes. If I have ſpoken truly, I would have thee bear Witneſs with me unto the Truth ; if otherwiſe, I am content thou ſtrike me : For, though I hold thy* Papiſm, *in ſome Reſpect, to be worſe than* Atheiſm, *agreeably to a Speech fathered upon* Epiphanius, χείρων ἡ κακοπιστία τῆς ἀπιστίας, Hereſy is worſe than Infidelity, *and, by Conſequent, thyſelf a dangerous Neighbour to dwell by ; becauſe, as one of thy own* [2] *Doctors writes,* Certè periculoſius eſt cum hæreticis, quam cum Samaritanis, quam cum Gentilibus, aut Mahumetanis agere : ‘ *It is, queſtionleſs, more dangerous to dwell by* ‘ *an Heretick, than to dwell by a* Samaritan, *by an* Heathen, *by a* Turk :’ *Yet I am not ſo far out of Love with thee, but I can be content to learn of thee, as* [3] *St.* Auguſtine *did of* Tyconius *the Heretick, if thou canſt teach me. Yea, I profeſs, that, though it may be gathered out of* [4] Campian, *thy Champion and* Tyburn-*Martyr, that thou believeſt one Heaven cannot hold thee and ſuch as are of my Opinion ; though* [5] Coſterus *wiſh ſtrangely, That he may be damned both Body and Soul, if any of us be ſaved ; yet that hath not eſtranged me ſo far from thee, but that I wiſh thee well, even Eyes to ſee the Truth, and Ingenuity to acknowledge it.*

---

[1] *Vives* de Inſtrumento Probabilitatis. [2] *Maldonat* in Johan. iv. 9. [3] Lib ii. Retract. cap. 18. [4] Ratio. 10. [5] Fieri nequit, ut Lutheranus moriens ſalvetur, gehennam evadat, ex æternis ignibus eripiatur. Si mentior, damner ipſe cum Lucifero, *ſaith Coſterus.* Reſp. ad Refutationem *Lucæ Oſiandr.* Propoſit. 8. pag. ult.

Proteſtant. WELL met, and welcome Home, Sir. What new Book have you brought us down from *London* this Mart ?

Papiſt. Oh, I have an excellent Book, which diſcourſeth at large about Pope *Joan*, whoſe Popedom you caſt in the Catholicks Teeth ſo often.

Prot. What Language is it in, I pray you ? *French*, or *Latin*, or *Engliſh*, and who made it ?

Pap. It was [1] firſt written in *French*, but I have it in *Latin.* The Author of it is one *Florimondus Ræmondus.*

Prot. Florimondus Ræmondus ! What is he, that I never heard of him before ? Is he, and his Book, of any Credit ?

Pap. He himſelf is reputed [2] a very famous Man for Life and Learning ; ſo that, at this Preſent, he is one of the *French* King's Council at *Bourdeaux*, and, as for his Book, it is of wonderful Eſteem.

Prot. With whom I pray you ?

Pap. Even with Cardinal *Baronius* ; for [3] he holds it the worthieſt Diſcourſe that ever was made of that Argument : He profeſſeth, that he could have found in his Heart to have inſerted it into his Annals, but that it is ſomewhat too large ; for by it, as the Cardinal further [4] noteth, he hath ſo confounded all the Pack of Hereticks, who heretofore upbraided the Catholicks with it, that now they are aſhamed of that which they have ſaid.

Prot. But hath any Man elſe the like Opinion of it ?

---

[1] An. 1602. *Poſſevin.* in errat. & prætermiſ. 1. 10. quæ habentur ad finem To. iii. Apparat. ſac.

[2] Vir, cum primis illuſtris ac pius, & doctrina inſignis, *Baronius* Annal. Tom. x. ad An. 853. Num. 62. [3] Præ cæteris commendandus, fama nobilis *Florimundus : Baronius* loco citato.

[4] Sic confecit monſtrum illud, ut novatores pudeat, quæ ſcripſerunt vel ſomniaſſe. Ibid.

Pap. Yea marry, *Poſſevin* is of the ſame Mind; for *Poſſevin* [5] ſaith, that he hath killed the Hereticks outright; that, ſince the Publiſhing of that Book, the Hereticks are ſilenced, they dare talk no more of a Pope *Joan.*

Prot. And who elſe I pray you?

Pap. *Lipſius*, for he writ to his Friend, that ‘Ita plene omnia exequutus eſt, ut nobis nihil reliqui ſit præter credere & aſſentiri. *Florimondus* had handled the Matter ſo fully, that there remained nothing for any Man to do, but to believe, and to ſay *Amen* to that which he had done.

Prot. This is much: But have you read it?

Pap. Read it! Yea I have read it again and again: Beſides, I have compared it with that which is written of the ſame Argument, by *Buchingerus* in *Germany*, by *Charanza* in *Spain*, by *Onuphrius*, and *Bellarmine*, and *Baronius*, in *Italy*; by *Turrian*, and *Bernartius*, in *Belgia*; by *Pontacus* in *Aquitania*, by *Genebrard*, and *Papyrius Maſſonus*, in *France*; by *Saunders*, by *Cope*, by *Harding*, by Father *Parſons*, and others of our own Country.

Prot. And what ſay you now, after the Reading of all theſe, to the Story of Pope *Joan?* Tell me in good Earneſt, and diſſemble not.

Pap. I ſay, the very Truth is, that the whole Story of Pope *Joan* is [6] a Fable, a [7] fond and vain Fable, a [8] mere Fable, an [9] heretical Fable, a [1] ridiculous Fiction, and ſo [2] known to the learneder Sort of Proteſtants among you; but that you will not leave to delude the World with it, for Lack of other Matter. Yea [3], I ſay further, there are ſo many Improbabilities and moral Impoſſibilities in this Tale, as no Man, of any mean Judgment, Diſcretion, or Common-ſenſe, will give Credit thereto, but will eaſily ſee the Vanity thereof; and, in a Word, [4] I ſay, he was a Knave that deviſed it, and he is a Fool that believeth it.

Prot. Now this is excellent in good Truth, I ſee there is Mettle in you: But what Reaſon have you on your Side, that you are ſo peremptory? Did it run for Courant, without Controulment, till within theſe forty Years, or thereabout, to wit, till the Year 1566, that *Onuphrius*, the Friar, began to boggle at it? Was not *Onuphrius* the firſt that ever, by Reaſon, ſought to diſcredit the Report of it? And yet doth not even [5] he confeſs, that many Men of Worth, as well as of ordinary Sort, believed it for a Truth? Is it not to be found in *Marianus Scotus*, in *Sigebert*, in *Gotefridus Viterbienſis*, in *Johannes de Pariſiis*, in *Martinus Polonus*, in *Petrarch*, in *Boccace*, in *Ranulfus Ceſtrenſis*, in *Johannes Lucidus*, in *Alphonſus de Carthagena*, in *Theodoricus de Niem*, in *Chalchondylas*, in *Wernerus Rolenink*, in *Platina*, in *Palmerius*, in *Nauclerus*, in *Sabellidus*, in *Trithemius*, in *Volaterran*, in *Bergomenſis*, in *Schedel*, in *Laziardus*, in *Fulgoſus*, in *Textor*, in an Epiſtle written by the Univerſities of *Paris*, *Oxford*, and *Prague*, to all at *Rome*; in *Mantuan*, in *Crantius*, in *Charanza*, and a [6] Number more of your own Faction, and of your own Friends? Of which ſome were *Grecians*, ſome *Italians*, ſome *Spaniards*, ſome *French*, ſome *Germans*, ſome *Polonians*, ſome *Scots*, ſome *Engliſh*, and yet never a one of them a *Lutheran*. Yea, do we not find it in ſome of your Stories ſet down in Pictures? And is not ſo much to be gathered by that Image of her's, which is ſet up amongſt the reſt of the Images of the Popes, in the renowned Church of *Siena* in *Italy*, and is to be ſeen there at this Day; which the Biſhop of that Place would not ſuffer to be defaced, at the laſt Repairing of that Church, though your Jeſuits did earneſtly requeſt him to deface it? Was there not made of old, for Fear of ſuch like After-claps, a Stool of Eaſement, on which they were ſet at their Creation, for Proof of their Humanity? Was there not a marble Image ſet up, as a Monument thereof, in that Place where ſhe miſcarried, to wit, in one of the chiefeſt Streets in *Rome*? Which Monument was to be ſeen likewiſe within theſe few Years, even in *Pius the Fifth's* Time. And is it not written by Men among yourſelves; That your Popes, when they go in Proceſſion, refuſe to go through that Street, in Deteſtation of that Fact, and go further about? How ſay you, is it not even thus?

---

[5] Prorſus confodit Hæreticos qui Commentum illud ſparſerunt in vulgus, ut amplius ea de fabula hiſcere non audeant. In Apparatu ſac. verbo, *Florimondus.* *See* Gretſer, Tom. ii. defenſ. *Bellar.* Lib. iii. Cap. 24. Col. 987.

[6] *Onuph.* Annot. in Plat. in vita *Joh.* viii.

[7] *Harding* in his Anſwer to *Juel's* Apology.

[8] N. D. Part. ii. C. 5. Num. xxi. p. 391. of the 3. Converſ.

[9] Idem Num. xxvi. p. 403.

[1] Ibid.

[2] Idem Num. xxi. p. 391.

[3] Idem Num. xxxvi. p. 403.

[4] Impudentiſſime ficta, ſtultiſſime credita. *Bernartius* de Utilitate legendæ Hiſt. Lib. ii. p. 105. in marg.

[5] Multos & magni nominis viros hiſtoriam hanc ſuſcipere, eam quoque vulgo veram exiſtimari. Loco ſupra citato.

[6] *Barthol. Caſſ.* ii. Part. Catal. gloriæ mundi, nona Conſideratio. *Joh. Turrecremat.* in Summa, Lib. iv. Part. 2. Cap. 20. *Carolus Molinæus*, Comment. in Pariſienſ. Conſuetud. Tit. i. Nu. 26. Cælius Rhodigin. Antiquarum Lect. Lib. viii. Cap. 1.

Pap. It is written, I confeſs, that our Popes, in Deteſtation of that Fact, when they go in Proceſſion to the *Lateran* Church, refuſe to go through that Street, but they who write ſo miſtake the Matter. For the true Reaſon why they turn out of that Street, which is the nearer Way, is, for that that Street is *anguſta et anfractuoſa*, a narrow Street, and ſuch a one as winds this Way, and that Way, and in that Reſpect, unfit for ſo great a Train, as ordinarily accompanies the Pope, to paſs orderly through; as [1] *Onuphrius*, and [2] *Bellarmine*, and [3] *Florimondus* have obſerved.

Prot. Say you ſo? Why, but if it be true, which *Philippus Bergomenſis* hath ſtoried, this Obſervation is falſe; for, *Eo omiſſo*, [4] ſaith he, ſpeaking of the Pope's Turning out of that Place of the Street, wherein Dame *Joan* was delivered, 'declinat ad diverticula, vicoſque '& ſic, loco deteſtabili poſtergato, reintrantes, 'iter perficiunt quod cœperunt;' that is, Leaving that Way, they turn into By-lanes, and by Streets; and as ſoon as they are beyond that deteſtable Place, they turn into their High-way again, and ſo go on in their Proceſſion. For if, upon their leaving that Street, they enter into By-lanes and By-ſtreets, and as ſoon as they are paſt that ominous Place, turn in again; the Reaſon why they leave that Street cannot be, for that it is narrow and winding in and out. For no Queſtion, but thoſe By-lanes are as narrow; and by their turning out, and returning into the ſame Way again, they wind as often in and out, as if they went along through the ſame Street, though it were very crooked. But howſoever, ſhift it among you; for it ſufficeth me, that you cannot deny, but that which I told you concerning this Point, is written by Men of your own Religion; eſpecially ſeeing [5] *Platina*, who knew *Rome* well enough, and was deſirous to cover the Popes Nakedneſs herein, as much as he could with any Honeſty, confeſſeth, that this is probable enough. What have you to ſay to the reſt of my Speech?

Pap. Much. For whereas you ſay *Onuphrius* was the firſt who by Reaſon ſought to diſcredit the Report of it; that is not ſo. *Johannes de Columna*, a good Writer of Chronicles, long before *Onuphrius*, hath likewiſe utterly rejected the Vanity of this Fable, as [6] Doctor *Harding* noteth.

Prot. *Johannes de Columna*'s Hiſtory is extant in *Latin* in the Univerſity Library at *Oxford*; and in *French*, in *New College* Library. But there is not one Word, good, or bad, for, or againſt Pope *Joan* in it. If he rejected it, he rejected it by Silence.

Pap. But [7] *Johannes Aventinus*, rejected it in plain Words: And he wrote a good many Years before *Onuphrius*.

Prot. *Johannes Aventinus* (I grant) rejects it as a Fable in one Word, but he gives no Reaſon of his rejecting of it. Beſides, [8] *Bellarmine* caſts him off as a Writer of ſmall Credit; and [9] *Baronius* brands him, not merely for a ſcabbed Sheep, but for an Heretical ſcabby Beaſt, deſtitute both of Honeſty and Learning; and divers of your Popes have [1] cried down his Hiſtory, as unworthy of Reading; wherefore I ſee no Reaſon, that his reaſonleſs Rejecting of it doth any Way prejudice the Truth of it. What have you elſe to ſay?

Pap. Firſt I would know, Who told you there was ſuch a marble Image in one of the Streets at *Rome*?

Prot. [2] *Theodoricus de Niem*, who was Secretary to one of your Popes, told me that; for 'Adhuc vetus ſtatua marmorea illic poſita figurativè monſtrat hoc factum,' ſaith *Theodoricus de Niem*; that is, Unto this Day an old marble Image erected in that Place ſheweth the Matter under a Figure.

Pap. Indeed [3] I cannot deny but that in former Ages many have ſaid ſo, and, to confeſs a Truth, I myſelf have read as much in *Antonius*, Archbiſhop of *Florence*, and in *Peter Mexia*. But verily that Image reſembled no ſuch Thing. For neither was it like a Woman lying in Child-bed, nor was the Boy, which was engraven by her, like a Child in the Swadling-clouts, but like one of ſome Years.

---

[1] Loco ſupra citato. [2] Lib. iii. de Rom. Pont: cap. 24. [3] Fabula *Joannæ*, cap. 21. p. 184.
[4] In Supplement Chron. ad An. 858. [5] De Vitis Pont. in vita Joh. viii. [6] Confutat. of the Apology, Part iv. Fol. 166. [7] Annalium Boiorum, Lib. iv. [8] *Joh. Aventinus* author parum probatæ fidei, *ſaith* Bell. Append. ad Lib. de ſum. Pont. Cap. 10. [9] Infectam hæreſis ſcabie beſtiam, pietate & doctrina omnino deſertam. *Baron.* Annal. To. x. ad 996. Num. 54. [1] In Indicibus Lib. prohibitorum. [2] Lib. de Privilegiis & Juribus Imperii. [3] *Florimond.* Lib. citato, Cap. 21. num. 2.

Prot. This your Exception is to no Purpoſe; for that Age was a learnleſs and a witleſs Age. And therefore, perhaps, had no more Skill in Engraving, Carving, and Painting, than [4] they had (of whom we read in an Epiſtle of Sir *Thomas More*'s unto *Eraſmus*) who pictured an Hare and a Grayhound ſo like, that no Man could know the one from the other, till he, full wiſely, writ under, This is the Dog. This is the Hare; as they of whom *Appian* writes, making Mention of ſome, [5] who were driven to ſet either under, or above their Pictures, 'Hoc eſt bos, illud equus, hic arbor,' that Men might know what Kind of Creature it was that they had painted. Queſtionleſs [6] *Æneas Silvius*, pointing to a better Time than that of Pope *Joan*'s, condemns the Painters and Carvers thereof, for notorious Bunglers, ſaying thus, 'Si ducentorum, trecentorumve annorum, aut ſculpturas intueberis, aut picturas; invenies non hominum, ſed monſtrorum portentorumque facies; that is, If thou obſerve the engraven or painted Images, which were made two or three-hundred Years ago, thou ſhalt find, that they are faced more like Monſters, and Hobgoblins, than Men. Now if they were ſuch, what Marvel, though intending to engrave a Woman travelling, or rather newly delivered of a Child, they did it but untowardly? But what I pray you doth that Image repreſent, if it repreſent not Pope *Joan*?

Pap. [7] Cardinal *Bellarmine* ſeems to like of their Opinion, who gueſs that ſome Heatheniſh Prieſt, who was about to offer Sacrifice, and had his Man before him, is denoted thereby. But I am rather of [8] *Florimondus*'s Mind, who thinks it was an Idol, even an Image of ſome of the Gods of the Heathen.

Prot. If it had repreſented a ſacrificing Prieſt, and his Man, the Man ſhould have been engraved behind, and not before his Maſter. For the Servant followeth his Maſter, [9] as the young Man, that bare *Jonathan*'s Armour, followed *Jonathan*; wherefore you have Reaſon to leave *Bellarmine* in this. But why do you incline to *Florimondus*; doth he give you any Reaſon for this Opinion; or alledgeth any Author of his Opinion?

Pap. Yes [1] he profeſſeth, that he followeth *Onuphrius* therein, who was a moſt diligent Antiquary.

Prot. But he lyes in that. For *Onuphrius* ſpeaks not one Word good or bad of this marble Image. He paſſeth it over in Silence, as though no Man had ever ſpoken of it.

Pap. I marvel if that be ſo. But yet I reſt perſuaded upon *Florimondus's* next Reaſon, that that Image reſembled not Pope *Joan*. For if the Engraver had purpoſed to expreſs ſuch a Matter, and to continue thereby the Memory thereof to the World's End, he would have ſet ſome [2] Inſcription over it; for ſo do all Men who erect Monuments for Remembrances.

Prot. That is not ſo, for we read in [3] *Euſebius*, that the [4] Woman who was cured by our Saviour Chriſt of her Iſſue of Blood, &c. erected, after the Cuſtom of the Heathen, an Image of him no Doubt for Remembrance Sake. But we read of no Inſcription written upon it. In the Book of [5] *Joſhua* we read, that the *Iſraelites* were commanded to lay twelve Stones upon an Heap, as a Memorial unto their Children for ever: And yet it is plain by the Circumſtances, they ſet nothing thereon in Writing. When you paint St. *Peter*, you paint him with Keys in his Hand, and ſet no Inſcription over his Head, nor under his Feet, as [6] *Baronius* confeſſeth. Wherefore, for any Thing I yet hear, it is moſt probable that it was ſet up for a Monument of Pope *Joan*.

Pap. Enjoy your Conceit. But [7] I can tell you one Thing: That Image is now removed out of that Place. For *Sixtus Quintus*, that great Builder and Mender of High-ways, when he made that Street ſtraight wherein that Image was, was forced to remove that Image.

---

[4] Inter opera *Mori* impreſſa Baſil. 1563. Pag. 441.

[5] *Ælian.* de varia Hiſt. Lib. x.

[6] Epiſt. 120.

[7] Lib. iii. de Rom. Pont. Cap. 24.

[8] Cap. citat. num. 6.

[9] 1 Sam. xiv. 12, 13.

[1] Cum *Onuphrio Panvino* antiquitatis perſcrutatore diligentiſſimo vetus aliquod idolum exiſtimavi. *Florim.* Ibid.

[2] Inſcriptionem præfixiſſet. Pag. 188.

[3] Lib. vii. Hiſt. Cap. 14.

[4] Matt. ix. 21.

[5] Cap iv. 7,8.

[6] Obſervat. in Annal. tom. i. ad an. 57. apud *Poſſevin.* in Apparat. ſac. verbo, *Cæſar Baron.*

[7] Sixtus Quintus hunc vicum rectiorem duci curavit, quo factum eſt ut imago illa ſublata ſit. *Florim.* Cap. 21. Pag. 189.

Prot. Belike, that Image would have been ſome Blemiſh unto the Street, if it had remained; and that made him move it.

Pap. Yea marry would it.

Prot. Now well fare his Heart that was ſo careful to rid the Streets of ſuch a comberſome Monument. But who told you that *Sixtus Quintus* removed it upon that Occaſion?

Prot. [8] *Florimondus.*

Pap. Was it he? Then know him for a Lyar, whilſt you live; for it was *Pius Quintus*, and not *Sixtus Quintus*, who removed it.

Prot. And *Pius Quintus* removed it, and caſt it into *Tiber*, not for that it diſgraced the Street; but *ut memoriam hiſtoriæ illius aboleret*; that he might extinguiſh the Memory of that ſhameful Act. And this is witneſſed not only by ſome Travellers, who were at that Time in *Rome*; but by [9] *Elias Haſſenmuller*, one (once) of your fiery Order of Jeſuits. Your *Florimondus* will not deſerve (I fear) Half the Commendation you have given him.

Pap. I doubt not but he will acquit himſelf like a Man, of whatſoever you can ſay againſt him. But whence had you that of the Stool of Eaſement, I pray you, for [1] in *Bellarmine* I read, that, ‘de ſede ad explorandum ſexum nulla uſquam mentio:’ Of a Stool of Eaſement, to try the Pope's Sex, there is no where any Mention; and in [2] *Onuphrius*, That it is but a mere Toy, and an idle Conceit of idle People.

Prot. That of the Stool of Eaſement, is recorded by *Philippus Bergomenſis*, [3] a Man of great Worth in his Time, as *Trithemius* witneſſeth. For upon Mention made of Pope *Joan*'s Story, ‘Ad evitandos ſimiles errores ſtatutum fuit,’ [4] ſaith he, ‘ne quis de cætero in *B. Petri* collocaretur ſede, priuſquam per perforatam ſedem futuri Pontificis genitalia ab ultimo Diacono Cardinale attrectarentur.’ That is, For avoiding like Error in future Times, it was decreed, that no Man ſhould be held for Pope, till the youngeſt Cardinal Deacon had found by Trial, while he ſat upon a Stool of Eaſement, that he was a Man. And it is likewiſe teſtified by [5] *Laonicus Chalchondylas*. For upon Relation of that Story, he goes on thus: ‘Quapropter ne decipiantur iterum, ſed rem cognoſcant, neque ambigant; Pontificis creati virilia tangunt, & qui tangit, acclamat: Mas nobis Dominus eſt,’ that is, Leſt they ſhould be deceived again, they make Proof by Feeling; and he that feeleth makes it known by crying out: We have a Man Pope. And by Friar *Robert* [6]: For, ‘duxit me ſpiritus ad Lateranenſe Palatium, & poſuit me in porticu ante ſedes Porphyrii ubi dicitur probari Papa an ſit homo. My good Spirit (ſaid he) led me unto the Palace of *Lateran*, and ſet me in the Gallery before the Chairs of Porphyry, wherein they ſay the Pope is tried whether he be a Man or no Man. And you may find as much in a later Papiſt, who within theſe few Years, writ a Book of the Harmony of Romiſh Magiſtrates, and in it this.

Pap. You ſay true indeed. For I now remember [7] *Florimondus* confeſſeth ſo much, yet he reproveth the Author for Writing ſo. But let us go on; for I long to hear of whom you heard that ſuch a Chair was to be ſeen, in the Pope's Palace, within theſe few Years.

Prot. I heard that of [8] *Sabellicus*. For, writing of the ſame Matter, ‘Spectatur adhuc in Pontificia domo marmorea ſella (ſaith he) circa medium inanis, qua novus Pontifex continuò ab eius creatione recedit, ut ſedentis genitalia ab ultimo Diacono attrectentur;’ that is, There is to be ſeen at this Day, in the Pope's Palace, a Chair of Marble, wherein the new Pope preſently upon his Election is ſet down, that, as he ſits, the loweſt Deacon may make Trial of his Humanity by Touching. And you may find as much in *William Brewin*, who lived in the Year 1470; for, in [9] *Capella Salvatoris*, ſaith he, ‘Sunt duæ vel plures ca-

---

[8] Loco citato.

[9] Hiſtoria Jeſuitici Ordinis, Cap. 10. de Jeſuitarum Patre & Matre.

[1] Lib. iii. de Rom. Pont. Cap. 24.

[2] Fabuloſum, & ab imperito vulgo fictum. Annotat. in *Plat.* in vit. Joh. viii.

[3] Nobiliter doctus, hiſtoriographus celeberrimus *Trith.* de Scrip Eccleſ verbo, *Jacobus Bergomenſis.*

[4] In Supplement. Chron ad An. 858.

[5] De Rebus Turcicis, Lib. vi. Pag. 98.

[6] Lib. Viſionum impreſſus Pariſ. 1513. Cap. 3. Fol. 25.

[7] Cap. 18. p. 159. In ridiculorum authorum grege annumerandus eſt.

[8] Æneid 9. Lib. i.

[9] *Wilhelmus Brewin* in codice manuſcripto de 7 Eccleſiis principalibus urbis Romæ.

‘ thedræ de lapide marmoreo & cubio, cum foraminibus in iis ſculptis, ſuper quas cathedras, ut audivi ibidem, eſt probatio Papæ, utrum ſit maſculus, annon;’ that is, In the Chapel of our Saviour, there are two or three marble Chairs with Holes in them, wherein, as I heard there, they make Proof, whether the Pope be a Man or no.

Pap. [1] *Florimondus* acknowledgeth, there is yet ſuch a Chair, wherein the Pope ſits after his Election. But that he ſits therein, to ſuch an End as you ſpeak, that he utterly denies.

Prot. And what is his Reaſon?

Pap. [2] Becauſe he ſits therein not in a Corner, but in the great Church of *St. John Lateran*, whither all the World, almoſt, comes to ſee him; where he is attended by the whole College of Cardinals, and whereat there are many Ambaſſadors of Kings and Princes; for a cloſer Place were fitter for ſuch a Purpoſe. They might more conveniently have made Trial of his Humanity in the Conclave where he was choſen.

Prot. And ſo they did, it ſeems; for, preſently upon their Electing of him, before they proclaimed him Pope, they ſet him in a Chair in their Conclave, as you may read in the Book of holy Ceremonies, dedicated to *Leo the Tenth*. Whereby you may ſee how idly [3] *Bellarmine* talks, who, taking upon him to clear the Point, never ſpeaks of his Sitting in the Chair in the Conclave, but only of his Sitting in certain other Chairs at *St. John Lateran*'s, as though he had been chaired only in Publick, and not in Private; and that he himſelf had ſaid ſufficiently to the Point in Queſtion, by proving, that in Publick there was no ſuch Concluſion tried with the Pope; whereas the Concluſion was tried in Secret. But can you tell me what the End is, why the Pope ſits in ſuch a Chair in Publick?

Pap. Marry to the End that thereby he may be put in Mind, that he is not God, but Man; inaſmuch as he ſtands in Need of a Cloſe-ſtool as well as others; for ſo ſaith [4] *Florimondus*.

Prot. I promiſe you, and he had need be put in Mind thereof. For, though [5] ſome Papiſt ſhamefully deny it, there have been Popiſh Clawbacks, [6] who, in plain Words, have termed the Pope, as [7] St. *Thomas* termed *Chriſt*, their *Lord* and *God*; and there are ſtill [8] who give him ſuch Titles as are due to God, and aſcribe like Power to him and God. But methinks they ſhould not need to have ſet him in ſuch a Chair to ſuch a Purpoſe; for his own Neceſſity would have driven him to ſet himſelf thereon ordinarily every Day? and his Chamber-pot would have ſerved to put him in Mind of his Humanity ſufficiently. For *Antigonus* the Elder knew by that, that he was *Man* and not *God*, as [9] *Plutarch* writeth: Beſides, methinks they ſhould not have intended ſuch a Myſtery by ſuch a Ceremony, becauſe they ſet him therein before he was in his *Pontificalibus*; for, till he be mitered, till he be crowned, till he have received the Keys, whereby is denoted his Power to bind and looſe; and a Rod, whereby is denoted his Power to puniſh the Obſtinate; methinks there ſhould be no great Fear of Forgetting himſelf. For, till ſuch Ceremonies are performed, he is not in his Ruff. Again, had it not been better, think you, if they had aimed at any ſuch Mark, to have cauſed a Boy to come every Morning unto the Pope's Chamber-door (after the Example of [1] *Philip* King of *Macedonia)* who ſhould have whooped him out of his Bed, and bid him remember, that he was mortal?

Pap. If you like not *Florimondus*'s Conjecture touching that Ceremony, what ſay you to [2] *Bellarmine*'s, which is: That he is ſet on ſuch a Stool, to ſignify how he is raiſed from baſe Eſtate to ſupreme Honour?

Prot. I ſay *Bellarmine*'s Conjecture is as improbable and fond as *Florimondus*'s. For your Popes, ſince Pope *Joan*'s Days, have been choſen, for the moſt Part out of the Number of your Cardinals. And your Cardinal's Eſtate is not ſo baſe, as that he, who is advanced from that unto the Papacy, can be truly ſaid to be taken in any Sort from off a Cloſe-ſtool. For they are generally Princes[1] Fellows. Yea ſome of them, you cannot but know, have not been aſhamed to prefix their own Names before their own King's, uſing theſe Words; *I and my King*; wherefore, unleſs you can render me ſome better Reaſon, why your Popes are ſet on ſuch a Seat, I ſhall remain perſuaded, that, in former Times, it was for Proof of their Humanity, upon the Accident aforeſaid.

---

[1] Cap. xx. p. 176.

[2] Ibid p. 181.

[3] Lib. iii. de Rom. Pont. Cap. 24.

[4] Cap. xx. p. 177 and 188.

[5] *N. D.* in his Warn-word to Sir *Francis Haſtings*'s Encounter I. Cap. ii. Fol. 30.

[6] Cap. Cum Inter. extrav. Joh. xxii. Impreſſ. Pariſ. 1513, & Lugduni, 1555.

[7] Joh. xx. 28.

[8] Plane ſupremum in terris numen. *Stapleton.* princip. fidei doctrin. præfat. ad Greg. xiii.

[9] Part. ii. Moral. Lib. de Iſide & Oſiride.

[1] *Stobæus* Serm. 19. ex *Æliano.*

[2] Lib. iii. de Rom. Pont. Cap. 24.

Pap. Enjoy your Opinion for me. But where read you that there was ſuch an Image in the Church of *Siena*, which the Jeſuits would have defaced, but that the Biſhop of the Place would not ſuffer them?

Prot. That I have heard by many Travellers, and read in Maſter *Bell*; both in his Book of[2] *Motives concerning the* Romiſh *Religion*, and in his[3] *Survey of Popery*; whereunto never a Papiſt of you all dare anſwer.

Pap. Yes we dare, though we do not. But I can tell you News: [4] That Image of Pope *Joan*, which was ſet up in the Church of *Siena*, is caſt down by the Commandment of *Clement the Eighth*, by the Means of *Cæſar Baronius*, at the Requeſt of *Florimondus*. *Cæſar Baronius* hath certified *Florimondus* ſo much by a Letter, and, for Joy, [5] *Florimondus* hath publiſhed it unto the World.

Prot. What? Is that Image caſt down too? *Florimondus* might do well to make Requeſt to the preſent Pope, that thoſe Books which write of Pope *Joan* may be burned; in Hope, that the preſent Pope will as readily burn the Books, as *Clement the Eighth* threw down that Image, and *Pius Quintus* the other. And ſo, in Time to come, when all Evidences are imbezzled, and all Monuments defaced, and made out of the Way, it will be a plain Caſe there was never any Pope *Joan*.

Pap. Oh! this [illegible]gers you, I perceive. And yet why ſhould you be angry at the Throwing down of this? For, ſuppoſe it had ſtood ſtill, is there any Senſe, that, becauſe of ſuch an Image, we ſhould be bound the rather to believe there was ſuch a Pope? [6] I can tell you, if we believe Painters and Carvers, we may ſoon mar all; for, in St. *Andrew*'s Church at *Bourdeaux*, one of the excellenteſt Churches in all *France*, our Saviour *Chriſt* is deſcribed aſcending up to Heaven upon the Back of a flying Eagle, which ſtands not well with the Scripture.

Prot. That is true, if we believe your Painters and Carvers, we ſhall ſoon mar all indeed: For we find the Trinity painted by you, ſometimes in the Likeneſs of a Man with three Faces; ſometimes in the Likeneſs of a Man with two Heads, having a Dove between them; both which Faſhions of painting the Trinity are monſtrous, in [7] *Bellarmine*'s Opinion. We find our Saviour Chriſt painted with long Hair, as though he had been a *Nazarite* by Vow; which Conceit is controuled by[8] Scripture. We find him ſet on a Weathercock upon the Top of the Temple of *Jeruſalem*, as though that Temple had had a Spireſteeple like ours[9], which is neither ſo, nor ſo. We find the Virgin *Mary* treading on the Serpent's Head, which the [1] Scriptures foretold, that Chriſt himſelf ſhould do. We find her ſet out in a Gown of wrought Gold, whereas, no Queſtion, ſhe was meanly appareled, and with a Pair of Beads in her Hand; whereas, of a thouſand Years after Chriſt, there were [2] no Beads in the World. In like Sort we find [3] *Moſes* painted with two Horns, [4] *John Baptiſt* in a raw Camel's Skin, [5] *John* the Evangeliſt like a beardleſs Boy, when he writ his Goſpel, *Mary Magdalen* in a looſe Gown, [6] St. *Jerome* in his Cardinal's Robes, all which is falſe as God is true. Beſides, your

---

[1] Cardinalatus celſitudo ac ſplendor, dignitati regiæ comparatur, Sixtus v. in conſtitut. 5 in princip. & ſect. Præterea *Joh. Franciſcus* Leo in Theſauro Fori Eccleſiaſtici, Part. I. Cap. ii. Num. 1.

[2] Lib. 2. Cap. 6. Concluſ. iii. p. 80.

[3] Part III. Cap. ii. p. 191.

[4] *Florim.* Cap. xxii. p. 194.

[5] Page 195.

[6] Si ea, quæ ab artificibus manu finguntur, credamus eſſe vera, interdum veteris & novi Teſtamenti hiſtoriam pervertemus, &c. *Florim.* p. 193.

[7] Lib. ii. de Imag. Cap. 8.

[8] For *Nazarites* muſt drink no Wine, *Numb.* vi. 3. yet our Saviour did, *Mat.* xi. 19, and xxvi. 29.

[9] *Tho. de Truxillo.* Ord. Prædic. Domin. 1. Quadrag. conc. 1.

[1] *Gen.* iii.

[2] Teſte *Polydoro Virgil.* de Invent. Rerum, Lib. v. Cap. 9.

[3] *Hieron.* ab *Oleaſtro* in Exod. xxxiv. & *Aug. Steuchus* in Recognit. Vet. Teſt. ad Hebraicam Verit. in Exod. xxxiv.

[4] *Janſen.* Concord. Evang. Cap. xiii.

[5] In novis Bibliis *Sixti Quinti, & Clem. viii.* yet he writ it Ninety; ætatis annum excedens, ut docet *Baron.* Annal Tom. i ad An. 99. Num. 2.

[6] *Scultingius* Confeſſio Hieronymana. *Polyd. Virg.* de Invent Rerum, Lib. iv. Cap. 9.

Painters recommend unto us a Saint on Horſe-back, whom they call *George*; and another Saint on Foot, as big as a Giant, whom they call *Chriſtopher*; and a ſhe Saint, broken upon a Wheel, and whom they call *Catharine*; and a fourth, drawn in Pieces with Horſes, whom they call *Hippolytus*; whereas, in all Antiquity, [1] there is no Mention of any ſuch Saints; ſo that you never ſpoke a truer Word, in your Life, than this; That, if we believe Painters and Carvers, we ſhall ſoon mar all. But what, if Book-proof concur with Painting and Carving, may we not then, without Fear of marring all, give Credit to Painters and Carvers? Your [2] *Bellarmine* is of Opinion, that there can be no Error in Subſtance, as long as, beſides Book-proof, there be Monuments of Stone, or of Braſs, for the Proof of any ancient Report. And, if he ſpeak the Words of Truth, the Truth is with us; for, beſides Monuments of Stone, we have the Teſtimonies of many Writers.

Pap. But not ſo many as you brag of, I believe; and, beſides [3], thoſe you have are but paltry Writers.

Prot. That ſhall be ſeen by a more particular View of them: Wherefore, *firſt*, what ſay you to *Charanza*, the laſt of them whom I named, who was a Divinity-reader among you, and, afterwards [4], Archbiſhop of *Toledo* in *Spain?* Was he a paltry Writer? or, Hath he not his Story, in your Opinion.

Pap. I think he hath it not. For [5] *Florimondus* names *Charanza* among them, who diſproved the Story of Pope *Joan*, before he himſelf fell to diſprove it.

Prot. Doth he ſo? Doubtleſs then, he belyes *Charanza*; for this is all that [6] *Charanza* writes of that Argument: *Johannes viii*, *Papa* 105 *ſub Petro*, *ſedit An.* 2. *menſ.* 1. *dies* 4. *De hoc ferunt*, *quod malis artibus pontificatum adeptus eſt*, *quoniam*, *cum eſſet fœmina*, *ſexum mentitus eſt*; *& poſtea a ſervo compreſſa*, *doloribus circumventa*, *mortua eſt.* Which, in *Engliſh*, is thus: *John the Eighth*, the one-hundred and fifth Pope from St. *Peter*, ſat two Years, one Month, and four Days. They report of this Perſon, that he got the Papacy by evil Means, becauſe he feigned himſelf to be a Man, whereas, in Truth, he was a Woman; who, being afterwards begot with Child, by one of her Servants, fell in Travel and died thereon; and this is not Diſproving of it, Is it trow you?

Pap. No verily, if he ſay no more of it; but perhaps he ſaith more, and you conceal it from me.

Prot. Not a Word, I warrant you, in Way of diſproving it: Wherefore let us go on, and obſerve who, and what Manner of Men, the reſt are, who bear Witneſs with us in this Caſe. What ſay you to *Krantius?* Hath he not this Story? or, Is he but a paltry Writer?

Pap. Krantius is commended by [7] *Pontanus*, for a famous Hiſtoriographer. And, ſeeing he wrote before *Luther*'s Days, there is no Reaſon, [8] as *Bellarmine* notes upon another Occaſion, that he ſhould be ſuſpected to write any Thing for Love or Hatred. But hath he this Story?

Prot. Yea; [9] for theſe are his own Words: 'Johannes Anglicus, ex Moguntia mulier, 'mentita ſexum, quum acutiſſimo ingenio & 'promptiſſima lingua doctiſſimè loqueretur, 'adeo in ſe convertit omnium animos, ut pon'tificatum adipiſceretur, uno famulo ſexum 'ejus cognoſcente, a quo compreſſa prægnans 'efficitur; & fertur peperiſſe apud Coloſſeum, 'An. 2. necdum expleto, in partu moritur:' Which, in Effect, ſounds thus: *John Engliſh*, a Woman of *Mentz*, diſſembled her Sex, and being of a quick Wit and glib Tongue, and one that could ſpeak very Scholar-like, ſhe ſo won the Hearts of all Men, that ſhe got the Papacy, no Man knowing any other, but that ſhe was a Man, ſave [illegible] of her Servants, who afterwards got her with Child. They ſay ſhe was delivered near the *Coloſſes*, before ſhe had ſitten full two Years. Thus *Krantius.*

Pap. And hath *Mantuan* the ſame, whom you cited next before *Krantius?*

---

[1] For Proof whereof, ſee *D. Rayn.* de Rom. Eccleſiæ Idololat. Lib. I. Chap. v. Num. xxi, &c.

[2] Lib. II. de Rom. Pont. Cap. xi.

[3] Si hujus commenti authores ſpectes, nihil illis vilius. *Florim.* Cap. xxxi. Nu. i.

[4] *Poſſevinus* Apparat. ſacro, verbo, *Barth. Charanza.*

[5] Cap. xxxi. Num. vi.

[6] In Sum. Conc. p. 370. Edit. Pariſ. 1564.

[7] Chronograph. Lib. II.

[8] *Krantius*, homo Germanus, & qui ante Lutheranas contentiones ſcripſit, proinde nec odio nec amore ducebatur Lib. II. de Effectu Sacram. Cap. ix.

[9] Metrop. Lib. II. edit. Colon. 1574, & Francofurt. 1590.

Prot. Yea *Mantuan*, who is commended by [1] *Trithemius* for a great Divine, an excellent Philoſopher, and a famous Poet, the only Man in all *Italy* in his Time: *Mantuan*, [2] at whom the People pointed, as he went in the Streets, and ſaid, This is he; which was wont to be held a Matter of extraordinary Credit. *Mantuan*, of whom *Picus Mirandula*, *Pontanus*, *Beroaldus*, *Baronius*, *Poſſevin*, and divers others [3], give honourable Teſtimony. This *Mantuan* hath this Story; for, falling to deſcribe Hell, and what Manner of Perſons were in Hell:

> ‘ Hic, [4] *ſaith he*, pendebat adhuc ſexum
> mentita virilem
> ‘ Fœmina, cui triplici Phrygiam diademate mitram
> ‘ Extollebat apex, & Pontificalis adulter.’

Which in Effect ſounds thus much: Here hanged the Woman who went like a Man, and came to the Popedom. And here hanged he, that committed Adultery with her.

Pap. You ſay right; for I remember now that [5] *Florimondus* confeſſeth the Tale is in *Mantuan.* But *Mantuan* deſerves no Credit in this; for he writes worſe of her than ever any did before him; and [6] feigns, very ridiculouſly, that her Horſekeeper, who got her with Child, and ſhe were both hanged together.

Prot. Mantuan talks of no Horſekeeper of her's, but in General of one, who committed Adultery with her; nor of any Hanging, ſave of their Hanging in Hell, which is likely enough to be true. Your *Florimondus* can lay his Finger upon Nothing, but he grimes it. He can comment upon no Man's Words, but he wreſts them. There is not a Word in *Mantuan* more (concerning her) than that which is comprehended in the three Verſes cited.

Pap. At better Leiſure, I will examine your Words more narrowly.

Prot. Is not this plain?

Pap. What is there in the Epiſtle of the Univerſities of *Oxford*, *Paris*, and *Prague* which makes for you?

Prot. In that Epiſtle ſet out by *Huldericus Hutten*, *Anno* 1520, we read thus: ‘ *Joh.* ‘ Succeſſor *Leonis* IV, cœpit circa An. Dom. ‘ 854, & ſedit an. 2. & menſ. 5. fœmina fuit, ‘ & in papatu impregnata.’ *John*, who ſucceeded *Leo* IV, was choſen Pope about the Year 854. She was a Woman, and got with Child in her Papacy. Is not this plain?

Pap. Yes, but what find you in *Raviſius Textor?*

Prot. ‘ Scitum eſt ex Chronicis, & à majo‑ ‘ ribus ſcriptum (ſaith [7] *Raviſius Textor*) *Jo‑* ‘ *hannem Anglicum* ab Ephebis ſexum virilem ‘ ſimulaſſe, & tandem fato neſcio quo, aut for‑ ‘ tuna certè volente, ad Pontificatum perveniſ‑ ‘ ſe, in quo annos circiter duos ſederit, poſt ‘ *Leonem* IV, neque prius innotuerit facti veri‑ ‘ tas, quàm, à quodam ex domeſticis impreg‑ ‘ nata, tandem emiſerit partum.’ That is, It is a Thing well known by the Chronicles, and written by our Anceſtors, that *John Engliſh*, from her Youth up, carried herſelf as though ſhe had been a Man, and at length, by I know not what Deſtiny, certainly by very great Luck, ſhe became Pope, and ſat about two Years, after *Leo the Fourth*, and Nobody knew her Couſenage, till ſhe was with Child by one of her menial Servants, and delivered thereof.

Pap. What find you in *Fulgoſus?*

Prot. Marry I find in [8] *Fulgoſus*, [9] who was a noble and learned Man, and ſometimes Duke of *Genoa*, that *John the Eighth* was found out to be a Woman.

Pap. And what in *Laziardus?*

Prot. ‘ *Johannes Anglicus* in Cathedra Petri ‘ ſedit Annis duobus, Menſibus ſeptem, Diebus ‘ quatuor, ſaith [1] *Laziardus.* Hic, ut fertur, ‘ Fœmina fuit, &c.’ That is, *John Engliſh* ſat in St. *Peter*'s Chair two Years, ſeven Months, and four Days. This, as the Report goeth, was a Woman, *&c.*

---

[1] De Script. Eccleſiaſticis, verbo, *Baptiſta Mantuanus.*

[2] *Philip. Beroaldus*, Hieron. Carmelita, ad initium Tom. ii. Operum *Mantuani.*

[3] *Poſſevin* in Apparat. ſacro, Tom. I. verbo, *Baptiſta.*

[4] Tom. III. Lib. iii. *Alphonſi.* fol. 44. edit. Francof. 1573.

[5] Cap. 22. Num. 3.

[6] Stabuli pontificii præfectum cum illa, laqueo in collum inſerto ſuſpenſum, commentatur *Florim.* ibid. & cap. 23. num. 6.

[7] In Officina Tit. *Mulieres virilem habitum mentitæ.*

[8] De Dict. Factiſque memorabilibus, Lib. viii. cap. 3. Tit. *de Fœminis quæ doctrina excel.*

[9] So ſaith *Allen* cap. 5. of his Defence of the Seminaries; and *Poſſevin.* Apparat, ſacr. verbo, *Baptiſta Fulgoſus.*

[1] Epitom. Hiſtor. univerſalis, Cap. 3.

Pap. And who was the next you cited before this?

Prot. Hartmannus Schedel, a Doctor of Phyſick, yet not ignorant of Holy Scriptures, a very witty and well ſpoken Man, as [1] *Trithemius* witneſſeth.

Pap. Oh! *Schedel* (I confeſs) [2] reports this. [3] But he reports it ſo coldly, ſo fearfully, ſo faintly, that a Man may well ſee he doubted of it. For he confeſſeth, that he knew not whether it was ſo or no; and therefore fathers it upon one *Martin*, I know not whom.

Prot. Fie, that you ſhould ſay ſo. Doth he not uſe the very Words without Change, which *Platina* uſeth in relating the ſame, whereof we ſhall have Occaſion to ſpeak 'ere we part? And againſt which you can take no Exceptions. And doth he not (to imprint the Matter deeper into the Reader's Memory) ſet her Picture down with a Child in her Arms?

Pap. Yes indeed I cannot deny that. But, to be plain with you, I care not what he ſaith of it. For, as [4] *Florimondus* noteth, [5] he was one of the ſtinking Brood of the *Huſſites*, and lived in *Nurenberg*, what Time *Nurenberg* was infected with *Huſſe*'s Hereſy. And therefore, no Marvel, if, to curry Favour with them, he touched by the Way the ſuppoſed Popedom of *Joan* the Woman.

Prot. See how you laviſh. This *Hartmannus Schedel*, born in *Nurenberg*, was [6] Student in *Padua*, where he was created Doctor of Phyſick by the great *Mathiolus*. And he was ſo far from *Huſſe*'s Mind, that in the ſame [7] Book he hath one whole Chapter intituled, *De Hæreſi Huſſitarum, & ejus Origine.* That is, Of *Huſſe*'s Hereſy, and of the Original thereof. Wherein he follows *Æneas Silvius* Step by Step [8], who ſpeaks ſpitefully and bitterly againſt *Huſſe* and all his Followers. It ſeems *Florimondus*, of whom you learned this, is one of ſome ſtinking Brood of Lyars.

Pap. Well, who is next?

Prot. Jacobus Bergomenſis, a Man well ſeen in Scripture, and an excellent Humaniſt, witty, eloquent, of good Converſation, and a moſt famous Hiſtoriographer, as [9] *Trithemius* reports of him. This *Jacobus Bergomenſis* (I ſay) writes thus of this Point: “Johannes vii. Papa, Natione Anglicus, poſt Leonem Pontificem Pontifex factus, ſedit Ann. 2. Menſ. 5. Hunc tradunt fuiſſe Fœminam, quæ adoleſcens admodum, ex Anglia, Athenas cum quodam doctiſſimo Amaſio ſuo profecta, ibidem, bonarum artium præceptores audiendo, tantum profecit, ut Romam veniens paucos admodum etiam in ſacris Literis haberet pares. Ea quippe legendo, diſputando, docendo, orando, tantam benevolentiam & gratiam ſibi comparavit, ut, mortuo Leone prædicto Pontifice, in ejuſdem locum, ut multi affirmant, omnium conſenſu Pontifex crearetur: Verùm poſtea, à familiari compreſſa, gravidatur, & Papa exiſtens peperit. Nam ex Vaticano ad Lateranenſem Baſilicam aliquando ad Litanias profecta, inter Coloſſeum & S. Clementem, præter ſpem doloribus circumventa, ſine obſtetrice aliqua publicè peperit, &, eò loci mortua ibidem, ſine ullo honore cum fœtu miſera ſepulta eſt. Ad cujus deteſtandum ſpurcitiem, & nominis continuandum memoriam, in hodiernum uſque ſummi Pontificis rogationem cum populo & clero ſacram agentes, cum locum partus, medio ejus in itinere poſitum, abominentur, eo omiſſo, declinant ad diverticula vicoſque; & ſic, loco deteſtabili poſtergato, reintrantes iter perficiunt quod cœperunt. Et ad evitandos ſimiles errores ſtatutum fuit, ne quis de cætero in B. Petri collocaretur ſede, priuſquam per perforatam ſedem futuri Pontificis genitalia ab ultimo Diacono Cardinale attrectarentur.’ That is, *John the Seventh*, by Country *Engliſh*, was created Pope next after *Leo*, and ſat two Years and five Months. They ſay this was a Woman, and that ſhe went very young out of *England* to *Athens*, with a certain great Clerk, who was in Love with her; and that there, by Hearing of good Profeſſors, ſhe profited ſo much, that, when ſhe came to *Rome*, ſhe had few like her in Divinity. Whereupon, by her

---

[1] Lib. de Scriptoribus Eccleſiaſticis.

[2] In Chron. Ætatum Mundi Ætate 6.

[3] *Schedel.* de hac *Johanna* Verba facit, ſed ita jejunè, ita exiliter, ita incertè, ut de ea Re dubitaſſe videatur. *Florim.* Lib. cit. Cap. 4. Num. 3.

[4] Loco citato.

[5] Ex impura *Huſſitarum* Familia, &c.

[6] Ego *Hartmannus Schedel.* Doctor *Patavinus*, &c. circa An. 1440. fol. 252. b.

[7] Circa An 1410. fol. 238. a.

[8] Hiſtoria *Bohemica*, cap 35.

[9] Lib. de Eccleſiaſticis Scriptoribus.

[1] Supplement. Chron. Lib. xi. ad An. 851, impreſ. *Venetiis* Ann. 1486.

Reading, Diſputing, Teaching, and Praying, ſhe got herſelf ſo much Favour, that, upon *Leo*'s Death, ſhe was choſen Pope into his Room (as many Men ſay) by common Conſent. But ſee the Luck of it; a While after ſhe was got with Child by one of her Acquaintance, and delivered thereof in the Time of her Papacy. For, going upon a Time from the *Vatican* to St. *John Lateran*'s in Proceſſion, between the *Coloſſes* and St. *Clement*'s, 'ere ever ſhe was aware, ſhe fell in Travel, and was delivered in the high Street, without the Help of any Midwife. But ſhe died preſently, and was buried without any Solemnity in the ſame Place, with her little one by her. Now, in Hatred of her filthy Dealing, and for continuing of the Memory of ſo lewd a Part, the Popes to this Day, when they go in Proceſſion, in Reſpect of their Diſlike of that Place of her Travel, which was in the midſt of her Way, forſaking it, do turn into by-Lanes and by-Streets, till they have left that on their Backs; and then, returning into the ſame Street again, they go forward with their Proceſſion. And, for avoiding of like Miſchief in Time to come, it was decreed That none ſhould be conſecrated Pope, before the youngeſt Cardinal Deacon had tried by Touching, whilſt the Party to be conſecrated ſat on a Cloſe-ſtool, that he was a Man. Thus *Bergomenſis*.

Pap. Is not this he that wrote *Supplementum Chronicorum*, in the Year 1503?

Prot. No, but this is he who wrote *Supplementum Chronicorum* in the Year 1486, as [1] *Trithemius* witneſſeth, and the Book itſelf convinceth. Your [2] *Florimondus* was deceived, who, ſeeing (perhaps) that it was printed in the Year 1503, thought it was written in the Year 1503.

Pap. That Error is not ſo great, though an Error. But, if it be he that I mean, I ſay with [3] *Florimondus*, that his Reporting of it is an Argument of his Ignorance, and ſo let him go.

Prot. So you may caſt off all the reſt, if you be diſpoſed, and make ſhort Work of our Conference, for you may ſay of every one: His Reporting of it is an Argument of his Ignorance. When [4] *Volaterran*, an Hiſtoriographer of good Note, ſhall be brought in, ſaying, '*Johannes* vii. *Anglicus*, quem diſſimulato Viri 'Habitu dicunt Fœminam alioquin doctiſſimam 'fuiſſe, deprehenſamque, in Via apud S. *Clementem*, quando peperit;' That is, *John Engliſh*, the Seventh of that Name, who (as they ſay) carried himſelf like a Man, whenas, indeed, ſhe was a notable well learned Woman; and diſcovered ſo to be by her Delivery of a Child in the Way near to St. *Clement*'s: You may reply, *Volaterran*'s Reporting of it is an Argument of his Ignorance.

Pap. And what if I did ſo? Yet you ſhall know anon, that I have a better Anſwer to him, and to the reſt. But mean While go on, and tell me what *Trithemius* ſaith to the Matter.

Prot. *Trithemius* [5] Abbot of St. *Martin*'s Monaſtery in *Spanheim*, a reverend and an exceeding great learned Man, writes [6] thus: 'Sancto *Leone* Papa mortuo, eodem Anno, '*Johannes Anglicus* ſucceſſit 2 Annis, & Menſibus 5, quem ferunt quidam Fœminam extitiſſe, & uni ſoli familiari cognitam, & ab eo 'compreſſam, peperiſſe in Strata publica. Et 'ob id eum nonnulli inter Pontifices ponere no'luerunt, quaſi indignum facinus abhorrentes. That is, In the ſame Year that Pope *Leo* died, *John Engliſh* ſucceeded for two Years and five Months. Now ſome ſay ſhe was a Woman, and that ſhe was known ſo to be but to one only, by whom at length ſhe was begot with Child, and delivered thereof in the High-way. And for this Cauſe ſome would not reckon her among Popes, in diſliking her villainous Fact. Thus *Trithemius*. With whom in Subſtance agreeth *Sabellicus*, [7] a Man of great Reckoning in *Venice*, yea one of the famouſeſt Men in his Time for all Manner of good Learning: Of whoſe Books [8] *Pius the Third* profeſſed he made as much Reckoning as *Alexander* did of *Homer*'s *Iliads*. Johannes Anglicus *hujus Nominis* vii. fit *inde Pontifex*, ſaith [9] *Sabellicus*. *Fuit is Moguntiaco oriundus.*

Pap. Stay you there, and ſave a Labour. For I confeſs with [1] *Florimondus*, that *Sabellicus*, by relying too much on *Platina*, hath put it in his Hiſtory, doing therein very indiſcreetly.

---

[1] Lib. de Scriptoribus Eccleſiaſticis. [2] Lib. citato Page 37. [3] Ibid.

[4] Anthropologia, Lib. xxii. Page 503. edit. *Baſil.* An. 1559.

[5] Reverendus & undecunque doctiſſimus Vir, *Paulus Langius* in Chron. *Citizenſe* ad An. 1515.

[6] In Chron. Monaſterii Hirſaugienſis. [7] *Sabellicus* Vir undecunque doctiſſimus claret hodie apud *Venetos* maximo in Precio. *Trithem.* Lib. de Script. Eccleſiaſticis.

[8] *Papir. Maſon* de Urb. Epiſc. Lib. vi. in *Pio* iii. [9] *Ænead.* 9. Lib. i.

[1] In ſimilem Impudentiam incidit *Sabellicus*, &c. ſaith *Florimondus* loco ſupra citato.

Prot. And what think you of *Wernerus Rolewink*, who is reckoned by [1] *Paulus Langius*, among the famous Scholars of the Order of *Carthuſians*, and commended by [2] *Trithemius*, for a Man of good Learning, and much Devotion [3], whoſe Words are theſe: ‘ Iſte *Johannes Anglicus* Cognomine, ſed Natione *Moguntinus*, circa hæc Tempora dicitur fuiſſe. ‘ Et erat Fœmina Habitu veſtita virili: Sic in ‘ divina Scriptura profecerat, ut par ei non in‘veniretur, & in Papam eligitur. Sed poſt ‘ impregnata, cum publicè in Proceſſione per‘geret, peperit & moritur. Et hic ſextus vi‘detur fuiſſe Papa, qui Nomen Sanctitatis ſine ‘ Re habuit uſque huc. Et ſimiliter ſicut alii ‘ à Deo plagatus fuit; nec ponitur in Catalogo ‘ Pontificum.’ That is, this *John*, by his Sirname *Engliſh*, by his Country of *Mentz*, is reported to have ſat as Pope about this Time. And ſhe was a Woman: But went in Man's Apparel. She profited ſo well in Divinity, that ſhe had no Fellow, and ſo was choſen to be Pope. But, after a While being great with Child, as ſhe went in publick Proceſſion, ſhe was delivered thereof, and died. And this ſeems to be the ſixth Pope, which, to this Day, was called holy, and proved nought. And, therefore, he was plagued by God, as the reſt before him were plagued. Neither is ſhe in the Regiſter of Popes. How ſay you? Did not *Wernerus* indiſcreetly in Relating it thus plainly?

Pap. Yes marry did he. But I wonder not at him, for Relating of it, becauſe in the ſame Place (as [4] *Florimondus* obſerves) he writes, that, inaſmuch as ſhe was a *German*, no *German* could ever ſince be choſen Pope. Which is a Lye with a Latchet. For divers *Germans*, ſince that, have been advanced unto the Popedom, as *Damaſus the Second* and *Victor the Second*, with others.

Prot. True: Divers *Germans* have been Popes, ſince *Joan* the Woman's Popedom; and, if *Wernerus* writ the Contrary, *Wernerus* lyed ſhamefully. But he had no Rule of his Tongue, who chargeth *Wernerus* with ſuch a Matter. For theſe are *Wernerus*'s Words, which follow preſently upon the former: ‘ Nugantur aliqui, ‘ hac de cauſâ nullum Alemannum in Papam ‘ eligi, quod falſum eſſe conſtat.’ Some prattle, that for this Cauſe no *German* may be choſen Pope, which is apparently falſe. Whereby you may ſee, that he reproveth that in others, for which he is injuriouſly reproved by your *Florimondus*. Your *Florimondus* may be a Man in Office, but, if he goes on as he begins, he will hardly prove himſelf honeſt.

Pap. Good Words, I pray you, Sir; *Florimondus* may be honeſt enough, for any Thing you ſay againſt him. For he [5] writes, that he hath two Editions of this *Wernerus*; the one bearing Date what [6] Year it was printed, the other without Date, but very ancient. And theſe two (as he ſaith) do differ in reporting the Story of Pope *Joan*, and in nothing elſe. Now it may be, that, though in yours it be as you ſay, yet in his it is otherwiſe.

Prot. I myſelf have ſeen two Editions of *Wernerus* as well as *Florimondus*; yea, I have ſeen four; one [7] printed in the Year 1479, another printed by *Nicholas Gotz*, of *Selteſtad*, I know not when, for it carries no Date: A third without Note, either of the Printer, or of the Place where it was printed, or of the Time when it was printed. But, queſtionleſs, very ancient: A fourth printed at *Frankfort*, 1584. In the three ancient ones, there is not a Word different in the Narration of Pope *Joan*: Nor in the fourth, ſaving that the Words *Nugantur aliqui, &c.* are in the fourth, and not in the other. But in none of them is there any ſuch Thing as *Florimondus* chargeth him with. But, will you hear what the next Man ſaith to the Point in Queſtion? He is *Matheus Palmerus*, [8] an *Italian*, and one of the choice Men which were at the Council kept by *Eugenius the Fourth*, againſt the Council of *Baſil*. ‘ Pontifex 100. *Johannes Anglicus* ‘ (ſaith [9] *Palmerius*) ſedit Annis 2, Menſibus 3. ‘ Fama eſt hunc *Johannem* Fœminam fuiſſe, & ‘ uni ſoli familiari cognitam: Qui eam complex‘us eſt, &, gravis facta, peperit Papa exiſtens: ‘ Quamobrem eum inter Pontifices non numerant quidam, ideò nomini numerum non facit.’ That is, *John* was a Woman, yet not known ſo to be but to one of her Familiars, who lay with her. She was delivered in the Time of her Papacy: And, becauſe ſome reckon her not among the Popes, there are no more *Johns* for her, than if ſhe had never been Thus *Palmerius*

---

[1] In Chron. *Citizenſe*, poſt An. 1493.

[2] Lib. de Script. Eccleſiaſticis.

[3] Faſcicul. Temporum, Ætate 6, ad An. 854.

[4] Lib. citato, cap. 7, Pag. 64 & 65.

[5] Loco citato.

[6] Viz. 1480.

[7] By *Henry Quentel*.

[8] *Math. Palmerius*, Natione *Italus*——qui in Conc. *Florentino* (quod *Eugenius* Papa iv. contra *Baſil.* Synodum celebravit) inter præclariſſimos viros annumeratus fuit. *Trithem.* Deſcript. Eccleſ.

[9] In Chron. ad Ann. 853.

Pap. Be it ſo. But what ſaith *Platina*, I pray you, for your Purpoſe?

Prot. Platina[1], Keeper of the Library in the *Vatican*, a Man of great Wit and Learning, [2] writes thus: ‘*Johannes Anglicanus*, ex *Moguntiaco* oriundus, malis artibus (ut aiunt) Pontificatum adeptus eſt: Mentitus enim ſexum, cum fœmina eſſet, adoleſcens admodum *Athenas* cum amatore docto viro proficiſcitur, ibique præceptores bonarum artium audiendo tantum profecit, ut *Romam* veniens paucos admodum etiam in ſacris Literis pares haberet, nedum ſuperiores. Legendo autem, & diſputando doctè, & acutè, tantum benevolentiæ & authoritatis ſibi comparavit, ut, mortuo *Leone*, in ejus locum (ut *Martinus* ait) omnium conſenſu Pontifex crearetur: Verùm poſtea à ſervo compreſſa, cum aliquandiu ventrem occultè tuliſſet, tandem, dum ad *Lateranenſem Baſilicam* proficiſceretur, inter Theatrum (quod *Coloſſeum* vocant à *Neronis Coloſſo*) & S. *Clementem*, doloribus circumventa peperit: Eoque loci mortua Pontificatus ſui Anno 2, Menſe 1, Diebus 4, ſine ullo honore ſepelitur.’ The Meaning of which is: *John Engliſh*, born at *Mentz*, got the Popedom (as Men ſay) by evil Means. For he diſſembled his Sex, being a Woman, indeed: And, when ſhe was very young, ſhe went to *Athens* with a Scholar, who was in Love with her; where, by Hearing good Readers of all good Learning, ſhe profited ſo well, that when ſhe came to *Rome*, ſhe had few Fellows, but never a one her better. Now by Reading and Diſputing, learnedly and wittily, ſhe got ſo much Credit, that, upon *Leo*'s Death, ſhe was choſen in his Room, as *Martin* writes, by common Conſent. But, within a While after, ſhe proved with Child by one of her Servants; and, though ſhe carried all cloſely for a Time, yet, at length, as ſhe went to St. *John Lateran*'s, between the Theatre (called the *Coloſſes*) and St. *Clement*'s, ſhe fell in Travel, and was delivered of a Child, and died in the Place; which was in the ſecond Year, firſt Month, and fourth Day of her Reign: And ſhe was buried without any Solemnity. How like you this?

Pap. So and ſo. But *Bernartius* is of Opinion, that this was never written by *Platina*, but was foiſted into him. For I have heard, [3] ſaith he, by *Antonius Hetweeld*, a Man of good Report, and an Alderman of *Lovain*, that one *Engelbertus Boonius*, a reverend Man, and Dean of a great Church in *Germany*, had oftentimes told him, that he had ſeen many ancient Manuſcripts of *Platina* in the *Vatican* at *Rome*, and peruſed them diligently, and yet found never a Word in any of them touching Pope *Joan.*

Prot. That Dean had the Luck of it, if he light on ſuch ancient Manuſcripts, as the Alderman of *Lovain* told *Bernartius* of. But how came the Manuſcripts in the *Vatican* to be many and old, ſeeing Printing was in Uſe, and *Platina* died *Anno* 1481? And how chanced it, that neither *Onuphrius*, nor *Bellarmine*, nor *Baronius*, who have had as free Acceſs into the *Vatican* Library, as any, could never light on theſe Manuſcripts? How chanced it, that none, ſince *Bernartius*, thought good to except in that Sort againſt *Platina*? *Onuphrius*, *Bellarmine*, and *Baronius*'s Acknowledgment, that this Story is in *Platina*, perſuade me, that either *Bernartius* belyed the Alderman, or the Alderman belyed the Dean, or the Dean made a Fool of the Alderman: For, queſtionleſs, if there had been any ſuch Manuſcripts, ſome of them would have found them out, and made it known to the World, 'ere this. For they are glad of narrower Fig-tree Leaves to cover their Nakedneſs withal, than ſuch Manuſcripts, if they were forth-coming: But, perhaps, you have ſome better Anſwer behind than this.

Pap. I have. For what could you reply, if I anſwered that which [4] *Bellarmine* hath upon another Occaſion, to wit, that *Platina* wrote not by publick Authority, nor took his Hiſtory out of the publick Regiſters of the Church?

---

[1] *Bartholomæus Platina* Apoſtolicus abbreviator, vir undecunque doctiſſimus, &c. *Trith.* de Script Eccleſ.

[2] De Vitis Pontif. in Joh. viii.

[3] Impudens aliquis nebulo interpolavit ſcripta *Platinæ*. Audivi ex *Antonio Hetweldio*, ampliſſimo laudatiſſimoque viro, Conſulari *Lovanienſi*, dixiſſe ſibi ſæpius *Engelbertum Boonium*—— vidiſſe ſe *Romæ*, in Bibliotheca *Vaticana*, antiquiſſima *Platinæ* exemplaria manuſcripta, ſedulò examinaſſe, & de *Joanne* fœmina ne literam quidem reperiſſe. *Bernartius* de Utilitate legendæ Hiſt. Lib. ii. p. 111.

[4] Tom. ii. de Pœnitentia, Lib. iii. cap. 13.

Prot. I could quickly tell you, that both *Bellarmine* and you ſpeak without Book. For, beſides that, *Platina* himſelf [1] profeſſeth, that he writ by the Commandment of *Sixtus the Fourth*, [2] *Onuphrius* confeſſeth, that he followed *Damaſus*, *Anaſtaſius*, and ſuch Hiſtoriographers as had written before of the ſame Matter.

Pap. But what ſay you to [3] *Florimondus*, whoſe Anſwer is, That *Platina* reported it rather to ſhew his Reading, than for that he thought it true?

Prot. What is *Florimondus*'s Reaſon for that?

Pap. Marry, if he had thought it true, ſaith [4] *Florimondus*, he would have exaggerated it, and made the worſt of it, that thereby he might have revenged himſelf of the Popes at whom he was angry. For *Paul the Second*, as all Men know, racked him, and deprived him of all his Dignities, and juſtly caſt him into Priſon, and kept him there as long as himſelf lived.

Prot. That *Paul. the Second* racked *Platina*, and deprived him of his Dignities, and kept him long in Priſon, is very true: But that he caſt him juſtly into Priſon, is falſe. For [5] *Trithemius* witneſſeth, that *Paul the Second* dealt [6] cruelly therein. Yet, ſuppoſe all to be true: Doth it follow in your *Florimondus*'s Logick, *Paul the Second* wronged *Platina*, ergo, *Platina* hated all Popes? And why not then: *Sixtus the Fourth* gratified *Platina* many Ways: *Sixtus the Fourth* ſet *Platina* at Liberty, and reſtored him to his Dignities: *Ergo*, *Platina* loved all Popes? If one Man's Kindneſs could not work Love towards all, it is not likely that one Man's Unkindneſs ſhould breed an Heart-burning againſt all: Wherefore, notwithſtanding this, we may well think that *Platina* wrote as he thought: And the rather, for that, in the Words following, he profeſſeth, [7] that ſuch a Thing might well happen. What ſay you to *Chalcocondylas*, the *Athenian*, whom I named next before *Platina*, as a Witneſs for us in this Controverſy?

Pap. I ſay, *Chalcocondylas* hath not this Tale.

Prot. What, Man? Are not theſe [8] his Words? 'Conſtat mulierem quandam in Pontificatum eſſe ſubvectam, quia Sexus ignorabatur. Nam *Italiæ* Occidentales penè omnes barbam radunt. Cum autem illa mulier gravida eſſet facta, & ad feſtum ſive ſacrificium prodiiſſet, peperit infantem inter ſacrificium in conſpectu Populi. Quaproper, ne decipiantur iterum, ſed rem cognoſcant, neque ambigant, Pontificis creati virilia tangunt, & qui tangit, acclamat: Mas nobis Dominus eſt.' That is, It is well known, that a certain Woman was made Pope, by Reaſon they knew not her Sex: For all (almoſt) in the Weſtern Parts of *Italy*, ſhave their Beards. Now, when ſhe was great with Child, and came Abroad to ſolemniſe ſome Day, or to ſay Service, as ſhe was at Service, ſhe was delivered of a Child in the Sight of all the People. Wherefore, leſt hereafter they ſhould be deceived in like Sort, they make Trial of his Manhood by Touching, and he that toucheth proclaimeth, We have a a Man to our Pope.

Pap. I confeſs, theſe Words are in *Chalcocondylas*, tranſlated into *Latin*. But, I ſay with [9] *Baronius*, that, though it be in the *Latin*, yet that was by *Clauſerus* the Tranſlator's bad Dealing, who foiſted it in. It was not written in the *Greek* by *Chalcocondylas*.

Prot. How proves *Baronius* that?

Pap. Nay, he meddles not with Proving of it, but refers you over to *Florimondus* for it. For *Florimondus* hath excellently well, as [10] *Baronius* ſaith, diſcovered *Clauſerus*'s Couſenage therein.

Prot. How, I pray you? For I know you have *Florimondus* at your Finger's End.

Pap. Why, [11] *Florimondus* compared *Clauſerus*'s Tranſlation into *Latin*, with a *Frenchman*'s Tranſlation of the ſame into *French*; and, by that, he ſaw this Tale was not in *Chalcocondylas*, for he found nothing of it in the *Frenchman*'s Tranſlation.

---

[1] Procemio Lib. de Vitis Pontif. in Epiſtola ad Ziſtum iv.

[2] Annotat. in *Plat.* in vit. S. *Petri* Apoſtoli.

[3] Lib. citato, Cap. 4. p. 36.

[4] Si hæc vera ſibi perſuaſiſſet, tanquam unguis in ulcere fuiſſet, & odium, quod in Pontifices conceperat, audacius evomuiſſet.

[5] De Script. Eccleſiaſticis, verbo, *Bartholomæus Platina.*

[6] Crudeliſſimè.

[7] Apparet, ea quæ dixi ex his eſſe, quæ fieri poſſe creduntur.

[8] De Rebus Turcicis, Lib. vi. p. 98.

[9] Annal. Tom. x. ad Ann. 853. Num. 66. Quamvis, apud *Chalcocondylam* Latinè redditum, ejuſmodi fabulare pe[illegible]tur eſſe deſcripta, non tamen ab ipſo authore poſitum ſcias, ſed ab impoſtore *Clauſero* fraudulenter appoſitum.

[10] Ibid. Impoſturam egregiè detexit *Florimondus.*

[11] *Florim.* fabula *Joannæ*, Cap. 6. Num. 2.

Prot. And is this *Florimondus*'s Reaſon, ſo much commended by *Baronius*, whereby he diſcovers *Clauſerus*'s Couſenage? Now the Vicar of *S. Fools* be ghoſtly Father to them both: For why might not the *Frenchman* as well leave it out, as *Clauſerus* put it in?

Pap. Oh, a faithful Tranſlator, as [1] *Florimondus* notes, durſt not have left it out, if he had found it in the *Greek*.

Prot. Nor put it in, if he had not found it in the *Greek*: Durſt he? And why may not we hold *Clauſerus* as faithful an Interpreter, as the *Frenchman*? Yea, why may not we hold him more faithful, ſeeing the *Frenchman* was a *Papiſt*? For [2] *Papiſts* hold it lawful, in Tranſlating, to omit offenſive Matter: And ſo doth no *Proteſtant*. The Truth is, *Clauſerus* ſhewed himſelf an honeſt Man in tranſlating it: And the *Frenchman* ſhewed himſelf a *Popiſh* Companion in concealing it: Which appears by the *Greek*, printed at *Colen*, *Anno* 1615, wherein it is, and by *Gretſer's* Confeſſion, ‘Fac ſunt qui velint, ea quæ leguntur, Lib. vi. Hiſt. *Laonici*, non ab Authore, ſed ab Interprete *Clauſero* eſſe.’ Going on thus, ‘ægre credo. Nam, in Bibliotheca *Bavarica* Monachii, tres extant Hiſtoriæ hujus Manuſcripti Codices, & unus ibidem in Bibliotheca Academiæ *Ingolſtadienſis*, in quibus omnibus hoc de *Joh.* Papa fœmina fabulamentum legitur: Nec credibile eſt Interpretem ipſos etiam *Græcos* Codices vitiare potuiſſe.’ There are who hold Opinion, [3] ſaith he, that, that which is read of Pope *Joan*, in the Sixth Book of *Chalcocondylas*, was never written by the Author, but chopped in by *Clauſerus* the Tranſlator; which I can hardly believe. For there are three *MSS.* of *Chalcocondylas*, in one Library in *Bavaria*, and another in the Library of the Univer[illegible] of *Ingolſtadt*; in all which, this Tale o[illegible] Pope *Joan* is to be read: And it is not credible, that *Clauſerus*, the Tranſlator, did or could corrupt all theſe *Greek* Copies.

Pap. Well, if this Anſwer pleaſe you not, know further, that it matters not what *Chalcocondylas* writes of this Matter. For, in rendering the Reaſon why ſhe could not ſo well be known to be a Woman, he writes, That in the Weſtern Parts of *Italy*, all, almoſt, ſhave their Beards; wherein he was groſly deceived, as [4] *Florimondus* obſerves. And, if in that, why not in the other?

Prot. He was not deceived in that of Shaving: For, by the Pope's Canons, the *Italian* Prieſts, yea, all the Prieſts of the Weſtern Church, are to be ſhaven: ‘Hic Papa (*Anicetus*) clericos comam & barbam radere in ſignum clericatus juſſit,’ [5] ſaith *Pontacus*. That is, Pope *Anicetus* commanded the Clergy to ſhave both their Heads and their Beards, in Token that they were of the Clergy. And, ‘Occidentalis Eccleſiæ Clerum, ab ipſis Eccleſiæ Chriſtianæ primordiis, barbam radendi morem tenuiſſe, [6] aſſerit *Gregorius* VII.’ Pope *Gregory* VII. avoucheth, that, from the Apoſtles Days, the Weſtern Clergy did ſhave their Beards. To whom [7] *Durandus*, who lived about the Year 1280, ſubſcribeth; for he acknowledgeth, that before, and in his Time, they were ſhaved, proving the Lawfulneſs of it out of *Ezekiel*, and ſhewing the Myſteries that are imported by it. Yea [8] *Johannes Pierius Valerianus*, as you ſhall hear hereafter, witneſſeth the ſame, imputing your Error, in electing Pope *Joan*, to the ordinary Shaving of Beards; becauſe, by that Means, a Man could hardly know a Man from a Woman. Will not *Florimondus* leave Lying? What think you of *Theodoricus de Niem*, one of your Popes Secretaries; is it doubtful whether I wrong him in calling him to be a Witneſs in this Caſe?

Pap. I think you wrong him. For [9] *Florimondus* reckons him among them who would readily have taken up ſuch a Tale againſt the Popes, if he had heard of it, and yet did not.

Prot. *Florimondus* is like himſelf, to ſay no worſe, for theſe are [10] *Theodoricus*'s own Words: ‘Johannes vocatus de Anglia, & fuit mulier de Moguntia nata, quæ ſtuduit Athenis ſub virili habitu, & in tantum profecit

---

[1] *Florim.* Fab. *Joannæ*, Cap. 6. num. 2. Fidus interpres prætermittere non auſus fuiſſet, ſi in Græco exemplari exaratum inveniſſet. [2] *Gretſer*, Lib. ii. de Jure, &c. prohibendi Lib. malos, Cap. 10. [3] Tom. ii. Defenſ. *Bellar.* Lib. iii. Cap. 24. col. 906. [4] In eo quod de barba radenda aſſerit turpiter lapſus eſt. *Flor.* Cap. 6. Num. 1. [5] Chronograph. Lib. ii. [6] *Greg.* vii. Lib. viii. Regiſt. Epiſt. 10. ut refert *Salmeron*, Diſput. 18. in 1 Cor. xi. p. 147. & *Baron.* Annal. Tom. i. ad Ann. 58. Num. 142.

[7] Rational. divin. Offic. Lib. ii. de Miniſtris, &c. [8] Pro ſacerdotum barbis. [9] Cap. v. Num. 5 & 6. [10] Lib. de Privilegiis & Juribus Imperii.

‘in artibus ipſis, quòd tandem veniens Romam, & per biennium in eadem ſchola artes ipſas liberales legit, & adeò ſufficiens fuit, quòd etiam majores & nobiliores urbis ejus lectiones frequenter audierint. Ea poſtea in Papam concorditer eligitur à Romanis, & Papatum biennio & amplius tenuit; ſed tunc, divitiis, ocio, & deliciis vacans, non potuit continere ſicut prius fecit, dum ardenter in paupertate poſita literarum ſtudio inſiſtebat, unde, dum quadam die in Rogationibus cum clero Romano, ſicut tunc moris erat, in ſolenni proceſſione incederet, Papalibus ornata divitiis & ornamentis, edidit filium ſuum primogenitum, ex quodam ejus cubiculario conceptum, prope templum Pacis in urbe, ut adhuc vetus ſtatua marmorea illic poſita figurativè demonſtrat. Unde ſummi Pontifices, dum ad Lateranenſem de Baſilica Principis Apoſtolorum, & è contrà vadunt, illud rectum iter non faciunt, imò per alios vicos, per indirectum tranſeunt, illud aliquantulum prolongando.’ That is, *John*, called *Engliſh*, was a Woman born at *Mentz*, and ſhe ſtudied at *Athens*, going in Man's Apparel, where ſhe profited ſo well in the Arts, that coming to *Rome*, ſhe read there the liberal Sciences, and was held ſo ſufficient a Reader, that many of the better Sort became her ordinary Hearers. Afterwards with one Conſent ſhe was choſen Pope, and lived in it two Years and upward. But betaking herſelf, more than before, to her Idleneſs and Pleaſure, ſhe could not live continently as ſhe did in her poor Eſtate, when ſhe plied her Book diligently; whereupon one Day, as ſhe went with the Clergy and People of *Rome*, according to the Cuſtom of that Time, in ſolemn Proceſſion, being attired in Papal Manner, ſhe was delivered of her firſt begotten Son, begotten by one of her Chamber, near the Temple of Peace, which ſtands in the City; as is evident by an old marble Image, which ſtands there to this Day, to denote ſo much in a Figure. And hereupon it is, that when the Popes go from the *Vatican* to St. *John Lateran*'s, and back again, they go not the direct Way thither, but by other Streets further about, and ſo make their Journey longer. Thus *Theodoricus de Niem*.

Pap. I do not remember any particular Anſwer unto this Man's Teſtimony. Wherefore go on, and let me hear what the reſt ſay. Yet if you will, for Brevity Sake, you may paſs over the Teſtimonies of *Petrarch*, and *Boccace*, and *Lucidus*, and of our Country-man *Higden*, and ſome ſuch others, becauſe [1] *Florimondus* acknowledgeth that they ſpeak to it.

Prot. Content. What think you of *John* of *Paris*, [2] who lived about the Year 1280, and read publickly with great Commendation, in the Univerſity of *Paris*, both Divinity and Humanity; believed not he this Story?

Pap. I cannot tell. What ſay you?

Prot. I think he did. For ſhewing how ſometimes a Man may lawfully diſpute and take Exception againſt the Pope, in Reſpect of his Perſon, he [3] notes, that ſuch a Perſon may be choſen as is not capable; ‘ut ſi eſſet fœmina, vel hæreticus, ſicut fuerunt aliqui, qui ob hoc non enumerantur in Catalogo Paparum.’ As for Example, ſaith he, if he prove a Woman, or an Heretick, as ſome have done, who in that Reſpect are not reckoned in the Catalogue of Popes.

Pap. It ſeems by his Words, I cannot deny, that he alludes to ſuch a Matter. But did you not alledge *Goteſridus Viterbienſis*, for Proof of the ſame? I pray you let me hear him ſpeak, for [4] Dr. *Harding* reckons him among them who ſay nothing of her.

Prot. True, Dr. *Harding* doth ſo. But ſo doth no Man elſe of his Side, to my Remembrance: Which is a great Probability that *Harding* belyes him. But not to ſtand upon Probabilities, the Hiſtory itſelf puts the Matter out of Doubt; for between *Leo the Fourth*, and *Benedict the Third*, we [5] read thus, not in the Margent, nor in any other Letter, but in the Current of the Text, and ſame Letter, *Papiſſa* Joanna *non numeratur*. That is, *Joan*, the ſhe Pope, is not regiſtered. Whereby it is manifeſt that he knew of her, though he ſaid little of her.

Pap. When lived this *Goteſridus*; and what Manner of Man was he?

Prot. He lived, as [6] *Trithemius* witneſſeth, in the Year 1185, and was a Prieſt well ſeen in the Holy Scripture, and not ignorant of human Knowledge; ſo that you have little Cauſe to except againſt him either as a late Writer, or a raſh Writer. But ſhall we at length hear what Evidence *Martinus Polonus* affords us in this Caſe?

---

[1] Cap. 3. & 4.

[2] *Trithem.* de Script. Eccleſ. verbo, *Joh. Pariſ.* & *Poſſevinus* in Apparat. ſac. verbo, *Joh. Pariſ.*

[3] De Poteſtate Regia & Papali, Cap. 23.

[4] Anſwer to Biſhop *Jewel*'s Apology.

[5] *Goteſrid. Viterb.* Chron. Part. xx. in Catalogo Rom. Pont.

[6] De Script. Eccleſ. verbo, *Goteſridus Viterb.* *Goteſridus* was Imperialis aulæ Capellanus, & Notarius. *Poſſevin.* Apparat. ſac. verbo. *Goteſrid. Viterb.*

Pap. With all my Heart; for there are [1] divers who hold Opinion that that which is in *Polonus*, touching Pope *Joan*, is cogged into him by *Heroldus*, who firſt printed him, or ſome ſuch like Fellow.

Prot. Do they ſay ſo? And can they ſhew me any Book, written or printed, wherein it is not in [2] *Polonus*, thus? ‘Poſt hunc Leonem *Johannes Anglus*, natione *Moguntinus*, ſedit an. 2. menſ. 5. diebus 4. Hic, ut aſſeritur, fœmina fuit, & quum in puellari ætate à quodam ſuo amaſio in habitu virili Athenas ducta fuit, in diverſis ſcientiis ita profecit, ut nullus ſibi par inveniretur: adeò ut poſt Romæ [3] trivium legens, magnos magiſtros, & diſcipulos & auditores haberet. Et, quum in urbe, & vita & ſcientia, magnæ opinionis eſſet, in Papam concorditer eligitur. Sed in Papatu per familiarem ſuum imprægnatur: verùm tempus partus ignorans, quum de Sancto *Petro* in *Lateranum* tenderet, anguſtiata inter *Coloſſeum* & S. *Clementis* eccleſiam peperit, & poſtea mortua ibidem (ut dicitur) ſepulta fuit. Et, propterea quòd Dominus Papa ſemper eandem viam obliquat, creditur omninò à quibuſdam, quòd ad deteſtationem facti hoc faciat. Nec ideo ponitur in Catalogo ſanctorum Pontificum, tam propter mulieris ſexum, quàm propter deformitatem facti.’ Which in Effect, ſounds thus in *Engliſh*: After this *Leo*, *John Engliſh*, by her Country of *Mentz*, ſat two Years, five Months, and four Days. This Pope, as they ſay, was a Woman, and being carried in her Youth in Man's Apparel to *Athens*, by one who was in Love with her, ſhe profited ſo much in divers Kinds of Learning, that ſhe had no Fellow; inſomuch that coming to *Rome*, and reading there Grammar, Logick, and Rhetorick, ſhe had of the greateſt Rabbins there many Auditors and Scholars. And being much eſteemed of, in that City, both for her Life and Learning, with one Voice ſhe was choſen Pope. Now, in the Time of her Papacy, ſhe was got with Child by ſome of her Familiars; and not knowing ſhe was ſo near her Reckoning, as ſhe went from St. *Peter's* to St. *John Lateran*, between the *Coloſs*, and St. *Clement's* Church, ſhe was delivered of a Child; but died thereon, and was there, as they ſay, buried. And, becauſe the Lord the Pope doth always ſhun that Way, it is thought by ſome, that he doth it in Diſlike of the Accident. And ſhe is not numbered among the Popes; partly becauſe of her Sex, partly becauſe of the Filthineſs of her Fact. Can they, I ſay, ſhew me any Book written or printed, wherein it is not in *Polonus* thus? Doth not *Onuphrius*, and *Bellarmine*, and *Bernartius*, and *Baronius*, and *N. D.* with many others of your Side, who ſhew more Wit than Honeſty in pleading this Caſe, confeſs that *Polonus* writ this; and that this is to be found in *Polonus*? Doth not [4] *Antoninus*, who lived long before *Heroldus*, cite it as it is in *Polonus* at this Day?

Pap. Yes, the moſt do. But ſome, as I told you before, ſuſpect the worſt, and namely [5] Dr. *Briſtow*; for he reports that, many Years ago, a Proteſtant, who was counted a great Hiſtorian, brought out the ſame *Martinus*, in a fair written Hand, to ſhew him this Story. And behold, ſhe was not in the Text, but in the Margent, in another Hand. Whereupon, when he ſaw that, Now I perceive, quoth he, that this Author alſo faileth you.

Prot. What Proteſtant was that, who had *Martinus* in ſo fair a written Hand? Can you you tell me his Name, or the Place where he abode, that I may inquire further, for Satisfying myſelf in the Truth of this Matter?

Pap. Nay, I know no more than I have told you. For the Doctor names no particular Circumſtance. But I make no Queſtion of the Truth of it. For I preſume that ſuch a Doctor would not lye.

Prot. Oh no. A Popiſh Prieſt lye; that is not credible, no more than it is credible, that [6] a Prieſt of the Order of *Aaron* would deceive. But you know what a long Story that [7] Doctor tells, of one *Margaret Jeſſop*, who was cured of her Lameneſs by the Sacrament of Miracle, that was kept at St. *Gudilae*'s Church at *Bruſſels*; and how he amplifies every Point, and ſets it out with all the Circumſtances, as though it were as true as the Goſpel; whereas [1] the Senate of *Bruſſels*, by Way of Proclamation within a few Years after, did diſcover all to be but a Pack of Knavery. And therefore you muſt pardon me, if notwithſtanding I give him not the Lye, yet I believe him not in this, conſidering it is an old ſaid Saw: 'Qui verſatur in generalibus, verſatur doloſe:' He that ſpeaks only in Generality, means falſely.

---

[1] Verius dixerim, hæc omnia ex *Heroldi* Officina manaſſe, &c. *Florim.* Cap. 2. num. 6.

[2] *Polonus* in Chron. ad An. 855.

[3] Gra. loquitur. Dia. vera docet. Re. verba collocat. Mu. canit, Ar. numerat. Ge. ponderat. As. colit aſtra. The three firſt make Trivium. The four later Quadrivium

[4] Summa Hiſt. Part. ii. Tit. xvi. Cap. 1. Sect. 7.

[5] In his Reply to Dr. *Fulke*, Cap. 10. Demand 45. Pag. 371.

[6] Dixerunt: Homo ſacerdos de ſemine *Aaron* venit, non decipiet nos. 1. Mac. vii. 74. in Vulg.

[7] Motive 5.

Pap. Well, be it that *Polonus* writ this, yet know you that as [2] *Bellarmine* and [3] *N. D.* note, he was a very ſimple Man; and that his Manner of Writing was vain, and nothing like to be true in [4] Dr. *Harding*'s Judgment. Yea know, that he was only famous for Tales, for that is [5] *Bernartius*'s Cenſure of him.

Prot. See the Raſhneſs of our latter Generation of Papiſts. *Polonus* was an [6] Archbiſhop, and the Pope's Penitentiary. [7] He was learned in the Holy Scriptures, and not ignorant of ſecular Learning; he was one whom [8] *Platina* relied on much, for Matters of Hiſtory, and thought worthy the Commendation of great Learning, and ſingular good Life. He was the Man, whom the Author of *Faſciculus Temporum*, and *Jacobus Bergomenſis*, two good Hiſtoriographers, profeſſed that they followed eſpecially. And yet, with our preſent Papiſts, he is but a ſimple Man, *&c.* Are you not aſhamed of this Exception?

Pap. No. For I will prove his Simplicity by many Arguments.

Prot. And how I pray you?

Pap. Why firſt by this, [9] that he would needs perſuade us that *Pompilius*, who was *Numa*'s Father, ſucceeded next to *Romulus*. For this is a mere Tale, and yet he writes it is as a Truth.

Prot. Away, away. *Poſt Romulum regnavit Numa Pompilius*, [10] ſaith *Polonus*. That is, *Numa Pompilius* reigned next after *Romulus*; but not *Pompilius* who was *Numa*'s Father.

Pap. [11] *Secondly*, he would perſuade us, that *Numa*, of a Tribune of the People, was made a King, which is another Tale.

Prot. He would not, for he [12] writes plainly, that Tribunes were ordained ſixteen Years after the Reign of the *Roman* Kings, when the People complained of the hard Meaſure that they received at the Hands of the Conſuls and of the Senate. He knew no ſuch Officers in the Time of the Kings.

Pap. [13] *Thirdly*, he would perſuade us, that the Church, which is now called *Sancta Maria Rotunda*, and in old Time *Pantheon*, built by one *Agrippa*, was before that the Houſe of one *Cybele*, ſuppoſed to be the Mother of the Gods, which is a Toy, and a Conceit of an idle Head.

Prot. This is falſe too. For [14] he ſaith only, that *Pantheon* was built by *Agrippa* at *Cybele*'s Motion, who was the Mother of the Gods, which is confirmed for true by many others; he ſaith not, that it was firſt *Cybele*'s, and afterwards turned to the Honour of all the Gods.

Pap. [15] *Fourthly*, he would make us believe, that that famous Theatre, made by *Titus*, was the Temple of the Sun; which is mere Foolery.

Prot. No, no, *Ante Coloſſeum fuit templum Solis*, ſaith [16] *Polonus*: Before the Coloſs there was a Temple of the Sun. But, that *Titus*'s Theatre was that Temple, *Polonus* ſaith not.

Pap. [17] Yes, he ſaith, that the Temple of *Peace*, commonly called the *everlaſting Temple*, fell the ſame Night that Chriſt was born; whereas it is plain by all ancient Hiſtories, that it was not built till *Veſpaſian*'s Days, a good many Years after Chriſt was born.

Prot. The ancient Hiſtories witneſs, that

---

[1] *Meterran.* Hiſt. Belg. Lib. x.
[2] Lib. iii. de Rom. Pont. Cap. 24.
[3] 3. Converſ. Part ii. Cap. 5. num. 29. Pag. 399.
[4] Anſwer to Biſhop *Jewel*'s Challenge.
[5] *Martinus Polonus* fabulis tantum celebris, cætera obſcurus homo. Lib. ii. de Utilitate legend. Hiſt. Pag. 113.
[6] Archiep. Coſentinus, & Pœnitentiarius Papæ. *Poſſevin.* Apparat. ſacer, verbo, *Martinus Polonus.*
[7] *Trithem.* de Script. Eccleſ. verbo, *Martinus.*
[8] Vir magnæ doctrinæ ſingulariſque vitæ. *Plat.* in vita *Victor.* iii.
[9] *Bernart.* Lib. citato, Pag. 113. *Florim.* Cap. 2. num. 6.
[10] Lib. de quatuor majoribus Regnis & Rom. urbis exordio. Cap. de Rectoribus & Regimine urbis, Pag. 10.
[11] *Bernart.* & *Florim.* locis citatis.
[12] Supputat. poſt exactos Reges ad Chriſtu uſque. Cap. de binis Coſſ. Pag. 12.
[13] *Bernart.* & *Florim.* locis citatis.
[14] In Chron. in Domitian. Pag. 38.
[15] *Bernart.* & *Florim.* locis citatis.
[16] Lib. de 4. majoribus Regnis, & cap. de Templis Idolorum, p. 8.
[17] *Bernart.* & *Florim* locis citatis.

Veſpaſian built a Temple of Peace: But that does not argue, there was no Temple of Peace before. Some write, that *Romulus* built a Temple of Peace. And [a] *Clemens Alexandrinus* writes, that *Numa* built a Temple of Peace. But it concerns not *Polonus*'s Credit, whether there was any or none; for he ſaith not, that the Temple of Peace fell the ſame Night that Chriſt was born. He only [b] ſaith, that the golden Image which *Romulus* ſet up in his Palace, avowing, that it ſhould not fall down, till a Virgin was delivered of a Child, fell down in the Night wherein Chriſt was born; though, if he had ſaid the other, the Matter had not been great. For he was neither the firſt, nor the laſt; [c] many of good Note, both before, and ſince, have written as much; namely, [d] *Petrus Damianus*, [e] *Petrus de Natalibus*, [f] *Jacobus de Voragine*, and the Author of that firſt Sermon upon Chriſt's Nativity, which is extant among the Sermons aſcribed to [g] *Bernard.* If you have no better Arguments to prove his Simplicity, you may ſoon prove yourſelf a malicious Slanderer.

Pap. My Arguments are good againſt him, as you ſhall hear more fully anon. But for the Preſent tell me, what *Marianus Scotus* hath that makes for you. For I cannot think it is true, that *Marianus Scotus* hath this Story.

Prot. You jeſt, I am ſure. For do we not read thus in [h] him? *Leo Papa obiit Kalend. Auguſti. Huic ſucceſſit Joanna mulier, An.* 2. *menſ.* 5. *dieb.* 4. that is, *Leo* the Pope died in the Kalends of *Auguſt.* After him ſucceeded *Joan* the Woman, who ſat two Years, five Months, and four Days. And, which I would have you note by the Way, this *Marianus* [i] was born in the Year 1028. and [k] lived in great Credit in his Life-time, and when he died was held a Saint; and at this Day is reputed, by your [l] *Baronius*, *Nobilis Chronographus*, a worthy Chronologer.

Pap. [m] I do not deny but that you may read ſo in ſome printed Copies. But I deny, there is any ſuch thing to be read in the more ancient hand-written Originals, found in *Flanders*, and other Places.

Prot. Do you not deny, but that we may read ſo in ſome printed Copies? Verily, you might have yielded unto me, that I may read ſo in all printed Copies, for you are not able to produce any printed Copy (except it be of Yeſterday's Printing) wherein it is not. But you deny it to be in the more ancient hand-written Originals found in *Flanders*, and other Places. And upon what Ground (I pray) deny you that? For [n] *Baronius*, your Cardinal Hiſtoriographer, confeſſeth, that that ancient hand-written Original, which the firſt printed Copy followed, hath the Story. And it is ſo ordinary with you Papiſts to bely hand-written Originals, that he, who knows you, cannot in Wiſdom believe any of you upon your bare Words.

Pap. I have good Ground of that which I deny, I would you ſhould well know. But firſt, I challenge you to make Proof that we Papiſts, as you call us, belye any hand-written Originals, for methinks you therein charge us deeply.

Prot. The Proof of that is plain. For, firſt, one of your Biſhops, even [o] Biſhop *Lindan*, to make good his own Conceit of the right Reading of the Text, *John* xxi. 22. (about which you know there hath been hot Contention) which he maintained to be this: If ſo I will he remain till I come, what is that to thee? Alledged for Proof thereof the Teſtimony of an ancient hand-written Original kept at *Aix* in *Germany*; whereas, in Truth, it is not ſo read in that Copy, but according to the *Greek*: If I will that he remain till I come, what is that to thee? As [p] *Franciſcus Lucas*, a Man of your own Coat, witneſſeth. Again, the ſame Biſhop *Lindan* [q] proteſted, that he ſaw an ancient hand-written Original of the *Pſalms* in *Hebrew*, found in *England*; whereby it was apparent, that the *Hebrew* Bible is defective at this Day in ſome Points. Yet the ſame [1] *Lucas*, who came to the Sight of the ſame Copy, aſſures us, that that *Pſalter* makes rather to the contrary. In like Manner [2] *Onuphrius*, your Friar above-named, alledged certain hand-written Originals of *Maximus* a Monk, by which it is manifeſt, as he ſaith, that *Honorius the Firſt* condemned the *Monothelites*: Yet *Turrian* the Jeſuit, who had Acceſs to the ſelf-ſame Manuſcripts, confeſſeth (as [3] *Andradius* relateth) that *Maximus* makes no Mention of *Honorius* condemning them. And whereas your great *Goliah* of *Gath*, [4] *Bellarmine* I mean, to prove that *Honorius*'s Name was thruſt by Fraud into the ſixth General Council among the *Monothelites*, affirmeth, that *Anaſtaſius* (which was then in written Hand only) did teſtify ſo much; now, that *Anaſtaſius* [5] is printed, we ſee *Bellarmine*'s Fraud. For *Anaſtaſius* teſtifieth no ſuch thing. [6] *Anaſtaſius* himſelf reckons *Honorius* for a *Monothelite*. In this Controverſy about Dame *Joan*, divers of your [7] Proctors plead, as out of the hand-written Originals of the ſame *Anaſtaſius*, that, upon *Leo the Fourth*'s Death, the See was void but fifteen Days, and then *Benedict* was choſen. Yet our printed *Anaſtaſius* makes it evident, they belyed the hand-written *Anaſtaſius*; for, in the printed, there is not a Word of the Number of Days between *Leo*'s Death, and *Benedict*'s Election. *Laſtly*, whereas your grand Hiſtoriographer, *Baronius*, was informed by Letters, from ſuch as yourſelf, that *Zoticus* was ſhot through with Darts, and ſo martyred; and he, who certified him thereof, aſſured him, that he ſent a true Copy out of the hand-written original Acts of *Zoticus*, whereupon *Baronius* put it in Print: [8] *Baronius* was glad to retract it ſince; becauſe (though he light upon the ſame Acts) he could find no ſuch thing in them. How ſay you? Do not theſe Particulars prove, that many of you are excellent at Facing Matters out, under Pretence of hand-written Originals, which, when they come to Viewing, make nothing for you?

---

[a] Stromat. Lib. v. [b] In Chron ad An. Chriſt. 1. [c] Tabella de collapſo Romæ Pacis Templo, tempore Chriſti ortus, multiplicium haud vulgarium fuit ſcriptorum authoritate firmata. *Baron.* Annal. Tom. x. ad Ann. 853 Num. 61. [d] Hom. quæ legitur apud Lipſ. Tom. viii. & Satur. Tom. vi. [e] In Catal. Sanct. Lib. ii. cap. 1. [f] Ser. 2 de Die Nativit. Dom. [g] Fol. 297. Edit. Pariſ. 1517. [h] *Marian. Scotus* in Chron. ætate 6. ad An. 854. [i] So he himſelf writeth in Chron. ad Ann. 1028. [k] Ab omnibus honore habebatur, & non ſine opinione ſanctitatis ſepelitur *Trithemius* de Script Eccleſ. verb. *Marianus. Joh. Major.* de Geſtis Scotorum, Lib. iii cap 5. [l] Annal. Tom. i ad Ann. 34. Num. 149. [m] *N. D.* Lib. citato, Num. 27. p. 397. [n] In ſcripto Codice ex quo prodiit prima Editio ita legitur. *Baron.* Annal. Tom. x ad Ann 853. Num. 60. [o] De Opt. Gen. Interpret Lib. ii. cap. 6. [p] Notat. in Joh. xxi. 22. [q] Lib. citato, cap. 3, & 5.

Pap. If all be true you ſay, it will prove (I grant) ſome bad Dealing in ſome few Perſons among us. But you ſhall never be able to prove as much by me; for I will prove whatſoever I ſay.

Prot. Go to then: Make you Proof unto me that this Story is not in the more ancient hand-written Originals of *Marianus Scotus*; and, if you do ſo, I will yield.

Pap. Will you ſo? Then I argue thus: [9] If this Story had been in the moſt ancient hand-written Originals of *Marianus Scotus*, they, who writ ſince his Time, would have alledged him for Proof of it. But no Man, till now of late, alledged him for Proof of it. Wherefore this was not in the moſt ancient hand-written Originals of *Marianus Scotus*.

Prot. I deny the Conſequence of your Propoſition, *viz.* They, who writ ſince *Marianus*'s Time, would have alledged him for Proof of it, if ſo be it had been written in the moſt ancient hand-written Originals. For, *Firſt*, till of late, there was no Controverſy about it, which made Men leſs careful to avouch their Authors for it. *Secondly*, *Marianus*'s Chronicle, till Printing came to ſome Perfection, was rare (it ſeems) and hard to come by. For [10] *Polonus*, reckoning up the Books out of which he took his Story, names not *Marianus* among them. No more doth [11] *Onuphrius*, where he reckons up the Authors whom *Platina* followed. *Onuphrius* (I ſay) doth not reckon *Marianus* among them. *Jacobus Bergomenſis* and *Wernerus Rolenink*, in their Prefaces to their Hiſtories, wherein they ſhew whom they followed, paſs by *Marianus* as a Man unknown to them. And ſo do others. But, for making of this Matter plain, tell me, have you not heard, [12] that *Anaſtaſius the Second*, one of your Popes, would have reſtored *Acatius*, the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, who ſtood excommunicated by ſome of your Pope's

---

[1] Notat. in *Pſal.* xiii.

[2] Annot. in *Platin.* in Honorio i.

[3] Defenſ. Fidei Trident. Lib. ii.

[4] Lib iv. de Rom. Pont. cap. 11.

[5] Moguntiæ, Ann. 1602.

[6] In Leone ii.

[7] *Onuph. Bell. Bernart.* locis ſupr. cit. & *Florim.* cap. 14. num. 1. & *Sanders* de viſibili Monarch. Lib. vii. pag. 412.

[8] Quod arundinibus percuſſum martyrium conſummaſſe Zoticum dixerimus, emendamus. Haud enim fidelem nacti ſumus teſtem, qui ea ſe ex Actis ejus deſcripſiſſe, per literas ad me datas, teſtatus eſt. Accepi poſt hæc Acta Martyris, & nihil tale in illis reperi. In Martyrologium Rom. Jan. 12. f.

[9] Si ita ſit ut ipſi fingunt, qui poſt Marianum de Joanna ſcripſerunt, nonne ipſum Marianum in ſuæ ſententiæ patrocinium aſciviſſent, & ſuam hac arce opinionem muniviſſent. *Florim.* cap. 2. num. 4.

[10] Præfat. in Chron.

[11] Annot. in *Plat.* in vit. B. *Petri.*

[12] Anaſtaſius Papa voluit occultè revocare Achatium Conſtantinop. Epiſc. damnatum, quare divino nutu percuſſus eſt.

Predeceſſors, but that God prevented your Pope, and ſtruck him with a fearful Death?

Pap. Yes, I have heard ſo much. But [a] I take it to be as vain a Fable as this of Pope *Joan*.

Prot. Yet you cannot deny but that it is recorded for true, by [b] *Anaſtaſius Bibliothecarius*, by [c] *Rhegino*, by [d] *Marianus Scotus*, by [e] *Sigebert*, by [f] *Luitprandus*, by [g] *Albo Floriacenſis*, by [h] *Gratian*, by [i] *Polonus*, by [k] *Platina*, by [l] *Volaterran*, by [m] *Jacobus Bergomenſis*, by [n] *Wernerus Rolenink*, by [o] *Trithemius*, by [p] *Charanza*, by [q] *Johannes de Turrecremata*, and [r] by others.

Pap. No, indeed, I cannot deny that, for all theſe (I know) report it as true.

Prot. Yea, and that in their moſt ancient hand-written Originals: Do they not, for aught you have ſeen or heard, to the Contrary?

Pap. Good. But what of all this?

Prot. You ſhall ſee anon. In the mean Time tell me only, whether they, who writ ſince *Rhegino* and *Marianus*'s Time, alledge *Rhegino*, or *Marianus*, for the Author of it?

Pap. [s] *Bergomenſis*, *Rolenink*, *Trithemius*, *Turrecremate*, [t] and ſuch like, alledge *Gratian* for the Author of it. But I do not remember that any Hiſtoriographer alledgeth *Rhegino*, or *Marianus Scotus*, for it.

Prot. If this, touching *Anaſtaſius the Second*, may be in the moſt ancient hand-written Originals of *Rhegino* and *Marianus Scotus*, tho' they, who have written ſince their Times, alledge them not for Authors of it, why may not the other, touching Pope *Joan*, be in the moſt antient hand-written Originals of *Marianus Scotus*, though they, who writ ſince his Time, alledge him not for the Author of it? Have you not another Argument?

Pap. Yes, for [u] *Bellarmine* writes, that he who ſet forth *Krantius*'s *Metropolis* at *Colen*, in the Year 1574, doth witneſs, *in antiquiſſimis exemplaribus* Mariani Scoti *non haberi* Joannem *fœminam*, That in the ancient Copies of *Marianus Scotus* there is no Mention of *Joan* the Woman.

Prot. And what was he that ſet forth *Krantius*, can you tell me that? Doth *Bellarmine*, or [x] *N. D.* (who twangs on the ſame String with *Bellarmine*) name him?

Pap. No, but what is that to the Purpoſe? He, whoſoever he was, witneſſeth ſo much. And is not that enough?

Prot. No, believe me; no Reaſon that a nameleſs Sir ſhould be credited againſt all printed Copies, eſpecially if it be true, which [y] *Bellarmine* ſaith, in another Caſe: *Author ſine nomine, eſt ſine authoritate*; A Man without a Name, is without Credit [z]; and, *Canon à concilio, cujus ne nomen quidem extet, facilè contemni poteſt.* A Canon out of a Council, whoſe Name is not known, may very well be ſcorned. But would you know why *Bellarmine* and *N. D.* did not name him? Queſtionleſs, not for that they know not what his Name was; but becauſe he was but a baſe Fellow, a Printer, a poor Batchelor of the Law; a Man of ſmall Eſteem in the World; for he is named, in the firſt Page of the Book, *Gerwinus Calenius Lippienſis*, and his whole Stile is no greater, than *Legum Licentiatus*. And what was ſuch a Fellow, to carry away ſuch a Matter as this, upon his bare Word? But, which is more to be marked, this Fellow barely ſaith (without any Proof in the World) that the Manuſcripts of *Marianus Scotus*, which are extant, diſcover the Falſhood of them who put this Story into the printed *Marianus*; implying, that all Manuſcripts, not the ancient only, want it. Which neither *Bellarmine*, nor *N. D.* durſt, or dare avouch, the Contrary being confeſſed directly by *Baronius*, and may out of themſelves be gathered by Conſequence. Beſides, he ſaith as much for Clearing of *Sigebert*, as *Marianus Scotus*, for † theſe are his very Words: ‘ Quæ hic Author de Johanne fœmina refert, ‘ in odium Romanorum pontificum confiſta fuiſſe ab illis, quos ipſe deceptus ſequitur, ut alios omittamus quos *Onuphrius* in *Platinam* ſcribens recenſet, teſtantur *Marianus Scotus* & *Sigebertus*, quorum quæ ſuperſunt MS. exemplaria, fraudem illorum detegunt qui eorum impreſſis voluminibus id inſeverunt.’ That this, which the Author thereof reports touching Pope *Joan*, is but counterfeit Stuff, deviſed to make the Pope odious; to ſay nothing of ſuch Proofs as *Onuphrius* gives in his Annotations upon *Platina*, *Marianus Scotus* and *Sigebert* do teſtify; whoſe Manuſcripts, remaining on Record, diſcover their Falſhood, who have chopped this Tale into their printed Volumes. And yet neither *Bellarmine*, nor *N. D.* durſt alledge him to prove that *Sigebert* is corrupted.

---

[a] *Bell.* Lib. iv. de Rom. Pont. cap. 10. & Append. ad Lib. de ſummo Pont. & *Pighius* Eccleſ. Hierarch. Lib. iv. cap. 8.
[b] De Vit. Pontif. in Anaſtaſ. II.
[c] Chron. Lib. i. ad Ann. 414.
[d] Ætate 6. ad Ann. 499.
[e] In Chron. ad Ann. 491.
[f] De Vit. Pont. in Anaſtaſ. II.
[g] De Vit. Pont. in vita Anaſtaſ. II.
[h] Diſt. 16. c. *Anaſtaſius.*
[i] In Chron ad Ann. 498.
[k] De Vit Pont. in Anaſtaſ. II.
[l] Lib. xxii.
[m] Supplem. Chron. ad Ann. 495.
[n] Faſcic. Temp. ad Ann. 484.
[o] De Script. Eccl. verbo, *Anaſtaſ.*
[p] Summa Conc.
[q] Summa de Eccl. Lib. ii. cap. 103.
[r] *Nauclerus*, *Antoninus*, locis infra cit.
[s] Locis ſupra citatis.
[t] *Nauclerus*, Vol. ii. Chronogr. general. 17. *Antoninus*, Part II. Hiſt. Tit. 11. cap. 1. Sect. viii.
[u] Lib. iii. de Rom. Pont. cap. 24.
[x] Lib. citato, num. 27. pag. 397.
[y] Lib. iv. de Rom. Pont. cap. 13.
[z] Lib. i. de Matrimonio, cap. 17.
† Annot. in Lib. ii. *Krantii* Metrop.

Pap. Peradventure they durſt have alledged him to that Purpoſe alſo, though they did not; for, doubtleſs, there is no ſuch Story in *Sigebert*.

Prot. Why? But all the printed Copies do convince you of ſhameleſs Lying, in ſo ſaying. For thus [1] they read: ‘*Johannes* Papa *Anglicus* Fama eſt hunc *Johannem* Fœminam fuiſſe & uni ſoli familiari cognitam qui eam complexus eſt, & gravis facta peperit Papa exiſtens. Quare eam inter Pontifices non numerant quidam, ideo nomini numerum non facit.’ *John* the *Engliſh* Pope. The Report is, that this *John* was a Woman, and that one only, who uſed to lie with her, knew ſo much; and that at length, even in the Time of her Papacy, ſhe was delivered of a Child. Whereupon it is that ſome reckon her not among the Popes, and that there is not one Pope *John* the more in Number for her. What ſay you, is it not even thus?

Pap. I confeſs the printed Copies make for you in this alſo. But, in the ancient, true, and approved Copies of *Sigebert* in Writing, this, which you talk of, is not: *Aliquis impudens Nebulo interpolavit Scripta ejus.* Some paltry Fellow hath been tampering with his Writings, as [2] *Bernartius* notes. Marry whether it was *Geffrey* the Monk, or one *Robert*, who continued the Story of *Sigebert* for ſome Years, I know not; but between them it is as [3] *Onuphrius* ſuppoſeth. And I am ſure *Sigebert* never writ it. [4] *Cui Rei adſerendæ fidus & adpoſitus mihi Teſtis eſt* Gilbertus Genebrardus, which is witneſſed very fully by *Genebrard*.

Prot. The [5] Canoniſts, when Popes alledge Popes for Proof, do note, that it is *familiaris Probatio.* Meaning ſuch belike, as that in the Proverb, Aſk my Fellow, if I be a Thief. And ſo methinks is this of yours, which is fetched from your Fellow *Genebrard.* But what ſaith *Genebrard* for your Purpoſe?

Pap. [6] *Genebrard* ſaith, there be many Manuſcripts of *Sigebert*, wherein this is not.

Prot. Yea, but that is the Queſtion. And how doth *Genebrard* prove it? Names he any Place where they are, or any Perſon who hath ſeen them?

Pap. No not he, but [7] *N. D.* doth, for, in the Monaſtery of *Gemble* in *Flanders*, there is extant (ſaith *N. D.*) the Original of *Sigebert*, which wants this Story.

Prot. What the Original of *Sigebert*? Who told *N. D.* that the Original of *Sigebert* was in that Monaſtery? Or was he there, and ſaw it with his own Eyes?

Pap. *N. D.* ſaith Nought of that. But you may have further Proof thereof out of [8] *Bellarmine*; for he writes that *Molanus*, a Doctor of *Lovain*, ſaw the Copy.

Prot. But *Bellarmine* ſaith not, that *Molanus* judged it to be the Original of *Sigebert*; which yet *N. D.* avoucheth as confidently, as if he had held the Candle, while *Sigebert* wrote it. Neither doth *Bellarmine* tell us, to whom *Molanus* told this; or in what Book he writ this. So that yet there is no juſt Proof brought, that ſo much as one Copy wants it, much leſs that it is foiſted into ſuch Copies as have it.

Pap. Is there not? Hearken then to *Florimondus*, [9] who writes, that one *Protaſius*, the Credit of the Order of *Franciſcans*, ſwore to him that he ſaw ſuch a Book in that Monaſtery; and that, reading it all over, he found no Word touching ſuch a Pope.

Prot. This would have moved me ſomewhat to believe, that the Copy in that Monaſtery wants this, if *Florimondus* had ſworn for the

---

[1] *Sigebert. Gemblacenſis* in Chronico ad An. 854. Printed at *Paris*, 1513.

[2] Lib. ſuprà citato, Pag. 110.

[3] Annot. in *Plat.* in Vit. *Joh.* viii.

[4] *Bernartius* Loco citato.

[5] 9 q. 3. patet. in Gloſſa *Joh. Andreæ.* Familiaris eſt hæc Probatio quum Papa alium Papam adducit in Teſtem.

[6] Lib. iv. Chronolog. ad Ann. 855.

[7] Lib. citato Num. 27. Page 397.

[8] Lib. iv. de *Rom. Pont.* Cap. 24.

[9] *Protaſius Franciſcani* Ordinis Decus, ad ſtringendam fidem prius jurejurando devinctus, mihi obteſtatus eſt, &c. *Florim.* Cap. 5. Num. 5.

Satiſfying of his Reader, touching the Truth of his Report; as he urged the *Franciſcan* to ſwear to him for the Juſtifying of that, which he told. But *Florimondus* delivers it barely of his Word. And I have found him oft falſe of his Tongue. Wherefore I cannot truſt him. [1] *Florimondus* would make us believe, that *Michael* the Emperor's Letter ſent to Pope *Nicholas*, wherein the Emperor objecteth whatſoever might ſound to the Diſgrace of the *Roman* See, is extant to this Day: Yet [2] *Baronius* teſtifieth that they are not extant. He writes, that the Pope burnt them. Yea *Florimondus* himſelf in another [3] Chapter (forgetting the Proverb, *Mendacem eſſe memorem oportet*) confeſſeth, that they are loſt. Yet be it ſo, that the Copy which is in that Monaſtery wants this: Unleſs *Florimondus* can prove that it is the Original, or truly copied out of the Original, he ſpeaks not to the Point, as I ſhall ſhew by and by.

Pap. Yea but he proves that it is the very Original itſelf. For there (as [4] he ſaith) *Sigebert* lived, there he wrote this Book with his own Hand, there he left it at his Death as a Monument of his Love. There it is ſhewed by the Monks to ſuch as come thither, for a rare and ancient Monument.

Prot. Sigebert lived not there, when he writ that Book. He writ both that, and many others, in the Monaſtery of St. *Vincentius*, within the City of *Metenſis*. Which I ſpeak not of my own Head, as *Florimondus* doth, but out of [5] *Trithemius*. For in *Trithemius* you may read ſo.

Pap. Yet you cannot diſprove *Florimondus*, in that which he ſaith of his Dying there; and Bequeathing of that Book by his Will, to that Monaſtery for a Legacy.

Prot. No indeed. But neither can he prove his own Saying. Now you know that *Actori, non Reo, incumbit Probatio:* The Plaintiff, and not the Defendant, muſt bring in his Proof. That which is nakedly affirmed, is ſufficiently anſwered, when it is barely denied. *Si dicere, probare eſt; pari Ratione, inficiari, refutare eſt:* As you may read in [6] *Bellarmine*:

Pap. Why, but the Monks of that Houſe do ſhew it to all Comers as *Sigebert*'s own.

Prot. That I believe. For I have [7] read of a Monk, who gave out, that he had brought from the *Eaſt* ſome of the Sound of the Bells, which hung in *Solomon*'s Temple [8]: And that he could ſhew, among other Relicks, ſome of the Hairs which fell from the *Seraphical* Angel, when he came to imprint the five Wounds of Chriſt in St. *Francis*'s Body. And I have [9] read of others, who ſhew the Pilgrims that go to *Jeruſalem* a three-cornered Stone, and bear them in Hand that it is that very Stone whereof [10] *David* ſpoke, ſaying, *The Stone, which the Builders refuſed, is the Head of the Corner.*

Pap. Tuſh, thoſe Monks do but cozen Folks.

Prot. No more do the Monks of *Gemble*, in my Opinion; though, it may be, they are rather cozened, than Cozeners. For many a Papiſt perſuades himſelf he hath that, which indeed he hath not. As for Example: Many Papiſts are perſuaded they have that *Sindon*, wherein Chriſt's Body was lapped, when it was interred, wherein (as they ſay) is to be ſeen to this Day the Picture of Chriſt; whereas indeed ([11] by ſome of their own Men's Confeſſions) they have but one made after that Faſhion. Again, many are perſuaded, they have one of thoſe Nails, wherewithal Chriſt was nailed on the Croſs: [12] Whereas they have but one faſhioned after that Nail; or at moſt, ſome Nail wherewithal ſome Martyr of Chriſt was tormented. And in like Manner are they themſelves deceived in their Conceit of other Relicks. But that, which makes me moſt ſuſpicious of your Monks of *Gemble*, is this: I have read, that among many other goodly Relicks, which are ſhewed at *Rome* by the Pope's Commandment, there is a Bible ſhewed, which they ſay was written by St. *Jerom* himſelf, even with his own Hands; and yet one of your own Profeſſion profeſſeth freely, that he, peruſing it thoroughly, found it was written by the Commandment of one King *Robert*, and by a bungling Scrivener: ‘ Illum ego diligentius inſpec-

---

[1] Cap. 27. Num. 6. Extat adhuc *Michaelis* ad *Nicolaum* Epiſtola, &c.

[2] Annal. Tom. x. ad An. 863. Num. 75. Non extant ipſæ blaſphemæ *Michaelis* Imperatoris Literæ, traditæ ſunt Igni.

[3] Chap. 10. Num. 4.

[4] *Florimond.* Cap. citat. Num. 5.

[5] *Sigebertus*, cum in Cœnobio S. *Vincentii Metenſi* ad inſtruendos Pueros eſſet poſitus, ſcripſit Hiſtoriarum Lib. *Trithem.* de Script. Eccleſiaſticis, Verbo, *Sigebertus.*

[6] Lib. iii. de *Rom. Pont.* Cap. 20.

[7] *Vergerius* Annotat. in Catalogum Hæret. *Romæ* conflatum, An. 1559. Fol 17.

[8] Ibid.

[9] *Bellonius* Obſervat. Lib. ii. Cap. 83.

[10] *Pſalm.* cxviii. 22.

[11] *Gretzer.* Lib. i. de Cruce, Cap. 85. Page 240.

[12] Idem Lib. i. Cap. 20. Page 50.

‘ tum comperi ſcriptum eſſe Juſſu Regis (ut opinor) *Roberti*, Chirographo Hominis imperiti,’ ſaith [a] *Valla*, Now I ſuppoſe, if we had Acceſs to *Gemble* in *Flanders*, perhaps we might find as much for Diſcovering of their Falſhood, in that which they report of the Original of *Sigebert*; as your Fellow found for the Diſcovering of the others Falſhood, who gave out, that the Bible which they ſhewed was of St. *Jerom*'s Writing.

Pap. Suppoſe it be not the Original of *Sigebert* which is at *Gemble*; yet you will not deny (I hope) but that it is ſome ancient Copy, which they eſteem ſo much of.

Prot. Be it ſo. But will you thereupon conclude, that the Author never writ it? I preſume, you are not ſo ignorant, but you know, that Words, Sentences, and memorable Accidents have, ſometimes by Negligence, ſometimes by Wilfulneſs, been left out of Copies? As for Example, the Words (No not the Son of Man, *Mark* xiii. 32. Whereon your [b] Jeſuits, as upon a chief Foundation, build their Doctrine of Æquivocation) were wanting in many *Greek* Copies, as [c] St. *Ambroſe* teſtifieth; and yet both you and we do hold Opinion, that they were ſet down by the Author in the firſt Copy. In like Sort, the Story touching Chriſt's ſweating Agony, and the Angel's Comforting him, *Luke* xxii. 43, 44. was not to be found in many Copies, as [d] *Hilary* and [e] *Jerome* witneſs: Which came to paſs, not for that it was never written by St. *Luke*, but (as [f] *Bellarmine* in Part, and [g] *Sixtus Senenſis* more fully notes) for that ſome ſimple Catholicks, fearing it made for the *Arians*, raſed it out of their Books. So the Story of the adulterous Woman, in *John* the viii, was [h] wanting in many Manuſcripts both *Greek* and *Latin*, and namely in a Manuſcript of [i] *Euſebius*; yet that doth nothing prejudice the Truth of our printed Copies at this Day, in which it is; no not in the Opinion of you that are Papiſts. For as [k] *Bellarmine* proveth out of *Auſtin*, this Hiſtory was blotted out of many Books, by the Enemies of God's Truth. In much like Sort (it ſeemeth) that the Words of *Ælfricus*, which make againſt Tranſubſtantiation, were cut out of a Fragment of an Epiſtle of his in the Library of *Worceſter*, as [l] *M. Fox* proveth evidently. And as this Story of Pope *Joan* is cut out of a very fair [m] Manuſcript of *Ranulfus Ceſtrenſis*, which is to be ſeen [n] at this Day in the Library of *New College* in *Oxford*.

Pap. Is this Story torn (indeed) out of *Ranulfus Ceſtrenſis* in *New College* in *Oxford*? Who, think you, was ſo mad?

Prot. Why, who but a Papiſt? For do not [o] they give Direction, that *quæ famæ proximorum, & præſertim Eccleſiaſticorum, & Principum detrahunt, corrigentur atque expurgentur?* That ſuch Things ſhould be altered or put out, which tend to the Diſcredit of the Clergy? And doth not this touch at the Quick their Eccleſiaſtical State? Doth not *Poſſevine* adviſe, that the [p] Note in *John Neviſon* the Lawyer, which mentioneth Pope *Joan*, ſhould be raſed out? *Dele* ([q] ſaith he) *quia* Johannes *hæc Fœmina chimæra eſt, & impoſtura calumniatorum:* Blot it out, or rend it out, quoth *Poſſevine*; for it is but a Fiction, and a Forgery.

Pap. You are too ſuſpicious of Papiſts. But, if theſe Anſwers, whereon I have hitherto inſiſted, pleaſe you not, let it be as you would have it, that all theſe Hiſtorians writ ſo. [r] Yet I deny, that any Credit is herein to be given unto them, becauſe they report it but by Hearſay, with *ut aſſeritur*.

Prot. That is falſe. For *Marianus Scotus* reports it ſimply without *ut aſſeritur*, as before I ſhewed. And *Laonicus Chalcocondylas* reports it as a certain Truth, ſaying *Conſtat, &c.* So do *Raviſius Textor* and [s] others.

Pap. That, which you ſay of *Marianus Scotus*, is true, if we were to be judged by the printed Copy, which *Heroldus* ſet out. But I can aſſure you, that *Heroldus* unconſcionably corrupted this Place, and many others. For it is thus[a] written in the written Copy, after which the firſt Edition was printed. *Johannes qui, ut aſſeritur, fuit Mulier. John*, who as the Report goes, was a Woman.

---

[a] De Donatione *Conſtantini*.

[b] Apology in Defence of Eccleſiaſtical Subordination in *England*, Cap. 12. Fol. 200.

[c] Lib. v. de Fide, Cap. 7.

[d] De Trinitat. Lib. x.

[e] Lib. ii. contra *Pelag*.

[f] Lib. i. de Verbo Dei, Cap. 16.

[g] Bibl. ſanctæ Lib. i.

[h] *Janſen*. Concord. Evang. Cap. 76.

[i] *Euſeb.* Lib. iii. Hiſt. Cap. 39, teſte *Bellar*. Lib. i. de Verbo Dei, Cap. 16.

[k] Ibid.

[l] Acts and Monuments, Allegations againſt the ſix Articles, Page 1304. Edit. 1570.

[m] Lib. v.

[n] An. 1606.

[o] Index Lib. prohib. per *Clementem* VIII. De Correctione Lib.

[p] *Joh. Neviſanus* Sylva Nuptialis. p. 319.

[q] In Apparat. ſacro, Verbo, *Joh. Neviſanus*.

[r] *Onuph.* Annot. in *Platin.* in Vit. *Joh.* VIII. per ut aiunt, & tradunt, eam refert.

[s] *Barthol. Caſſanæus* 2. Part. Catalogi Gloriæ Mundi, nona Conſideratio. *Turrecremat* Sum. de Eccleſ. Part. ii. Lib. iv. Cap. 20. *Cælius Rhodiginus* antiquarum Lectionum, Lib. viii. Cap. 1.

Prot. So your [b] Cardinal *Baronius* would make us believe (I grant) but he brings no other Proof thereof than *teſte meipſo.* Which, however it may go for Proof among Princes, yet is no Proof among Scholars. And for my Part, without Proof, I believe Nothing, whoſoever he be that ſpeaks it, eſpecially if he be a Papiſt. For as [c] *Sigiſmund* the Emperor ſaid of *Julian* the Cardinal Legate at the Council of *Baſil*, when one commended him highly to him: *Tamen Romanus eſt*; yea but he is a *Roman*; ſo I may ſay of any Papiſt, reporting Things unknown: Yea, but he is a Papiſt. Yet be it ſo, as *Baronius* ſaith it is. Why may it not be true, though it be delivered with *ut aſſeritur?*

Pap. Why? [d] Becauſe Lyes are commonly ſo ſoothed.

Prot. Indeed many Lyes paſs in ſuch general Terms. As for Example: Men ſay, [e] ſaith your Legend, that St. *Patrick* drove with his Staff all the venomous Beaſts out of *Ireland*; and that he obtained of the Lord, that no *Iriſhman* ſhould abide the Coming of *Antichriſt*. The former of which [f] *Harpsfield Cope* confeſſeth to be a Lye; and ſo I think all the Generation of you Papiſts think of the latter. Elſe, why do none of your great Maſters alledge it to clear your Pope from being *Antichriſt?* Men ſay, ſaith *Nangiacus* as [g] *Genebrard* reporteth, that *Kentiſhmen* have Tails like brute Beaſts, becauſe their Anceſtors mocked *Auſtin* the Monk, when he came to preach unto them. Now that this is a Lye well worthy of a Whetſtone, yourſelf (I hope) will acknowledge. Yet Truth now and then is ſo delivered. When *Boniface* the Martyr was demanded on a Time, Whether it was lawful, at the Adminiſtration of the Lords Supper, to uſe a wooden Chalice? It is ſaid he anſwered thus, ſaith [h] *Duaren: Olim aurei Sacerdotes ligneis vaſis, nunc lignei aureis utuntur.* In old Time, golden Prieſts uſed wooden Chalices, now wooden Prieſts uſe golden Chalices. Mark *(fertur)* it is ſaid, ſaith *Duaren*, yet [i] no Queſtion but he anſwered ſo. In like Manner, it is written, that [k] *Pius the Second* was wont to ſay, Marriage was upon juſt Reaſon forbidden Prieſts, but now upon better Reaſon to be reſtored to Prieſts. Of which his Saying there is made no Queſtion, as may appear by this, that a [l] Jeſuit replieth only to it, that it was recanted hy him, and denieth not that it was ſpoken of him. That *Alexander the Third* trampled the Emperor *Frederick* under his Feet, and commanded one to ſay that which is in the [m] *Pſalms, Thou ſhalt walk upon the Lion and Aſp, the young Lion and the Dragon ſhalt thou tread under thy Feet:* Is [n] recorded by ſome with, *ut fertur*, and yet [o] they have little to ſay for themſelves, who call the Truth thereof in Queſtion. That merry Cardinal, who ſeeing, after the Death of *Clement the Fourth*, that his Fellow Cardinals called ſtill for the Aſſiſtance of the Holy Ghoſt, and yet could not agree upon the Election of a new Pope, [p] cried out: *Domini, diſcooperiamus tectum cameræ hujus, quia Spiritus Sanctus nequit ad nos per tot tecta ingredi.* My good Maſters, I pray you let us untile the Roof of this Room: For I fear the Holy Ghoſt cannot get to us through ſo many Slates, is merrily [q] reported upon Election of *Gregory* to have made theſe Verſes:

---

[a] *Leo* Papa obiit *Kal. Aug.* Huic ſucceſſit *Johanna* Mulier An. 2 Menſ. 5. Dieb. 4. Hæc in Codice impreſſo *Heroldi* Opera qui mala fide Locum hunc cum aliis multis corrupit. Nam in ſcripto Codice, ex quo prodiit prima Editio, ita legitur: *Johannes*, qui, ut aſſeritur, fuit Mulier.

[b] Annal. Tom. x. ad An. 853. Num. 60.

[c] Rerum memorabilium Paraleipomen. Hiſt. Abbat. *Virpergenſ.* annexa, P. 394.

[d] *Harding* Loco ſuprà citato.

[e] A golden Legend in the Life of St. *Patrick.*

[f] Dial. Lib. iii. Cap. 28.

[g] Chronol. Lib. iii. ad An. *Chriſt.* 595.

[h] De ſacris Eccle. Benefic. ac Miniſt. Lib. ii. Cap. 4.

[i] *Alciat.* Parerga Juris Lib. vii. Cap. 24. & de Conſecrat. Diſt. 1. c. Vaſa.

[k] *Pius* II. dixiſſe fertur Sacerdotibus magna Ratione ſublatas eſſe Nuptias, majori reſtituendas videri. *Platina* in Vita *Pii* II. *Fulgoſ.* de Dict. &c. Lib. vii. Cap. 2.

[l] *Piſanus* de Continentia. Cap. 11.

[m] *Pſalm.* xci, 13.

[n] *Duaren.* de ſac. Eccl. Miniſt. Lib. i. Cap. 2.

[o] See Tortura Torti, p. 262, and the B. of *Lincoln*'s Book againſt a nameleſs *Catholick*, Page 282.

[p] *Onuph.* Annot. in *Plat.* in Vit. *Greg.* X.

[q] *Onuph.* ibid.

Papatus munus tulit Archidiaconus unus,
Quem patrem patrum fecit diſcordia fratrum.

Yet who doubts but he made them? [1] *Nicholas Clemangis*, Archdeaçon of *Bayonne* in *France*, doth write upon Hearſay, That, when *Balthaſar*, commonly known by the Name of *John the Twenty-third*, held a Council at *Rome*, and cauſed, as the Manner is, before the firſt Seſſion, a Maſs to be ſaid for the Aſſiſtance of the Holy Ghoſt; preſently, upon the Council's Setting themſelves down, and *Balthaſar*'s Advancing himſelf into his Chair of State, a dreadful Owl (which is ordinarily thought to preſage ſome Evil) comes out of her Hole, crying after her evil-favoured Faſhion, and flying to the middle Balk of the Church, ſtaring juſt in *Balthaſar*'s Face, to the great Aſtoniſhment of *Balthaſar* himſelf, and all the whole Council, ſo that he was glad to break off for that Time. Yea, he writes, that at the next Seſſion ſhe appeared again, ſtaring in the Pope's Face, as before, and could not be ſcared away with Flinging of Sticks, or with Whooping, till one felled her with a Stick, and ſo killed her. Yet no Man hath Cauſe to doubt of the Story, for he had it of a truſty Man, and a faithful Friend of his, who aſſured him, of his Credit, that it was true. That [2] St. *Cyril* intreated the Pope, he might lay the *Moravians* their Service in a known Language; and that, when there was ſome Sticking at the Motion, a Voice was heard, as it were, from Heaven, ſaying, *Omnis ſpiritus laudet Dominum, & omnis lingua confiteatur ei*; Let every Thing that hath Breath praiſe the Lord, and let every Tongue confeſs his Holy Name: Upon Hearing whereof, the Pope granted St. *Cyril* his Suit, is but reported with, *ferunt*. And yet, though [3] *Coſterus*, in that Reſpect, make ſome Queſtion of the Truth of it, [4] *Ledeſma* and [5] *Bellarmine* receive it for true: That the worſt Chriſtians, in *Italy*, are the *Romans*; that, of the *Romans*, the Prieſts are the moſt wicked, and, of the Prieſts, the lewdeſt are made Cardinals, and, of the Cardinals, the baddeſt choſen to be Pope; it is [6] written, but with *aſſeritur*. Yet, to them that are ſkilled in Hiſtories, and have obſerved the Courſe of the World at *Rome*, there are not many Things more certain. 'In 'Bavaria palam ferunt, Jeſuitas dolium in 'Collegium ſubvexiſſe, è cujus fundo effracto 'meretrix in publicas plateas prolapſa ſit,' ſaith [7] *Haſſen Muller*. They ſay openly, in *Bavaria*, that the Jeſuits cauſed a Tub to be carried unto their College, which breaking by the Way, a Wench dropped out of the one End of it, in the Midſt of the Street. And why may not this be true, though it go but by Report? The Papiſts believe, as true, far more incredible Reports than this, which concern Proteſtants. But to conclude this Point, Doth not [8] *Harpsfield Cope* avouch, That, if Men reject Stories, upon this Quirk, that they are related with *ferunt & dicitur*, they will ſoon mar all? You had beſt deviſe a better Anſwer than this, for fear you be one of them who mar all.

Pap. Take you no Care for that: Yet, in Way of further Anſwer to *Polonus*, who is taken, as [9] *N. D.* writes, to have been the firſt Relator of this Fable, [10] I ſay, there are ſo many Incongruities, Simplicities, Abſurdities, Varieties, and Contrarieties, in his very Narration of it, as it diſcovereth the whole Matter to be a mere Fable, and Fiction indeed, and him a very ſimple Man: *Poſt Leonem ſedit* Johannes Anglus, *natione Margantinus.* After *Leo the Third*, ſat *John Engliſh*, by Nation a *Margantine*; but, where this Country of *Margantia* is, no Man can tell.

Prot. N. D. whoſe Words you uſe, doth *Martinus Polonus* open Wrong, in reporting this of him. For, *firſt*, he ſaith not, that ſhe ſat after *Leo the Third*, but *Leo the Fifth. Secondly*, he calls her not *Margantine*, but *Maguntine*, which is witneſſed by [11] *Onuphrius* himſelf, who cites his Words to his beſt Advantage, that he might have the rather whereat to cavil. If any blind Book have

---

[1] Diſput. ſuper mater. Conc. Generalis, quæ habetur in Faſciculo Rerum expetend. impreſſ. Colon. 1535. fol. 201. b. Et in Bbl. ſanct. Patrum Bygnæi, Tom. viii. Edit. Pariſ. 1576.

[2] *Æneas Sylvius* Hiſt. *Bohemica*, Cap. xiii.

[3] In Enchirid. Controv. Cap. xix. de Precibus Latine recitandis.

[4] De divin. Script. quavis lingua non legend. Cap. xxxiii.

[5] Lib. II de Verbo Dei, Cap. xvi.

[6] Sir *Edward Sandys*, in his Relation of the Religion uſed in the *Weſt*, p. 91.

[7] Hiſtoria Jeſuitici Ordinis, Cap. vi.

[8] *Cope.* Dialog. III. Cap. xi. p. 355.

[9] Num. xxvii. p. 397.

[10] *N. D.* p. 399, and 400.

[11] Annot. in *Plat.* in vit. *Joh.* viii.

Margantine, it is but the Scrivener's Fault, ſuch as is committed once and again in that Book of *N. D.* whence this ſweet Cavil is taken, [1] where, for *Magdeburgians*, we read *Magdebugians*; for in *Polonus* there is an *r* too much, and in *N. D.* there is an *r* too few. Now, where *Maguntia* is, every Man can tell, to wit, in *Germany*.

Pap. [2] Yea, but it followeth in *Polonus*: *Quæ alibi legitur fuiſſe Benedictus iii.* which otherwiſe is read to be *Benedict the Third.* So as this Man ſeemeth to confound him with *Benedict the Third*, and conſequently aſcribeth to him the ſame Time of his Reign, that is aſſigned to *Benedict*, to wit, two Years and five Months; and yet, preſently after, he ſaith, that *Benedictus* was a *Roman*, Son to *Prateolus*, &c.

Prot. The Subſtance of this your Anſwer is falſe, and feigned of *N. D.* his own Head; for in *Polonus* there are no ſuch Words, as *Quæ alibi legitur fuiſſe Benedictus* 3. neither aſcribeth he to her the ſame Time of Reign that is aſſigned to *Benedict*; for he aſcribes to *Benedict* two Years and five Months, whereas he aſcribes to Pope *Joan* two Years, five Months, and four Days; or, as ſome [3] of you ſay, but two Years, one Month, and four Days. *N. D.* might, with as great Reaſon, charge *Anaſtaſius* to confound *Leo the Second*, and *Benedict the Second*, his next Succeſſor, becauſe he [4] aſcribeth to *Leo the Second* the ſame Time of his Reign, within five Days, which he aſcribes to *Benedict the Second.* Queſtionleſs, [5] *Polonus* aſcribes to *Clemens* nine Years, two Months, and ten Days; and ſo he doth to his next Succeſſor, *Anacletus*, without Difference, yet he confounds them not. *Polonus* aſcribes to *Celeſtinus the Firſt* eight Years, and nine Days; and ſo he doth to *Sixtus the Third*, his next Succeſſor, and yet confounds them not.

Pap. [6] Why, but what a fooliſh Speech is it of *Polonus*, when he ſaith, *John*, an *Engliſhman*, by Nation of *Maguntia*; for *Maguntia* is in *Germany*, as you told me before. And how could ſhe, being an *Engliſhwoman*, be of *Maguntia*?

Prot. You run Counter; ſhe was no *Engliſhwoman*, neither doth *Polonus* ſay ſhe was: She was *Joan Engliſh*, as [7] *N. D.* truly tranſlated *Johannes Anglus* in *Polonus*, but not *Joan*, or *John* of *England*; *Engliſh* was her Sirname, as [8] *Faſciculus Temporum* obſerved; but *England* was not her Country, her Country was *Maguntia*, that is, *Mentz*. There are many who carry the Name of *Scot*, *French*, *Gaſcoigne*, *Weſtphaling*, *Holland*, *Welch*, which were not born in thoſe Countries, but in ſeveral Shires in *England*. *Guitmundus*, who wrote againſt *Perengarius*, was [9] *Norman* by Name, but not by his Country, ſaith [10] *Poſſevine*. *Defuncto Stephano ſucceſſit Romanus nomine, natione Hiſpanus.* After the Death of Pope *Stephen*, one *Romanus* by Name, though by Birth a *Spaniard*, ſucceeded, ſaith *Antoninus*.

Pap. [11] Such Writers, as lived the very Time wherein this Matter is pretended to have fallen out, that is to [12] ſay, with *Leo the Fourth*, and *Benedict the Third*, from the Year 847 to 858, write nothing hereof at all. *Ergo*, there was no ſuch Matter.

Prot. Who are theſe Writers, I pray you, of whom you ſpeak?

Pap. The [13] firſt, and chiefeſt, is *Rabanus Maurus*, Abbot of the Monaſtery of *Fulda*, wherein this Pope *Joan* of yours, they ſay, loſt her Maidenhead. *Rabanus Maurus* writes nothing of her.

Prot. Nor of any other particular Pope, doth he? *Rabanus* [14] wrote Commentaries upon the whole Scripture, and ſome other Treatiſes, but he wrote no Hiſtory: Though, if he had, yet could he not have written of this Pope *Joan*, for her Knavery was not diſcovered till after the Year 855, in [15] which *Rabanus* died. *Rabanus* lived not to hear of her Delivery of a Child, as ſhe went in Progreſs,

---

[1] Page 396.

[2] *N. D.* Page 400.

[3] *Onuph.* loco citato.

[4] *Anaſtaſ.* de vit. Pont. in *Leo. ii.* & *Benedict ii.*

[5] Chron. ad An. Chriſt. 94 & 103.

[6] *Onuph. Hard.* & *Bellar.* locis ſupra citatis.

[7] Num. xxx. Page 400.

[8] See before.

[9] *Guitmundus* Normannus cognomento, non natione.

[10] Apparat ſac. verbo *Guitmundus.* Sum. Hiſt. Part II. Tit. xvi. Cap. 1. Sect. 14.

[11] *Florim.* Cap. x. Num. 1.

[12] Hoc eſt ab Ann. 847, ad Ann. 858.

[13] *Florim.* loco citato.

[14] *Trithem.* de Script. Eccl. verbo, *Rabanus.*

[15] *Trithem.* ibid.

Pap. *Rabanus* died in the Year 856, and not in the Year 855, as [1] *Baronius* notes. *Trithemius*, who noted out the Year 855 for the Year of his Death, was deceived, and ſo are you.

Prot. Whether *Trithemius* was deceived, in aſſigning the Year 855 for the Year of *Rabanus*'s Death; I mean not to ſtand arguing with you, becauſe it is all one to my Purpoſe, though he died in the Year 856; for Pope *Joan* was not diſcovered till after the Year 856; and therefore, ſince he died in that Year, by *Baronius*'s and your own Confeſſion, he could not write of her.

Pap. [2] *Strabus*, whoſe fellow Monk bereaved her of her Maidenhead, as the Tale goes: *Strabus*, I ſay, writes nothing of her.

Prot. *Strabus* writes nothing of his fellow Monks, who, by the Inſtigation of the Devil, wearied *Rabanus* of his Abbotſhip, through their continual Grumbling againſt him, for giving himſelf more to the Study of Divinity, than to Pleading about their worldly Buſineſs. Yet we read thereof, in [3] *Trithemius* and in [4] others: Wherefore it doth not follow, *Strabus* wrote not of Pope *Joan*: *Ergo*, there was no Pope *Joan*; eſpecially if it be conſidered, that *Strabus* wrote no Hiſtory, but gloſſes upon the Bible, and lived not till Pope *Joan*'s Days, but died about the Year 840: For how could he write of that which fell out after his Death? Who is your next Man?

Pap. [5] *Haimo*, who writ a Book of Virtue and Vice, writes nothing of her.

Prot. No Marvel, for he died in the Year 834, at leaſt twenty Years before ſhe was Pope. If *Haimo* had written of her, his Writing had been as ſtrange, as her Delivery of a Child.

Pap. How prove you that *Haimo* died in the Year 834? For, by [6] *Baronius*, it ſhould ſeem he died in the Year 853.

Prot. Though *Haimo* had died in the Year 853, it helps you not in this Caſe; for, till after that Time, this *Joan* was not made Pope: But, that *Haimo* died in the Year 834, it is witneſſed by [7] *Trithemius*, and acknowledged by [8] *Sixtus Senenſis*, and by *Poſſevine*. Wherefore go on.

Pap. *Anaſtaſius Bibliothecarius*, [9] a Man of great Reputation, that lived in both theſe Popes Times, and [10] was Secretary to them both, and was preſent at both their Elections, and wrote the Particulars thereof, writes nothing of her; but ſheweth, among other Points, that *Leo the Fourth* died the ſixteenth Day before the Kalends of *Auguſt*, and that all the Clergy of *Rome* gathered together, and, with one Conſent, did chuſe *Benedict the Third*, &c.

Prot. Where read you that *Anaſtaſius* was Secretary to both theſe Popes? Or that he was preſent at their Elections? [11] *Platina*, writing of an Accident which fell out in the Year 884, notes that *Anaſtaſius*, at that Time, was a Man of good Account in *Rome*; but neither he, nor any Man elſe, notes that he was Secretary to *Leo the Fourth*, and *Benedict the Third*, or that he was preſent at their Elections. [12] *Bellarmine* himſelf durſt ſay no more, but that he was preſent at the Election of many Popes, who either lived before, or after this Woman-pope. He durſt not ſay, that he was at the Election of theſe, as you ſay. Again, who told you that *Leo* died the ſixteenth Day before the Kalends of *Auguſt?* *Anaſtaſius* [13] writes, that *Leo the Fourth Papa ob dormivit in Domino* 16 *Calend. Auguſt.* but that is but the fifteenth Day before the Kalends of *Auguſt*, and not the Sixteenth. *Thirdly*, Whereas, to win Credit to this your Author, you commend him, as a Man of great Reputation; it is worth the Noting, which is noted [14] by one of your own Friends, that, in the Age wherein he lived, *Doctiſſimi cenſebantur, qui vel ſolam Grammaticam callerent*; they were counted great Clerks, who were ſkilled ſo much as in the Grammar. [a] That, in this Chronicle of *Anaſtaſius*, the Phraſe is harſh, rude, and barbarous; that many Things are avowed therein, which are far from true; that, therein, there are many Errors in the Account of Time, and ſome Things wherein he croſſeth himſelf; which Cenſure, for the main Point, is approved by many of your own Mother's Children; for many Papiſts, in many Particulars, condemn it: As for Example, [b] this Man of great Reputation reckons, *Anicetus* before *Pius*, and *Anterius* before *Pontianus*, whereas, [c] your Chroniclers reckon *Pius* before *Anicetus*, and *Pontianus* before *Anterus*. [d] This Man of great Reputation records, that *Marcellinus*, one of your Popes, was brought to offer Incenſe unto Idols, and that he did ſo; whereas your [e] *Baronius* inclines rather unto the Contrary. This Man of great Reputation [f] records, that the Prieſts of *Rome*, by the Advice of *Liberius* choſe *Felix*, a Prieſt, to be a Biſhop, inſtead of *Liberius*; whereas [g] your Chroniclers, of greateſt Eſteem, maintain, that *Felix* was choſen Prieſt by Hereticks only, and not by Conſent of *Liberius*. This Man of great Reputation [h] records, that *Liberius* ſubſcribed to the *Arian* Hereſy, which neither [i] *Pighius* nor [k] *Onuphrius* can abide to hear of. This Man of great Reputation [l] records, that *Anaſtaſius*, the ſecond Pope of that Name, communicated with *Photinus* the Heretick, who was all one with *Acacius* the *Eutychian*; and that he purpoſed with himſelf to reſtore *Acacius*, who was depoſed by his Predeceſſors; but could not effect it, becauſe God ſtruck him with ſudden Death; all which is falſe and fabulous, in [m] *Bellarmine*'s Opinion. This Man of great Reputation [n] records, that, after *Marcellinus*, the Biſhoprick of *Rome* lay void, ſeven Years, ſix Months, and five-and-twenty Days; whereas, by [o] *Baronius*, it lay void but twenty-five Days in all. This Man of great Reputation [p] records, that the Croſs of Chriſt was found in *Euſebius* the Pope's Days, about the Year 310; whereas, by [q] *Paronius*, it was not found till the Year 316. This Man of great Reputation [r] reckons *Honorius the Firſt* among the Hereticks called *Monothelites*; whereas the [s] moſt of your Side, and, by Name, [t] *Bellarmine*, would gladly clear *Honorius* from this Imputation. This [u] Man tells us, that *Alexander the Firſt* ſat but eight Years, and a few odd Months; whereas [w] *Baronius* tells us, that he ſat ten Years, and odd Months. This Man [x] giveth to *Pius* nineteen Years, four Months, and three Days; whereas [y] *Baronius* gives him but ten Years. This Man [z] makes *Soter* ſit nine Years, and upward; whereas, by [1] *Baronius*, he ſat not full four Years. This Man [2] ſaith, that *Anterus* ſat twelve Years, one Month, and twelve Days; whereas [3] *Baronius* ſaith, he ſat not a whole Month. This Man [4] alloweth *Dennis* but two Years, and a little more; whereas, [5] *Baronius* allows him eleven Years, and more. This Man [6] writes, that *Stephen the Fifth* ſat ſeven Years, and ſeven Months; whereas, by [7] *Baronius*'s Reckoning, he ſat but ſeven Months, and two or three odd Days. And ſo, in many other Things, this Man of great Reputation alloweth of that, whereof you allow not, and diſalloweth that which you allow: And therefore what Reaſon have you to preſs us with his Authority in this Controverſy?

---

[1] Annal. Tom. x. ad An. 856. Num. xxvi. *Poſſevin.* Apparat. ſac. verbo, *Rabanus.*

[2] *Florim.* loco citato.

[3] De Script. Eccleſ. verbo, *Rabanus.*

[4] *Sixt. Senenſis* Bibl. ſanctæ, Lib. iv. verbo, *Rabanus*, & in *Poſſevin.* Apparat. ſac. verbo, *Rabanus.*

[5] *Florim*, Page 84.

[6] Annal. Tom. x. ad An. 853. Num. 71.

[7] De Script. Eccl. verbo, *Haimo.*

[8] Bibl. ſanct. Lib. iv. verbo, *Haimo.* Apparat. ſacr. Tom. ii. verb. *Haim.*

[9] *N. D.* Part. II. Cap. v. p. 392.

[10] *Florim.* p. 84.

[11] In vita *Joh. viii.* Num. cx. *Anaſtaſius* a *Joh.* viz. *viii* Præfectus eſt Bibliothecæ *S. Rom.* Eccleſiæ, *Baron.* Annal. To. ix. ad. An. 787. Num. ix.

[12] Lib. III. de *Rom.* Pont. Cap. xxiv.

[13] In vita *Lenis iv.* Page 293.

[14] *Job Albinus* Typographus Mogunt. Præf. ad amicum Lectorem, quæ præfigitur *Anaſtaſio* Qui ſciret tantum Grammaticam iſto ſeculo rudi, doctiſſimus habebatur. *Baron.* Annal. Tom. ix. ad Ann. 802, Num. xii.

---

[a] *Albinus* loco citato.

[b] *Anaſtaſ.* de Vit. Pontif. in vita *Aniceti*, &c.

[c] *Platina* de Vitis Pontif. in vita *Aniceti*, & *Onuph.* in Chron. Rom. Pontif.

[d] In vita *Marcel.*

[e] Annal. Tom. ii. ad Ann. 302. Num. 95, 96, &c.

[f] In vita *Liberii.*

[g] *Baron.* Tom. iii. ad An. 355. Num. 57.

[b] In vita *Liberii.*

[i] *Pigh.* Hierar. Eccleſ. Lib. IV. Cap. viii.

[k] Anno in *Plat.* in vit. *Fel.* Cap. ii.

[l] In vit. *Anaſt. ii.*

[m] Lib. iv. de Rom. Pont. Cap. x. & Append. ad Lib. de ſummo Pont. Cap. xiv.

[n] In vita *Marcellini* ceſſavit Epiſcop. Ann. 7. m. 6. dieb. 25.

[o] Annal. Tom. ii. ad Ann. 304. Num. 25 and 26.

[p] In vit. *Euſeb.*

[q] Annal. Tom. iii. ad Ann. 326. Num. 41.

[r] In vit. *Hon. i.*

[s] *Onuph.* Annotat. in *Plat.* in vita *Honorii. i.* &c.

[t] Lib. IV. de Rom. Pont. Cap. xi.

[u] In vit. *Alex. i.*

[w] *Baron.* Annal. Tom. ii. ad Ann. 132. Num. 1.

[x] In vit. *Pii. i.*

[y] *Baron.* Tom. ii. ad An. 167. Num. 1.

[z] In vit. *Soteris.*

[1] *Baron.* Tom. ii. ad Ann. 179. Num. 51.

[2] In vit. *Anteri.*

[3] *Baron.* Tom. ii. an Ann. 238. Num. 1.

[4] In vita *Dionyſii.*

[5] Tom. ii. ad Ann. 272. Num. 21.

[6] In vita *Stephani v.*

[7] Annal. Tom. ix. ad Ann. 837. Num. 1.

Pap. Great Reaſon; for, though he miſſed ſometimes the Truth, yet he aimed always at it; and, though he was unkindly dealt withal by ſome of the Popes, yet he was not carried away with Malice, and moved thereby, as many are, to write an Untruth.

Prot. What? Was *Anaſtaſius*, the Man of great Reputation, unkindly dealt withal by ſome of the Popes? Who told you that Tale?

Pap. I had it of [1] *Florimondus*; and I think he was induced to ſay ſo, becauſe we read, in *Leo the Fourth*'s Time, one *Anaſtaſius* was degraded by Pope *Leo* and a Council of ſixty-ſeven Biſhops.

Prot. That *Anaſtaſius*, who was degraded by *Leo the Fourth* and the Council, was he, as [2] *Platina* ſheweth, who ſtood up Antipope againſt *Benedict the Third*; it was not this *Anaſtaſius*; which you may learn of him who made the Index Alphabetical for the more ready Finding out of the moſt memorable Points in *Anaſtaſius*'s Chronicle; for he [3] diſtinguiſheth *Anaſtaſius Bibliothecarius* from *Anaſtaſius* degraded by *Leo*, and ſet up in Oppoſition againſt *Benedict the Third.* But, let *Anaſtaſius* be of as great Reputation, as you are diſpoſed to have him of: How ſoon after *Leo*'s Death, doth *Anaſtaſius* report, that the Clergy choſe *Benedict the Third?* Can you tell me that?

Pap. Yea; the See was void, after *Leo the Fourth*, juſt fifteen Days, and no more; and then not *Joan*, but *Benedict the Third* was choſen.

Prot. Who told you ſo?

Pap. Marry, [4] *Onuphrius*, [5] *Bellarmine*, [6] *Bernartius*, [7] *Florimondus*, and [8] *Papyrius Maſſonus*; for they ſay, that theſe are *Anaſtaſius*'s own Words: 'Sanctiſſimus *Leo* Papa IV. obdormivit in Domino, 16. Calend. Aug. ſepultus ad Sanctum *Petrum*; & ceſſavit Epiſcopatus dies 15. Quo mortuo, mox omnis Clerus Romanæ ſedis, univerſi proceres, cunctuſque populus ac ſenatus congregati ſunt, &c. uno conamine *Benedictum* Pontificem promulgârunt.' That is, The moſt holy Pope, *Leo the Fourth*, died in the Lord, the Sixteenth of the Calends of *Auguſt*, and was buried at St. *Peter*'s; and the Biſhoprick was void fifteen Days. Now, preſently upon his Death, the whole *Roman* Clergy, with all the Nobles, and Commons, and Officers of the City, met, and, as one Man, agreed that *Benedict* ſhould be Pope.

Prot. They all lye falſely, for the Words *(Et ceſſavit Epiſcopatus dies* 15.) are not to be found, as before I told you, in *Anaſtaſius*; ſo that whatſoever they build upon this Circumſtance, as the moſt of their Building is, is built upon a falſe Foundation, and therefore cannot ſtand: Yet, beſides, I would have you know, that *Anaſtaſius* purpoſely paſſed over in Silence divers Things which touched the Popes; for, 'Multa de *Sergio* deſiderari videntur apud *Anaſtaſium*,' [9] ſaith *Baronius: Anaſtaſius* wants many Things touching *Sergius.* Again, '*Johannis* VIII. res geſtæ deſiderantur apud *Anaſtaſium*, fortaſſis prætermiſſæ ob odioſam *Photii* reſtitutionem,' ſaith the ſame [10] *Baronius*: The Acts of *John the Eighth* are wanting in *Anaſtaſius*, perhaps, becauſe he was loth to record that odious Reſtoring of *Photius.*

[11] *Anaſtaſius* forbears to ſpeak of *Luitprandus*'s Sacking of St. *Peter*'s Church, which is without the Walls of *Rome*; and ſo doth *Paulus Diaconus* too; not for that he was ignorant of that Fact, ſince he lived in the ſame Time, but for that he was loth, by telling Truth, to diſcredit *Luitprandus:* Beſides, under *Benedicite* be it ſpoken, I fear *Anaſtaſius*, when he was printed, paſſed ill Fingers; I fear ſomething was put out of him, which was in his Manuſcript.

Pap. What Preſumptions have you of it?

Prot. Great: For I read in *Platina*, and in *Volaterran*, that *Bibliothecarius* (by whom they mean *Anaſtaſius*, who lived three-hundred Years before *Sigebert*) made Mention, in his Hiſtory, That *Adrian the Firſt* firſt gave Power to *Charles the Great* to confirm the Election of the Biſhop of *Rome*, and to nominate other Biſhops within his Dominions; and yet I find not this in the printed *Anaſtaſius*. Now I think it more probable, that ſome put this out of *Anaſtaſius*, when he came to the Preſs, which was *Anno* 1602, than that *Platina* and *Volaterran* ſhould belye his Manuſcript.

---

[1] *Florim.* Cap. xiv. num. 1.

[2] De Vitis Pont. in vit. *Bened.* III.

[3] In Indice, littera, *a*, verbo, *Anaſtaſius.*

[4] Annot. in *Plat.* in vit. *Johan.* VIII.

[5] Lib. III. de Rom. Pont. cap. 24.

[6] De Utilitate Legend. Hiſt.

[7] Cap. xiv. pag. 123.

[8] De Urbis Epiſc. in *Benedict.* III.

[9] Annal. Tom. x. ad Ann. 847. num. 6.

[10] Ibid. ad Annum 882. num. 6.

[11] Multa prætermiſſa ab *Anaſtaſio* inveniuntur, & inter alia deprædatio Baſilicæ S. *Petri*, quæ in *Vaticanis* collibus extra urbis mœnia poſita erat *Baron.* Annal. Tom. ix. ad Ann. 739. num. 6. Plurima de eodem Rege (viz. *Luitprando*) *P. Diaconus* prætermiſiſſe convincitur; ſed haud rerum ignoratione, ſed ne tanto viro notam inureret, &c. *Baron.* Annal. Tom. ix. ad Ann. 744. num. 22. In Vita *Paſchal.* I. Anthropol. 22. Lib. Annal. Tom ix. ad Ann. 774. Not. in Vitam *Hadriani*, Tom. iii. Conc. pag. 252. Apud *Antoninum*, Num. Hiſt. Part. II. tit. 16. cap. i. ſect. 19.

Pap. Methinks, *Anaſtaſius* ſhould not have written any ſuch Thing; for *Baronius* and *Binnius* do confidently affirm, That no Man writ ſo before *Sigebert*, who lived *ad Annum* 1112.

Prot. Tut, they both lye therein groſly; for *Gregory the Sixth*, who lived and died *Anno* 1047, a good many Years before *Sigebert*, in an Oration, which he made to his Cardinals upon his Death-bed, teſtified as much in Effect, as *Sigebert*: For, 'Laudatus eſt olim præ'deceſſor noſter *Hadrianus* prædicandæ me'moriæ, quod inveſtituras Eccleſiarum con'ceſſit *Carolo Magno*, ita ut nullus electus con'ſecraretur ab Epiſcopo, niſi prius à rege ba'culo & annulo inſigniretur,' ſaith he. But let us leave *Anaſtaſius*, and come unto the next, who, living in thoſe Days, paſſeth over Pope *Joan* in Silence.

Pap. [1] *Ado*, Biſhop of *Vienna*, who lived at the ſame Time, hath not a Word of this your Pope *Joan*.

Prot. *Ado* lived not at the ſame Time, nor near the ſame Time, if either [2] *Geſner*, or [3] *Poſſevinus*, or [4] *Laurentius de la Barre*, or [5] *Angelus Rocca* may be credited: For he, as they ſay, wrote a brief Chronicle, from the Beginning of the World to his own Time, to wit, to the Year 1353; wherefore it is not much material, whether he miſs her, or mention her. Say on.

Pap. [6] *Theophanus Freculphus* wrote, in thoſe Days, an Hiſtory, from the Beginning of the World to his own Time; and yet he writes nothing of her.

Prot. If *Freculphus* had written an Hiſtory of that Length, yet there was little Reaſon why he ſhould have mentioned her; for we [7] read not, that he lived above the Year 840: But, indeed, his Hiſtory goes not ſo far; he writ only to the Year of Chriſt 550, as [8] *Bodin* obſerveth; or to the Year 560, as [9] *Pontacus* noteth; or, at furtheſt, to the Year 600. For, having ſpoken a few Words of *Gregory the Great*, and *Boniface*, who ſucceeded him, he ends preſently his Story. Who is your next Man?

Pap. [10] *Aimonius*, a Monk of *St. Germains*, and a famous *French* Writer, ſpeaks nothing of her.

Prot. *Aimonius*, or *Ammonius*, or *Annonius* (for he is diverſly named) your famous *French* Writer, drew out his Story, by [11] your own Men's Confeſſion, but to the Year 828, or at furtheſt to [12] 844, which fell nine or ten Years ſhort (at leaſt) of Pope *Joan*'s Time; and therefore, methinks, you ſhould not look, that he ſhould write of her.

Pap. [11] *Audomarus*, the *Pariſian*, omits her alſo, in his Hiſtory.

Prot. Where might a Man ſee *Audomarus*, I pray you? [14] *Canus* tells of a Biſhop, in his Country, which was wont to cite Authors, that never were: Now I wiſh you be not of Kindred to him in this; for I find no Mention of any ſuch Hiſtoriographer in *Trithemius*, or in *Geſner*, or in *Poſſevinus*. Neither doth *Bellarmine*, nor *Baronius*, cite any ſuch, in their Diſputes about this Matter. When you can tell me certain News of ſuch a Writer, you ſhall have a more certain Anſwer: In the mean Time proceed.

Pap. Nay, ſtay a little; for, though neither *Bellarmine*, nor *Baronius*, mention *Ademarus* (for ſo is his right Name, and not *Audomarus*, as it is erroneouſly printed) where they ſpeak of this Matter, yet *Ademarus* is mentioned by *Genebrard* and *Onuphrius*, where they treat of this Matter, as *B. C.* obſerved well, in his [1] *Doleful Knell of* Thomas Bell, where he taxeth *Sutcliffe* for captious Quarrelling with Father *Parſons* (as he calls him) for Citing *Ademarus*, calling him a Counterfeit.

---

[1] *Bellarm.* Lib. iii. de Rom. Pont. cap. 24. *N. D.* num. 24. p. 393. & alii.

[2] In Bibliotheca, verbo, *Ado.*

[3] Apparatus ſacer, verbo, *Ado.*

[4] In Hiſt. vet. Patrum, edit. Pariſ. 1583, ad initium, Chron. *Adonis.*

[5] In Biblioth. *Vatican.* impreſſ. Romæ, Anno 1591. Tit. *Authores, quorum in opere citantur nomina.*

[6] *Florim.* pag. 84.

[7] *Freculphus* floruit Anno 830, & quod excurrit. *Poſſevin.* Apparat. ſac. verbo, *Freculphus.*

[8] In Method. Hiſt. *Freculph.* Hiſtoricos ab Orbe condito ad Annum Chriſti 560. Chron. digerit.

[9] Chron. Lib. ii. pag. 110.

[10] *Onuphrii* Annotat. in *Plat.* in Vita Johan. VIII. *Harding.* loco in initio citato. *Florim.* p. 84.

[11] *Annonius* uſque ad Annum 828. Hiſtoriam texuit, *ſaith Vaſq.* de Adorat. Lib. II. cap. ix. diſp. 7.

[12] *Genebr.* Chron. Lib. iv. ad Annum 844.

[13] *N. D.* num. 24. p. 392.

[14] Epiſcopus quidam noſtras eos Authores citavit interdum, quos nulla unquam habuit ætas. *Canus*, Loc. Com. Lib. xi. cap. 6. fol. 327.

Prot. B. C. is a fit Patron for Father *Parſons*, but an unfit Match to deal with Dean *Sutcliffe*: Dean *Sutcliffe*, no Doubt, ſcorns him; and good Cauſe why: For who, but a Fool, would appeal to one of his own Fellows, for Trial of his Truth? Are not *Genebrard* and *Onuphrius* as like to cite a counterfeit Author, as *Parſons*?

Pap. [2] *Lupus Servatus* ſaith nothing of her.

Prot. Why, what Occaſion had he to ſpeak of her, ſince he writ no Books of Hiſtory? Beſides, '*Lupus Servatus* migravit ad Domi-' num, Anno 851,' ſaith [3] *Trithemius*: That is, *Lupus Servatus* died in the Year 851. So that, though, as a Prophet, he might have foretold of her Delivery, yet, as an Hiſtorian, he could not have reported her Delivery.

Pap. Yea; but *Lupus*, Abbot of *Ferrara*, in an [4] Epiſtle of his to *Benedict the Third*, calls *Leo Benedict*'s Predeceſſor; and thereby ſheweth, as [5] *Baronius* gathereth, that there was no ſuch Pope, as Pope *Joan*, between *Benedict* and *Leo*.

Prot. What? Doth *Baronius* gather ſuch a Concluſion of ſuch Premiſſes? Verily, he gathereth where no Man ſtreweth; for, I pray you, Doth this follow? *John the Ninth*, ſpeaking of *Stephen the Sixth*, [6] calls him his *Predeceſſor*; *ergo*, there was no Pope between *John the Ninth* and *Stephen the Sixth*? If not, as indeed it doth not (for there were two Popes who came between them, the one called [7] *Romanus*, the other [8] *Theodorus*) then neither will it follow, that, becauſe *Leo* is called *Benedict*'s Predeceſſor, therefore there was no ſuch Pope, as Pope *Poan*, between *Benedict* and *Leo*. 'Interdum Rom. Pontifices non ſolum eos, qui 'proximi Epiſcopi fuere, ſed pleroſque diſ-' junctiſſimos illo nomine (prædeceſſoris) com-' plectuntur.' The Popes of *Rome*, by the Name of *Predeceſſor*, do ſometimes underſtand, not ſuch as were Popes immediately before them, but ſuch as lived very long before them, ſaith [9] *Maſſonus*.

Pap. [1] Yea, but this *Lupus*, in divers of his Epiſtles, doth complain of the miſerable Eſtate of the Church in his Time. And therefore, if any ſuch horrible Matter as this of Pope *Joan* had fallen out, [11] doubtleſs, he would have ſpoken of it, and mourned pitifully for it.

Prot. Doubtleſs, *Baronius*, if you give any Credit to him, will make a Fool of you. For doth not [12] he mention divers of his complaining Epiſtles, ſent to great Perſonages; wherein yet he complains of nothing, but that Courtiers robbed his Corban, I mean his Monaſtery. [13] That he wanted an ambling Nag to ride to *Rome* on. [14] That he wanted *Tully de Oratore*, *Quintilian*, and *Donate* upon *Terence*. And [15] that there was ſuch Licentiouſneſs in *France* (among the Laity) that the People neither feared God nor the Devil. Of Faults among the Clergy, *Lupus* complains not at all.

Pap. [16] *Luitprandus*, who writ an Hiſtory, ſpeaks nothing of her.

Prot. What Hiſtory of *Luitprandus* do you mean? That which is intitled *De Vitis Pontificum*, that is, Of the Popes Lives; which was printed the [17] other Year at *Mentz* with *Anaſtaſius*; or his Hiſtory of ſuch Accidents as fell out through *Europe*.

Pap. I mean the latter. For I ſee the former, though it carry the Name of *Luitprandus*, [18] caſt off by the Printer, as none of his.

Prot. Now then you are a wiſe Man, to tell me that *Luitprandus* mentions not Pope *Joan*. For 'Luitprandus, Ticinenſis Diaco-

---

[1] Pag. 296 & 297. [2] *Florim.* pag 84. [3] In Chron. Monaſterii Hirſaugienſis, ad Ann. 851. [4] Epiſtola 103, quæ habetur apud *Baron.* Annal. Tom. x. ad Annum 856. num. 8. & *Florim.* cap. 14. num. 4. [5] Annal. Tom. x. ad Annum 853. num. 69. [6] *Baron.* Tom. x. ad Annum 900. num. 8. [7] Idem, ad Annum 901. num. 1. [8] Idem, ibid. [9] De Urbis Epiſc. Lib. v. in *Cæleſt.* III. ffol. 212. [10] *Baron.* Tom. x. ad Ann. 853. Num. 69. [11] Certè, ſi quod tam nefandum ſcelus accidiſſet, dicere minimè omiſiſſet, ſed implacabili luctu vir zelo plenus planxiſſet. [12] Tom. x. ad Ann. 846. Num. 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17. [13] Ad Ann. 855. Num. 14. [14] Ad Ann. 856. Num. 10. [15] Ad Ann. 856. Num. 20. [16] *N. D.* pag. 392. *Florim.* pag. 84. [17] Anno 1602. [18] *Joh. Albinus* Præfat. at Lectorem.

'nus, hiſtoriam per Europam geſtorum libris '6. ab An. 858. ad 30. uſque Othonis magni 'ferè continuat,' [a] ſaith *Genebrand*; that is, *Luitprandus*, Deacon of ſuch a Church in *Italy*, continues his Hiſtory of Accidents which fell out in *Europe*, from the Year 858, to the thirtieth Year (almoſt) of *Otho the Great*. By which you may ſee that he began his Hiſtory after Pope *Joan*'s Time: And therefore had no Cauſe to ſpeak of her.

Pap. [b] *Lambertus Schafnaburgenſis* hath not a Word of her.

Prot. To this I anſwer, *Firſt*, that he lived not in the ſame Time with her; he lived *Anno* 1077. *Secondly*, I ſay that this *Lambertus* did but touch by the Way all Ages, from the Beginning of the World to the Year of Chriſt 1040, as [c] *Pontacus* truly obſerved; though he diſcourſed at large of the thirty-ſeven Years that followed. *Thirdly*, this *Lambertus* doth not ſo much as name *Stephen the Fourth*, or *Paſchalis*, or *Eugenius*, or *Valentinus*, or *Gregory the Fourth*, or *Sergius the Second*, or *Leo the Fourth*, or *Benedict the Third*, or *Nicholas*, or *Adrian the Second*; and therefore what Marvel, if he ſpeak not of this Pope *Joan*?

Pap. [d] *Otho Friſingenſis*, who lived about the Year 1150, makes no Mention of this Story.

Prot. But he doth. For *John the Seventh* ([e] ſaith he) was a Woman.

Pap. [f] They who lived within a few Years after her, and writ at Length of all other Accidents, write nothing of her; and that is another Preſumption, it is but a Fable which is reported of her.

Prot. Who are they you mean?

Pap. The firſt is [g] *Johannes Diaconus*, who, in the Year 870, writ of the Popes Lives.

Prot. That *Johannes Diaconus* writ St. *Gregory the Great*'s Life, [h] I grant; and, [i] as ſome ſay, *Clement*'s; but that he writ of any more Popes, I utterly deny. You have a pretty Gift in alledging Writings that never were But ſay on.

Pap. [k] *Milo Monachus*, who lived *Anno* 871, ſaith nothing of her.

Prot. *Milo Monachus*, I believe, ſaith nothing of her, nor any other Pope; for he writ no Hiſtory. They, who commend him, [l] do commend him for a Rhetorician, and for a Poet, and for a Muſician, but not for an Hiſtoriographer.

Pap. [m] *Paſſeratius Rabertus*, who lived in the Year 881, ſaith nothing of her.

Prot. This *Paſſeratius* is (ſurely) ſome Author of your own Deviſing. For no Man can tell any News of him. But (perhaps) you would ſay *Paſchaſius Ratbertus*, for [n] ſuch a one lived about the Time you ſpeak of. Yet this writ no Hiſtory. This writ neither at Length, nor in Brief, any of the Popes Lives.

Pap. Yea, but [o] *Rhegino*, who lived in the Year 910, and comprehendeth briefly all the choice Matters which fell out in the Time of this ſuppoſed Pope *Joan*, writes nothing of her.

Prot. *Rhegino* writes nothing of *John the Second*, nor of *Boniface the Fourth*, nor of *Deuſdedit*, nor of *Boniface the Fifth*. He writes not a Word of *Sergius the Second*, nor of *Leo the Fourth*, nor of *Benedict the Third*, and therefore no Marvel, though he write nothing of this *Joan* the Woman Pope.

Pap. [p] Why, but the greateſt Enemies that ever the Popes had, who lived in, and after thoſe Times, and were ready to caſt in the Popes Teeth whatſoever they knew, or knew not, to the End they might diſgrace them, yet never objected this of Pope *Joan*. Which confirms me much in my Opinion, that this is but a Tale, deviſed long after by ſome crafty-headed Hereticks.

Prot. Who are theſe, I pray you?

---

[a] Chron. Lib. iv. ad Ann. 955.

[b] *N. D.* and *Florim.* locis citatis.

[c] Lib. ii. Chron.

[d] *Florim.* pag. 85. *Onuph.* in *Plat.* in Vita *Joh.* VIII.

[e] Lib. vii. cap. 35. Rerum in Orbe geſtarum. Impreſſ. Argentorati, Ann. 1515.

[f] Qui paulò poſt illius ætatem floruerunt, nihil de ea ſcripſerunt, &c. *Florim.* cap. 10. pag. 84.

[g] *Florim.* loco citato.

[h] For ſo I read in *Tritbem.* de Script. Eccleſiaſt. verbo, *Joh. Diac.*

[i] *Poſſevin.* in Apparat. ſac. verbo, *Joh. Diaconus.*

[k] *Florim.* loco citato.

[l] *Tritbem.* Lib. citato. verbo, *Milo. Sigebert.* ad Ann. 879.

[m] *Florim.* loco citato.

[n] *Tritbem* Lib. citato. *Poſſevin.* Appar. ſac. verbo, *Paſchaſius.*

[o] *Florim.* loco citato.

[p] Cum omnes ſcribendi principes, quorum alii hæretici, alii ſchiſmatici, alii anathemate ſeparati——quæcunque odium ſuggeſſit, in Pontifices ex omni Vitæ præteritæ cauſa collecta probra turpiter evomuerint———nihil autem de *Joannæ* Pontificatu dixerunt: Exiſtimandum eſt quæcunque de ea poſtea divulgata ſunt, poſteriorum hæreticorum fraude fuiſſe excogitata. *Florim.* Cap. 10. Num. 5 & 6.

Pap. [1] *John* Biſhop of *Ravenna* is one of them, *Methodius Illyricus* another, and *Michaël Palæologus*, the Emperor of *Conſtantinople*, a third.

Prot. How know you, that theſe never objected Pope *Joan*'s Lewdneſs to the Diſgrace of the *Roman* Papacy? Have you read all that they writ, and all that they ſpoke?

Pap. Nay, their Writings are not extant, [2] I confeſs. But a Man may know how they ſlandered the Popes by the Anſwers of many godly Men, made in Defence of the Popes. For as we Catholicks at this Day are forced to make Mention of your Objections, when we undertake to anſwer your Books; ſo in thoſe Days the Catholicks were driven to make Mention of the Slanders which they refuted. Now, in their Refutation of Slanders, there is no ſuch thing as this of Pope *Joan*.

Prot. Why, peradventure, they knew that in this they were ſlandered with a Matter of Truth; and therefore they held it beſt to paſs it over in Silence. Queſtionleſs, your Fellows at this Day do ſo often. When *Beza* objected this very Matter in the Aſſembly of *Poiſſy*, before the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, and the *Sorboniſts* of *Paris*, who anſwered him? Do not your [3] own Men confeſs, that no Man ſaid a Word to him? When the *Huſſites* (as you call them) objected the ſame at the Council of *Conſtance*, [4] Was not Silence their Anſwer? We read in a [5] Book lately ſet forth, intitled, *Synodus Pariſienſis*, that [6] St. *Ambroſe* asked, 'Qua ratione, quáve authoritate, 'imagines Angelorum vel aliorum Sanctorum 'adorandæ ſint, cùm ipſi ſancti Angeli vel 'ſancti homines vivos ſe adorari noluerunt?' What Reaſon, or what Warrant Men had to worſhip the Images of Men and Angels, ſeeing the Angels themſelves, and holy Men alive, refuſed to be worſhiped? Now the two great Cardinals, [7] *Bellarmine* and [8] *Baronius*, ſnarl at this Book, ſeeking by all Means to diſgrace it. [9] *Bellarmine* expreſly profeſſeth the Confuting of it: and [10] *Baronius* ſets the moſt of it down in his Annals, even Word for Word, making Gloſſes here and there upon it, in a Way of Anſwer to it. But both of them paſs ſlily by the Words of St. *Ambroſe*. If we had not had the Book itſelf, we ſhould never have known, by their Anſwers, of ſuch an Argument of St. *Ambroſe*'s making againſt Images. In like Manner theſe [11] two Champions undertake to anſwer ſuch Arguments as are made to juſtify the Report of *Gregory*'s Delivering *Trajan* out of Hell. Yet there is one Argument made by their [12] Oppoſites, which they never touch; and that is this: That, in St. *Gregory*'s Church at *Rome*, the Sum of that Story is engraven in an ancient Stone. Upon which Argument the Jeſuit *Salmeron* [13] ſtands much. If their Oppoſites Writings were not extant, by their Anſwers, we had never heard of ſuch an Objection. Wherefore, if you would perſuade me that theſe eager Enemies objected not this againſt the Pope, you muſt bring better Proof than this, that you find no Foot-ſtepping of it in the Anſwers made unto them. But go on with your Argument. What other Enemies Silence perſuades you that this Story is a Fable?

Pap. [14] *Hincmarus* Archbiſhop of *Rheims*, *Theodoricus de Niem*, *Waltramus* Biſhop of *Norinberg*, *Benno* the Cardinal, bitter Enemies unto the Pope, paſs this over in Silence. And that is a great Argument to me, there was no ſuch thing.

Prot. That *Hincmarus* Archbiſhop of *Rheims* ſhould have lived at Enmity with your Popes, it is not for your Pope's Credit it ſhould be known; for he was ſingularly well learned, very wiſe, and very honeſt, as [15] *Trithemius* witneſſeth; inſomuch that your great Cardinal [16] *Baronius*, when he hath Occaſion to cite him, intitles him, [17] Saint *Hincmarus*; wherein his Epitomiſer [18] follows him.

---

[1] *Florim.* Num. 4.

[2] *Florim.* ib.

[3] *Johannes Sanmartinus* in Fabulam *Joannæ* Pſeudopontif. Romanæ è corrupto hiſtoriarum albo eraſam à *Flor.* &c. and *Florim.* cap. 6. pag. 58.

[4] Silentio ſatisfecerunt Catholici doctores, &c. *Florim.* cap. 6 Num. 6.

[5] Synodus Pariſienſis, Ann. Chriſti 824. Francofurti impreſſ apud Hæredes *Wechel.* 1596. pag. 145.

[6] In Epiſt. Pauli ad Rom.

[7] Append. ad Lib. de Cultu Imag.

[8] Annal. Tom. ix. ad Ann. 825. Num. 3.

[9] Loco citato, in initio.

[10] Num. 5, &c.

[11] *Bellar.* Lib. ii. de Purg. cap. 8. *Baron.* Annal. Tom. viii. ad Ann. 604. pag. 182, &c.

[12] *Alphonſ. Salmeron.* in 1 Cor. xv. Diſput. 27.

[13] Cujus rei extat inſigne Romæ monnmentum lapidi antiquiſſimo inſcriptum in æde ſacra ipſius Gregorii ——quod ego propriis oculi hauſi, &c. *Salmeron* loco citato, pag. 239 & 240.

[14] *Florim.* cap. 10. pag. 87.

[15] Vir in divinis Scripturis ſingulariter doctus——ſapientia & honeſtate morum conſpicuus. *Trithem.* de Script. Eccleſ. verbo, *Hincmarus.*

[16] Tom. ix. ad Ann. 760. Num. 3.

[17] S. *Hincmarus.*

[18] *Joh. Gabri.* Biſciola Epit. *Baron.* ad Ann. 760.

Pap. Well: [1] what ſay you to *Theodoricus de Niem*?

Prot. I ſay (which before I proved) that he mentions the Story.

Pap. And what ſay you to *Waltram* Biſhop of *Norinberg*?

Prot. I ſay, there are few of his Works extant; and, in [2] thoſe which are extant, he ſhews no Gall againſt the Popes; only he proves that the Emperor hath Right to the Inveſtiture of Biſhops.

Pap. [3] Why, but do you not think that *Benno* the Cardinal, who ſpoke ſo much Evil of *Gregory the Seventh*, and other Popes, would have noted this, if he had known of it?

Prot. No. *Benno* (no Doubt) knew much foul Matter by many other Popes, which he did not touch. There are many ſhameful Things reported in other Stories by many of your Popes, which *Benno* hath not in his Story. But do you think in good Earneſt, that *Benno* the Cardinal was the Author of that Book which goes under his Name, and is intitled *Vita & Geſta Hildebrandi*?

Pap. Nay, indeed I do not. I rather think it was made by ſome *Lutheran*, and falſly fathered on *Benno*. And of that Mind is [4] *Bellarmine* in part, and [5] *Florimondus* wholly.

Prot. So was not *Orthuinus Gratius*, who ſet it out at *Colen*, in the Year 1535. For he, though as hot a Papiſt as any of the Crew, held it for *Benno*'s own, and [6] profeſſed that he rather believed him than *Platina*, and *Stella*, and *Sabellicus*. But ſee you not by the Way your own Folly, in that you conclude there was no Pope *Joan*, becauſe the Writer of that Story makes no Mention of any ſuch *Joan*? I hope (if he were a *Lutheran* that made it) he knew there was a common Fame of ſuch a Matter: And therefore, if he had been diſpoſed to have diſgorged himſelf of all that lay on his Stomach, he would have caſt up that with the reſt. But go forward.

Pap. [7] *Rupertus* the *Engliſh* Biſhop, who, becauſe he was excommunicated by the Pope, deviſed and raked together all manner of Lyes againſt the Pope, did not for all that object this.

Prot. [8] *Rupertus* the *Engliſh* Biſhop, whom you mean, was the Man commonly called *Groſthead*. [9] A great Philoſopher, excellently well ſeen both in *Greek* and *Latin*, a Reader of Divinity in the Schools, a famous Preacher in the Pulpit, a Man of holy Life and Converſation; even ſo holy, that, in the Opinion of the whole Clergy of *France* and *England*, there was not ſuch another among the Prelates of that Time; though it pleaſed your Pope *Innocentius the Fourth*, to call him old Fool, ſurd and abſurd Companion, and to threaten he would make him a By-word and an Aſtoniſhment unto the World. And, to ſay Truth, this Man had many Bickerings with the Pope, inſomuch that in one Letter he [10] ſignified unto him, that by his Writs with (*Non obſtante*) he brought upon the World a *Noah*'s Flood of Miſchiefs, whereby the Purity of the Church was defiled, and the Quietneſs of the Commonwealth hindered. That by his Reſervations, Commendams, Proviſions of Benefices for Perſons, who ſought to fleece, and not to feed the Flock of God, he committed ſuch a Sin, ſo contrary to the Doctrine of the Apoſtles and the Evangeliſts; ſo hateful, ſo deteſtable, ſo abominable to *Chriſt Jeſus*, as never Sin was, but the Sin of *Lucifer*; nor never ſhall be, but the Sin of *Antichriſt*, whom the Lord ſhall deſtroy with the Breath of his Mouth at his Coming. He ſignified unto him, that no Man could, with a good Conſcience, obey any ſuch Mandates as he ſent, though they came from the higheſt Order of Angels. For they tended not to Edification, but to the utter Undoing of the Church. Are theſe the Lyes, by reporting whereof he ſought to revenge himſelf upon your Pope? Alas! the [11] College of Cardinals confeſſed before the Pope, that they could not blame him for Writing thus, for he ſaid nought but Truth.

---

[1] *Florim.* pag. 87.

[2] De Inveſtitura Epiſcoporum, printed at *Baſil*, Anno 1566.

[3] *Florim.* Cap. 10. Num. 5 & 6.

[4] Lib. iv. de Rom. cap. 13.

[5] *Florim.* pag. 88.

[6] Malo magis huic *Benoni* Cardinali quàm *Platinæ*, &c. credere. Epiſt. ad Lector. fol. 39. in Faſcic. Rerum expetend. & fugiend.

[7] *Florim.* pag. 88 & 89. *Rupertus* Epiſc. Angl.——quæcunque potuit excogitare convicia eſt ementitus.

[8] Magnus habetur Philoſophus Latinis & Græcis ad plenum eruditus, lector in Theologiæ ſcholis, prædicator in populo, *&c.* *Matth. Pariſ.* Hiſt. Angl. in *Hen.* III. pag. 1162. See the *Engliſh* Martyrology, made by a Popiſh Prieſt, *Octob.* 9. Printed Ann. 1608.

[9] Quis eſt iſte ſenex delirus, ſurdus, & abſurdus, ſaith *Innocent* IV. *Matth. Paris, ib.*

[10] Apud *Matth. Paris*, pag. 1161.

[11] Ut vera fateamur, vera ſunt quæ dicit, *ſaid the Cardinals*, *Matth. Paris*, pag. 1162.

Pap. [1] Another *Engliſhman*, *Mathew Paris* by Name, made a Hotch-potch of all the Villainies he could remember, and yet he hath not this.

Prot. Mathew Paris, indeed, tells many foul Tales of the Popes and the Papiſts. As for Example: [2] He reports how *Satanas, & omne contubernium inferorum*. That is, The Devil of Hell, and all his helliſh Crew, writ Letters gratulatory to the whole Rabblement of the Popiſh Clergy, acknowledging their Kindneſs, in that, following their Pleaſures, and giving over Preaching, they ſuffered more Souls to go to Hell than ever went before.

[3] He reports how *Gregory the Seventh* ſet the whole Church on a Hurry, by depoſing married Prieſts from their Prieſthood, and forbidding the Laity to hear their Service; becauſe he had no Precedent for ſuch his Proceeding, and becauſe, as ſome thought, it was an unadviſed Part, contrary to the Opinion of the ancient Fathers, who wrote that the Sacraments of the Church, by the inviſible Working of the Spirit, have like Effect, whether they be adminiſtered by good or bad Men, *&c.*

[4] He reports, how a Cardinal Legate, at a Council held in *London*, inveighing againſt Prieſts Lemans, was taken the ſame Night after in Bed with a Whore.

[5] He reports how *Germanus*, Archbiſhop of *Conſtantinople*, ſignified unto the Cardinals of *Rome*, that the *Grecians* ſtumbled much at this, that the Cardinals deſired to be accounted his Diſciples, who ſaid: Silver and Gold I have none, and yet were wholly ſet upon Gathering of Silver and Gold.

[6] He reports, how the Pope enjoined by one Mandate to the Biſhops of *Canterbury*, *Lincoln*, and *Salisbury*, that they ſhould provide for three-hundred *Romans*, in Benefices next yacant, and they ſhould give no Benefice, till they had provided for ſo many competently.

[7] He reports, how *Hugh* the Cardinal bragged, when *Innocentius* departed from *Lyons*, that whereas there were four Stews at his Coming thither, he had left them but one. Marry that reached from the one End of the Town to the other.

[8] He reports, how the *Franciſcans* and *Minorites*, by Commandment of the Pope, appointed all Sorts of People, Young and Old, Men and Women, baſe and noble, weak and ſtrong, ſound and ſick, to go for the Recovery of the *Holy Land* And yet the next Day, yea ſometimes the ſame Hour, for Money, they diſmiſſed them again.

[9] He reports how Pope *Innocentius* IV. ſtirred up the Chriſtian People of *Brabant* and *Flanders*, to war againſt *Conradus* the Emperor, promiſing them, for their Labour, Forgiveneſs of all their Sins. Yea, he promiſed ſuch Warriors not only Forgiveneſs of Sins for their own Uſe, but Forgiveneſs of Sins for their Parents alſo. The Fathers and Mothers, of ſuch as warred againſt *Conradus*, had all their Sins forgiven them, as well as the Warriors themſelves.

Theſe and many ſuch like Tales he tells by the Pope, which the Truth itſelf forced him to do. But he meddles not with any Thing which was done by any Pope, within one-thouſand Years after Chriſt. And therefore no Marvel, though he ſpoke nothing of Pope *Joan*.

Pap. [10] *John* of *Calabria*, a Man famouſly known for a Railer againſt the Popes, ſpoke nothing of this.

Prot. John of *Calabria* [11] told our King *Richard the Firſt*, that Antichriſt was as then Born in *Rome*, and that he ſhould be made Pope. [12] *John* of *Calabria* was generally reputed a Prophet, and a Man of great Learning. Yet *John* of *Calabria* was ſo far from railing againſt your Popes, that (if [13] *Bellarmine* ſay true) he ſpoke very honourably of them. And therefore his Silence, in this Caſe, doth not help you.

Pap. [14] Yea, but *Dantes*, the *Italian* Poet, would ſurely have touched this Story, if he had heard any Inkling of it.

---

[1] Impuro ore alter *Anglus* nomine *Matth. Paris*, omne injuriarum genus conflavit. *Florim.* Cap. 10. Pag. 89.

[2] Hiſt. *Angl.* in *Guil.* Conqueſt. Ann. 1072. Pag. 10.

[3] Ibid. Ann. 1074.

[4] In *Hen.* I. ad Ann. 1125. Pag. 93.

[5] In *Hen.* III. Pag. 617.

[6] In *Hen.* III. Pag. 712. ad Ann. 1240.

[7] In *Hen.* III. ad Ann. 1251. Pag. 1089.

[8] In *Hen.* III. ad Ann. 1249. Pag. 1017. & 539. & 757.

[9] In *Hen.* III. Pag. 1100. ad Ann. 1251.

[10] *Florim.* Cap. 10. Pag. 89.

[11] *Roger Hoved.* Annal. pars poſterior in *Rich.* I. Pag. 388.

[12] *Poſſevin.* Apparat. ſacer, verb. *Cyrillus Carmelita.*

[13] Append. ad Lib. de Summo Pont. Cap. 11.

[14] *Florim.* Loco citato.

Prot. Why ſo? *Dantes* found Fault, only with ſix of your Popes, *viz.* with *Anaſtaſius* II, *Nicholas* III, *Boniface* VIII, *Clement* V, *John* XXII, and *Celeſtine* V, as [1] *Bellarmine* notes. Whereby it is plain, that he never purpoſed to rave up all the Filth which he found written of your Popes. Queſtionleſs, he might well have heard of this, for [2] he lived after *Martinus Polonus*, and in *Martinus*'s Days, the Report of this was common. Have you any more to ſay?

Pap. [3] Yea. And not only the *Latin* Writers, but even the *Greek* Hiſtoriographers, *Zonaras*, *Cedrenus*, *Curopalatas*, and others, that wrote before *Martinus Polonus*, of Matters concerning the *Latin* Church in thoſe Days, and were no Friends to the ſame, and would have been content with ſuch an Advantage againſt it, write nothing thereof at all. Which is an evident Proof there was no ſuch Matter.

Prot. What; an evident Proof?

Pap. [4] Yea, an evident Proof, which you may perceive by *Sutcliffe*'s Anſwer to Father *Parſons* (as he calls him) for he never, I warrant you, ſo much as once names theſe *Greek* Hiſtoriographers, but ſuppreſſeth that cunningly, or rather maliciouſly, becauſe he could frame no colourable Anſwer unto it.

Prot. Dr. *Sutcliffe* never intended to trouble himſelf, or his Reader, with laying open *Parſons*'s Foolery in every Particular. Otherwiſe, aſſure yourſelf, he would not have paſſed by this. For it is a Matter of no great Cunning to ſhape this Argument its Anſwer. For tell me, Had not you once a Pope called *Mark*, who ſat, as divers of your own [5] Hiſtories note, two Years, eight Months, and twenty Days? And had you not another Pope called *Marcellus*, [6] who ſat above five Years?

Pap. We had. But what of that?

Prot. Your [7] *Pontacus*, and [8] *Genebrard* confeſs that all the *Greek* Writers, in a Manner, omit to ſpeak of the former: And [9] that all the *Greek* Writers, without Exception, omit to ſpeak of the latter. Now if you, notwithſtanding their Paſſing by of theſe, be yet perſuaded that theſe were Popes, Why may you not reſt perſuaded that there was a Pope *Joan*, though they do paſs by her, and write not one Word of her? I hope you believe many Things, whereof they write nothing. We read in your [10] Legend, yea in your [11] Maſs Books, that *Heraclius* the Emperor, when he would have entered in by the Gate, by which our Saviour went to his Paſſion, clad like a King, with the Croſs on his Shoulders; that he was miraculouſly hindered, and could not get thorough, till he had caſt off his princely Attire, and put off his Hoſe and his Shoes. Do not you believe this? I am ſure you do. Yet [12] *Gretſer* acknowledgeth, that the *Grecians*, ſuch as *Cedrenus* and *Zonaras*, write nothing of this, profeſſing that he likes it never a whit the worſe for their Silence. For they, as he further notes, omitted many other Matters of Truth, whereof no Man doubts. But how know you, that no *Grecian* ever writ of ſuch an Accident? It ſeems that they did; becauſe *Chalcocondylas*, a *Grecian*, of later Years hath writ thereof, as before I have ſhewed you. And [13] *Barlaam* the *Greek* Monk alludes thereto. For, from whence could they have it, but from the *Grecians* his Anceſtors? You muſt bring more evident Proof than this is, or elſe you will never perſuade any Man of Senſe and Reaſon, that the Story of Pope *Joan*, which is commended to us by ſo great a Cloud of Witneſſes, is fabulous.

Pap. [14] Why, but *Hermannus Contractus*, and *Conradus Abbas Urſpergenſis*, and others more, write nothing of this *Joan* of yours.

Prot. And what of that? Will you conclude thereupon, that there was never any ſuch Woman Pope? Tell me in good Earneſt, Do Arguments, taken from Authority of a few Men, hold negatively? Is it a good Argument, St. *Paul*, St. *Luke*, and *Seneca* do not ſay that *Peter* was at *Rome*: *Ergo*, *Peter* was not at *Rome*? *Bellarmine* denies this Argument. *Reſpondeo*, ſaith [15] *Bellarmine*: ‘Nihil concludi ‘ex argumentis ab authoritate negative. Non

---

[1] Append, ad Lib. de Summ. Pont. Cap. 14.
[2] *Polon. Dante* Antiquor. *Bell.* ibid.
[3] *N. D.* Pag. 393.
[4] *B. C* in his doleful Knell of *Thomas Bell*, Book ii. Page 296.
[5] *Plat.* de Vita Pont. in Vita *Mar.* Flores Hiſt. ad Ann. 341.
[6] *Plat.* in Vita *Marcell.* I. *Onuph.* in Chron. ad Ann. 304.
[7] Lib. ii. Chronogr.
[8] Chronol. Lib. iii.
[9] *Pontac. & Geneb.* Locis citatis.
[10] Aurea Legend. *Exaltation of the Holy Croſs.*
[11] Breviar. *Rom.* in Officio Exaltat. S. Crucis.
[12] Lib. i. de Cruce, Cap. 57. Pag. 170.
[13] De Papæ Principatu, Cap. 14.
[14] *N. D.* Pag. 363.
[15] Lib. ii. de *Rom.* Pont. Cap. 8. vide Lib. ii. de Indulg. Cap. 20.

‘enim ſequitur, *Lucas*, *Paulus*, & *Seneca* non dicunt Petrum fuiſſe *Romæ*, igitur non fuit *Petrus Romæ*. Non enim iſti tres omnia dicere debuerunt; & plus creditur tribus teſtibus affirmantibus, quam mille nihil dicentibus; modo iſti non negent, quod alii affirmant;’ that is, I anſwer, Negative Arguments are nought worth. For it follows not, that St. *Peter* was never at *Rome*, becauſe St. *Luke*, St. *Paul*, and *Seneca* do not report that he was at *Rome*. For theſe three were not bound to report all that was true. Beſides, three Witneſſes, ſpeaking to a Cauſe, deſerve more Credit than a Thouſand who ſtand mute, not denying that which is witneſſed by the three. And in another Place, *Certe*, ſaith [1] *Bellarmine*, ‘Magis credi debet tribus teſtibus affirmantibus, quam infinitis nihil dicentibus;’ that is, Verily a Man ſhould rather believe three Witneſſes ſpeaking to a Cauſe, than infinite, who neither ſpeak Pro nor Con. Again, tell me whether *Dennis* Biſhop of *Athens*, was not afterwards Biſhop of *Paris*; though *Ado*, Biſhop of *Triers* in *Germany*, and *Suidas* a *Greek* Writer, make no Mention of that his ſecond Biſhoprick? Your *Lipomanus* reſolves upon *Metaphraſtes*, and one *Michael Syngelus*'s Word, that *Dennis* was Biſhop of *Paris*, though *Ado* and *Suidas* ſpeak not of it. Their Paſſing it over in Silence doth not prejudice *Metaphraſtes* and *Syngelus*'s Report, who ſay he was Biſhop of *Paris*, in [2] *Lipamanus*'s Opinion. And why then, though theſe and many more ſay nothing of Pope *Joan*, might there not be ſuch a Pope, ſince as many, and as learned as they, do reckon her among the Popes; [3] *Salmeron*, one of your prime Jeſuits, notes, that when one Hiſtorian reports a Matter, and another paſſeth it by, the latter's Silence doth not prejudice the Truth of the other Hiſtorian's Relation: ‘Ea lex apud hiſtoriographos obſervatur (*ſaith he*) ut quando unus ex duobus hiſtoricis aliquid affirmat, quod alius ſupprimit, non deroget affirmanti qui tacet.

Pap. [4] Yea, but there are in the Pope's Library ſix or ſeven Tables of Popes, wherein there is no Mention of her.

Prot. And what of that? Your Pope's Library is compared by [5] *Baronius* to a Drawnet, which gathers together good and bad. Your Pope's Library hath in it Books of all Sorts, approved, diſproved; profitable, unprofitable. [6] It hath counterfeit and forbidden Books, as well as Books of better Reckoning. They are ſimple People (as we read in [7] *Baronius*) who believe Reports the rather, for that they are to be found in Books which are in the Pope's Library. Yet, ſuppoſe theſe ſeven Tables be of the beſt Note, Will you yield thus much to me, that he who is numbered in theſe ſeven Tables, or at leaſt in as many, as authentical as theſe, as a Pope, was a Pope?

Pap. No, not I. For I know that *Leo the Eighth* is numbered as a Pope in [8] many Tables, and in [9] ſome of thoſe ſeven, if not in them all. And yet I am of [10] *Baronius*'s Mind, that *Leo the Eighth* was an Intruder and an Uſurper; and that he was not worthy to be called a Pope. But why asked you of me this Queſtion?

Prot. If this be no good Argument, *Leo the Eighth* is numbered among the Popes in ſeven Tables that are in the Pope's Library, or in ſeven as authentical as theſe in the Pope's Library, *ergo Leo the Eighth* was a Pope: What Reaſon have you to think yours good, which is this in Effect: *Joan*, the Woman-Pope, is not numbered among the Popes in ſeven Tables, which are in the Pope's Library: *Ergo*, there was no ſuch *Joan*, a Woman-Pope? If ſeven Tables, ſpeaking out for a Pope, do not convince the Being of ſuch a Pope, why ſhould their Silence convince the not Being of a Pope? Might they not as well leave out one who had been Pope, as put in one who never was Pope?

Pap. But why ſhould they have left her out?

Prot. Partly for her Sex's Sake, becauſe ſhe was a Woman; and partly in Regard of the

---

[1] Lib. i. de Extrema Unctione, Cap. 6.

[2] Tom. i. de Sanct. Hiſt. Præfat. in Martyrium S. *Dionyſii* per *Metaphraſten*.

[3] Prolegom. vi. in Evang.

[4] *Onuph.* and *Harding* locis ſupra citatis.

[5] Omnis copioſa Bibliotheca (in particular he means the *Vatican*) refert ſimilitudinem ſagenæ miſſæ in mare, ex omni genere piſcium congregantis, bonos & malos continens, libros probatos & improbatos, utiles & inutiles ſimul amplexans, ſaith *Baron.* Annal Tom. viii. ad Ann. 604. Num. 50.

[6] Rom. Biblioth. habet libros tum ſuppoſitos, tum improbatæ lectionis. *Cope*, Dialog. 4. cap. 19. pag. 567.

[7] Loco ſupra citato.

[8] *Briſtow*'s, printed with his Demands.

[9] *Onuph.* Annot. in *Plat.* in Vitam *Alexandri* III.

[10] Non dignus qui Pontifex numeretur, ſed intruſus & occupator potiùs nominandus. Annalium, Tom. x. ad Ann. 964.

Filthineſs of her Fact; for ſo your Stories note. And this need not ſeem ſtrange to you, if you would but obſerve that other Popes, upon other Occaſions, have been paſſed by, by divers, as no Popes. As for Example: *Felix the Second* was a Pope and Martyr, as *Bellarmine* [1] teacheth. For, ‘*Felicem* II. ut Papam & Martyrem Eccleſia Catholica veneratur,’ ſaith *Bellarmine.* And he ſat in the Popedom one Year, four Months, and two Days, as we read in [2] *Platina*. Yet, by [3] *Genebrard*'s Confeſſion, *Marcellinus* omits to ſpeak of him in his Chronicle, becauſe he was ſuſpected of Hereſy. And, for the ſame Cauſe, or ſome ſuch like Cauſe, [4] St. *Auſtin* and [5] *Optatus* mention him not among the Popes, in their Memorial of Popes. Nor yet *Briſtow*, in his Table of Popes, which is printed with his wiſe Demands. In like Manner, that one *Cyriacus* was Pope, it is acknowledged by [6] divers. Yet it is rare to find him in any Catalogue of Popes. For as a [7] great Papiſt writeth, ‘Iſte *Cyriacus* in catalogo Paparum non annumeratur, quia credebant ipſum non propter devotionem, ſed propter oblectamentum virginum dimiſiſſe Epiſcopatum.’ *Cyriacus* is not in the Regiſter of Popes, becauſe it was thought he left the Popedom, not for Devotion, but for the Love that he bare to certain Wenches. Or, if you like it better, that *Cyriacus* is not in the Regiſter of Popes, ‘Hoc ex indignatione Cleri accidit, pro eo quod in ordine dignitatis ſuæ uſque ad finem permanere noluiſſet.’ It came to paſs by this Means, that the Clergy were angry at him, for that he would not continue Pope till his Death. For ſo, ſome of you ſay, bleſſed *Bernard* told holy *Eliſabeth*, when ſhe deſired to know the Reaſon thereof. *Damaſus the Second* hath his Place in [8] many Popiſh Chronicles in the Throng of Popes; yet there are [9] many on the other Side who let him go for one that is naught, and never number him. And in much like Sort they [10] deal with others.

Pap. [11] If Pope *Joan* were omitted for the Filthineſs of her Fact, why was that Cloſe-ſtool reſerved, and that Monument of her's, whereof you told me before, ſet up in one of the high Streets in *Rome*? For the Stool and the Image were as like to continue the Memory of her, as any Record in Writing. To be plain with you, I do not ſee how you can rid your Hands of Contradiction in this Point.

Prot. Well enough. For may not ſome be of one Opinion, ſome of another? May not ſome think good to continue the Memory of that, which others, for Shame of the World, would have forgotten? [12] Did not ſome of your Fellow-Papiſts in *France* deny, that *John Chaſtell* was taught by the Jeſuits to murther *Henry the Fourth* of *France*, becauſe they were loth to make the Jeſuits odious? And yet did not others help to erect a Pillar of Stone near to the King's Palace, whereby ſo much was notified? If any Man ſhould affirm, that the ſame Man, who omitted Pope *Joan* for the Filthineſs of her Fact, erected ſuch a Monument of her in the Streets, and preſcribed ſuch a Stool to be kept for ſuch a Purpoſe, I know not how he could deliver himſelf from Contradiction. But, ſpeaking of divers Men, his Speech hangeth well enough together; there is no Shew of Contradiction in it. For further Proof whereof, it is worthy your Conſideration, that, when *Paul the Third*, moved with the Spirit of God, (as [13] *Harding* ſaith) and deſirous to reform the Church, gave Charge to his beſt learned, wiſeſt, moſt godly and zealous Men that he knew, four Cardinals, three Biſhops, and two others, to enquire and ſearch out what Abuſes and Diſorders were in the Church, and eſpecially in the Court of *Rome*; which they did, offering up unto him a Libel, containing the Sum of all their Proceedings. Some thought their Labours worthy of Regiſtering; others thought them fitter to be burnt, which appears by this, that the Libel is printed in *Crab*'s Edition of the Council, *Anno* 1551, and yet put into the *Index librorum prohibitorum*, by

---

[1] Lib. iv. de Rom. Pont. cap. 9.
[2] In Vit. *Felicis* II.
[3] Chron. Lib. iii. ad Ann. 368,
[4] Epiſt. 165.
[5] Lib. ii.
[6] Golden Legend, in the Life of *Urſula*. *Polon.* ad Ann. 238. Suppl. Chron. ad Ann. 235. *Ranulf.* *Ceſtrenſ.* in Polychron. Lib. iv. cap. 20. *Petrus de Natalibus* in Catal. Sanct. Lib. ix. cap. 87.
[7] *Joh.* de *Pariſiis* de Poteſtate regia & papali, pag. 217. cap. 5. In *Sext.* Lib. i. cap. 7. de Renunciatione, in Gloſſa.
[8] *Plat.* in Vita *Damaſi* II. *Polonus* in Chron. circa Ann. 1040.
[9] Cenſent nonnulli hunc inter Pontifices nequaquam numerandum eſſe, ſaith *Plat.* loco citato.
[10] *Felix* IV. teſte *Maſſono* de Urbis Epiſcop. Lib. ii. in Vita *Johan* I. pag. 85.
[11] *Florim.* cap. 22. pag. 190.
[12] See *Le Franc*'s Diſcourſe, printed Anno 1602.
[13] In his Rejoinder to *M. Jewel* about the Maſs, pag. 177.

93662

Paul the Fourth (one of thoſe four Cardinals who exhibited it to *Paul the Third*) and left out of *Dominicus Nicolinus*'s Edition of the Councils at *Venice*, *Auſpiciis Sixti Quinti*, in the Year 1585; and out of *Severinus Binnius*'s Edition at *Colen*, 1606.

Pap. * Yea, but give me Leave I pray you. If Pope *Joan* were omitted for the Filthineſs of her Fact, yet ſhould there have been Mention made of the Vacancy of the See, for that Time ſhe was Pope, or elſe there will be a manifeſt Error in Chronology.

Prot. A manifeſt Error in Chronology? A foul Abſurdity, indeed, to miſs two Years in Reckoning! But, I trow, there are fouler than this, however the Matter will be ſalved; for *Onuphrius* and *Briſtow* reckon two-hundred and thirty Popes to *Gregory the Thirteenth*, and [1] *Genebrard* two-hundred and thirty-four, whereas, by *Platina*'s Account, there ſhould be two-hundred and thirty-five, for he reckons, to *Paul the Second*, with whom he ends, two-hundred and twenty Popes; after whom, to *Gregory the Thirteenth*, every Man reckons fifteen; which makes up the Number of Two-hundred and thirty-five: Yet *Veſteganus*, in his Table printed at *Antwerp*, 1590, numbers no more than two-hundred and thirty-one. Again, Do not [2] ſome of your Chronologies record, That *Euariſtus* ſat thirteen Years? Whereas [3] others ſay he ſat but nine Years. Do not [4] ſome of them ſay, That *Dennis* ſat eleven Years? [5] Others, That he ſat but two Years? And do not theſe Differences, and ſuch as theſe are, whereof we have ſpoken before in Part, argue manifeſt Errors in your Chronologies? If no further Inconveniencies follow, upon Pope *Joan*'s Omiſſion, than a manifeſt Error in Chronology for that Space ſhe lived, we may well enough believe, that ſome omitted her, not for that ſhe was not, but that they were aſhamed of her; for two Years and odd Months break no Square in your Chronologies, any more than an Inch with a bungling Carpenter.

Pap. [6] Yea, but No-body, within four-hundred Years after, mentions her Popedom; [7] and, Is it poſſible, that all Writers ſhould ſo conſpire together, that the Truth thereof could never be certainly known, till four-hundred Years after?

Prot. You laviſh, when you talk of four-hundred Years after; for I have proved unto you already, by the Books that are yet extant, that it was known ſooner. But, ſuppoſe we had no Writer, who lived within four-hundred Years of Pope *Joan*, to produce for Proof, Will you, in that Reſpect, deny the Story; Do not you Papiſts commend unto us many Stories, as true, for which you can bring us no Proof, out of any Writer who lived within four-hundred Years after? [8] You tell us of an Image of Chriſt, which was made by *Nicodemus*, who came to our Saviour by Night, for Fear of the *Jews*; and of it you report wonderful Things. But you are not able to name the Man (Shall I ſay, within four-hundred Years of *Nicodemus?* Nay, not within ſix-hundred Years of *Nicodemus*) who writeth any ſuch Thing. Again, [9] you tell us, That St. *Luke* drew certain Pictures of the Virgin *Mary*: But [10] *Theodorus Lector* is the ancienteſt Man, that your Friends alledge for Proof of this; and he lived, at leaſt, five-hundred Years after. *Thirdly*, [11] you write, That our Saviour Chriſt, wiping his Face with an Handkerchief, imprinted his Image therein, and ſent it to *Agbarus* for a Token: But you can name no Author for this, but [12] *Evagrius*, who [13] lived ſix-hundred Years after Chriſt. *Fourthly*, [14] the moſt of you hold it for a certain Truth, That *Adrian* the Pope was content, that *Charles the Great* ſhould nominate the Biſhop of *Rome*, and other Biſhops of his Dominions; and yet there are, among yourſelves, who write, that there can be no Proof made thereof, out of any Writer who lived within four-hundred Years of *Charles the Great*'s Time.

That the Virgin *Mary* made that Coat of our Saviour's, which was without Seam, our

---

* *Bellarm.* Lib. iii. de Rom. Pont. Cap. 24.

[1] So doth *Maſſonus* de Urbis Epiſcopis. [2] *Anaſtaſ.* in Vita *Euariſti.* [3] *Baron.* Annal. Tom. ii. ad Annum 121. num. 1. [4] Idem, Tom. ii. ad Annum 272. num. 21. [5] *Anaſtaſ.* in Vita *Dionyſii.* [6] *Florim.* Cap. i. pag. 6. [7] *B. C.* in his *Doleful Knell of* Thomas Bell, pag. 295 and 296. [8] *Bellarm.* Lib. ii. de Imag. Cap. 10. [9] Idem, loco citato, & *Gretſer.* de Cruce, Lib. ii. Cap. 1. [10] Lib. i. Collectaneorum. [11] *Bellarm.* loco citato, & *Baron.* Annal. Tom. i. ad Annum Chriſti 31. num. 61. [12] Lib. iv. Cap. 26. [13] See *Baron.* Annal. Tom. viii. ad Annum 594. num. 30. [14] *Bellarm.* Lib. i. de Clericis, Cap. 9. *Pamelii* Annotat. in *Cypr.* Epiſt. lii. num. 29. *Carerius*, de Poteſtate Rom. Pont. Lib. i. Cap. 18. *Pet. de Natal.* in Catal. Sanct. Lib. viii. Cap. 53.

[*] *Rhemiſts* teach; and [†] others of you add to that, That, as our Saviour grew in Height and in Breadth, ſo the Coat on his Back grew: Do you think, that there is an Author, within four-hundred Years after our Saviour's Time, that taught ſo?

[1] *Turrian* reports, and [2] *Gretſer* after him, That the Apoſtles made this Canon, in a Council which they kept at *Antioch*: 'Ne 'decipiantur fideles ob idola, ſed pingant ex 'oppoſito divinam humanamque manufactam 'impermixtam effigiem Dei veri, ad Salvato-'ris Domini noſtri Jeſu Chriſti, ipſiuſque ſer-'vorum, contra idola & Judæos; neque er-'rent in idolis, neque ſimiles ſint Judæis.' That is, Let not the faithful People be deceived by Idols, but let them, on the contrary Part, make the Image of our Saviour Chriſt, both God and Man, and the Images of his Servants; and let them not be deceived by Idols, nor ſhew themſelves like unto the *Jews*. But I do not believe, that this can be proved to be a Canon of that Council, by any Writer within four-hundred Years of that Time. Your [3] Rabbins alledge [4] two Councils, the one kept, as they ſay, in the Year 303, the other in the Year 324; both ſounding much to the Pope's Praiſe, and advancing of his Authority: But, for any Thing I read, the moſt Learned among you can bring no Proof, within four-hundred Years after, that any ſuch Councils were then kept. *Nicholas the Firſt*, who lived in the Year 860, is the firſt whom [5] *Bellarmine* names for that Purpoſe.

Pap. [6] Why, what ſay you to our ancient *Engliſh* Hiſtories written in the *Latin* Tongue? To wit, *William* of *Malmsbury*, *Henry Huntington*, *Roger Hoveden*, *Florentius Vigorniensis*, and *Matthew* of *Weſtminſter*: For I have one Argument, of no ſmall Moment, [7] as it ſeemeth to me, taken from them, for the Overthrowing of the Fable of Pope *Joan*.

Prot. When lived theſe Writers, from whence you draw your Argument?

Pap. The [8] firſt Four lived five-hundred Years ago, and the lateſt of them three-hundred Years.

Prot. Fie, Five-hundred Years ago! [9] *William* of *Malmsbury* continues his Story to the Year 1143; and [10] *Henry Huntington* his Story till the Reign of *Henry the Second*, which was 1154; and [11] *Roger Hoveden* continues his Story to the Year 1201; which argues, that the firſt Four lived not five-hundred Years ago. But, What is your Argument out of them?

Pap. No one of them all makes Mention of this Pope.

Prot. Oh, Is that your Argument? Why, I ſay to that, That our *Engliſh* Hiſtories might omit her upon like Reaſon, as others of other Countries omitted her, for her Sex's Sake, and for the Filthineſs of the Fact. And do not you think this probable?

Pap. No, by no Means: [12] For our *Engliſh* Writers, above others, ſhould have mentioned her, if any ſuch had been.

Prot. And why, I pray you?

Pap. [13] Becauſe King *Alfred*, living in *Rome*, when *Leo the Fourth* died, and *Benedict* III. was choſen, muſt needs have known alſo Pope *Joan*, if any ſuch had entered, and lived two Years and a Half between them.

Prot. How know you, that King *Alfred* lived in *Rome*, when Pope *Leo* died, and *Benedict* was choſen?

Pap. [14] Becauſe we read, that his Father delivered him into the Hands of Pope *Leo the Fourth*, to be inſtructed and brought up by him; and that the Pope received him with great Kindneſs, and detained him there with him.

Prot. That *Alfred*'s Father ſent him to be anointed King, and that the Pope anointed him at his Father's Motion, we [15] read indeed; but that his Father delivered him to

---

[*] Annotat. in Joh. xix. 23. in Marg. [†] *Rudolphus* de Vita *Jeſu*, Part. II. Cap. 63. p. 221. Col. 2.

[1] *Turrian*. Lib. I. contra Magdeburg. Cap. xxv. [2] *Gretſer*. Lib. II. de Cruce, Cap. i. Tom. 1.

[3] *Bellarm*. Lib. II. de Rom. Pont. Cap. xxvi. *Baron*. Annal. Tom. x. ad Annum 963. num. 35.

[4] Concilium *Romanum* & *Synueſſanum*. [5] Loco ſupra citato. [6] *N. D.* Num. 25. Pag. 393. [7] *B. C.* Student in Divinity, in his doleful Knell of *Thom. Bell*, printed 1607. Lib. ii. Pag. 297, commends this for a very excellent Argument. [8] *N. D.* Num. 25.

[9] Scripſit Hiſtoriarum Libros ad An. 1142, ſaith *Poſſevin*. Apparat. ſac. Verbo, *Guliel. Malmſ.* but by the Book itſelf (fol. 108.) it is plain he continued it to the Year 1143. [10] Vide Hiſtor. Lib. viii. in Fine [11] Fol. 464 b. [12] *N. D.* p. 394. [13] *N D.* p. 395.

[14] *N. D.* p 394. [15] *Roger. Hoveden*. Annal. Pars prior. Pag. 232. edit. *Lond.* and *Florentius*, in Chron. ad Ann. 853.

Leo, to be inſtructed and brought up by him, we read not in *Malmsbury*, nor *Huntington*, nor *Hoveden*, nor *Florentius*; nor yet that the Pope detained him there with him: But, perhaps, you can prove he ſtaid at *Rome*, though it be not recorded, that *Leo* detained him with him; now, therefore, let me hear your Argument.

Pap. [1] That *Alfred* lived in *Rome*, ſome Number of Years, ſeemeth evident: *Firſt*, for that he returned more learned, and otherwiſe better qualified, than any *Saxon* King had been before him.

Prot. This Argument is framed out of your Fingers Ends, and not out of the Stories; for the [2] Stories mention two Journies which *Alfred* took to *Rome*; the former, when he was five Years old, in the Year 853, in which he was accompanied with the Nobility: The ſecond, when he was ſix Years old, in the Year 854, in which he went in his Father's Company, who ſtaid in *Rome* a Year. Now, though I find it not ſet down in Particular, That he returned with his Father, yet it is very likely by the Circumſtances; for the [3] Stories note, That he was always brought up in the King's Court: And it is without all Doubt, whenſoever he returned, that he returned not better learned, nor better qualified; for, at twelve Years old, and upward, he knew not a Letter in the Book; which the [4] Stories with great Grief report. What is your next Argument?

Pap. [5] That *Alfred* lived in *Rome*, ſome Number of Years, ſeemeth evident, for that we find no Mention of his Acts in *England* until the Reign of his third Brother, *Athelred*, in the Year 871, at the famous Battle of *Reading* in *Berkſhire*, fought againſt the *Danes*.

Prot. *Alfred* was but twenty-two Years old in the Year 871, and therefore no Marvel, though, being in *England*, we read nothing of his Acts. Yet, not to ſpeak of his Hawking and Hunting in *England*, in his younger Years, [6] whereof the Stories ſpeak much, we [7] read of his Marriage three Years before the Battle of *Reading*, and of his Going to aid the King of *Mercia*, the ſame Year; ſo that this proceeds on a falſe Ground, as doth the former: Wherefore, unleſs you have better Arguments to diſprove the Story of Pope *Joan*, you may prove yourſelf a Fool, but never it a Fable.

Pap. I am able to prove it a Fable; [8] for our foreſaid Writers do not only not make any Mention of Pope *Joan*, that came between *Leo the Fourth* and *Benedict the Third*, but do expreſly exclude the ſame, by placing the one immediately after the other, and aſſigning them their diſtinct Number of Years beforementioned, to wit, eight Years and three Months to *Leo*, and two Years, and ſix Months, immediately following, to *Benedict the Third*.

Prot. Who is your firſt Witneſs of the Truth of this?

Pap. [9] *Malmſbury* in Faſtis Reg. & Epiſcop. Angl. 847 & 855.

Prot. Where might a Man ſee that Book of *Malmsbury*'s? for I never read nor heard before of any ſuch Book made by him. True it is, that, in the End of *Malmsbury*, *Huntington*, *Hoveden*, *Ethelwerdus*, and *Ingulphus*, [10] which are all printed in one Volume, there is ſuch a Treatiſe; but that was made by Sir *Henry Savile*, who ſet them out: It was not made by *Malmsbury*; you may as well ſay, that *Malmsbury* made the 'Index rerum & verborum,' which follows after it. But who is your next Witneſs?

Pap. [11] *Florentius* in his Chronicle.

Prot. Doth *Florentius*, in his Chronicle, give eight Years and three Months to *Leo*? Now, for Shame of the World, leave Lying. *Florentius* notes, that *Leo* began his Papacy 853, and *Benedict the Third*, 858; whereby, it is apparent, that, in *Florentius*'s Opinion, *Leo* ſat but five Years; ſo is it apparent, that, in his Opinion, *Benedict* ſat five Years; for *Benedict*, according to *Florentius*'s Reckoning, began 858, and *Nicholas*, his next Succeſſor, began 863. Now, from 858 to

---

[1] *N. D.* p. 395.

[2] *Hoveden.* & *Florentius* Locis citatis.

[3] In Regio Curto ſemper inſeparabiliter nutriebatur, ſaith *Florent.* Lib. citato, p. 308. & *Joh. Aſſer* Epiſcop. *Shyreburnenſis* in Hiſt. *Alfredi*, Pag. 7. which Hiſtory was printed at *London*, 1574, with *Tho. Walſingham.*

[4] Uſque ad 12. Ætatis Annum, proh Dolor, illiteratus permanſit. *Aſſer.* & *Florent.* Loc. cit.

[5] *N. D.* p. 395.

[6] *Matth. Weſtm.* Flores Hiſt. ad An. 871. Fol. 245.

[7] *Matth. Weſtm.* Lib. citato, ad An. 868. Fol. 236.

[8] *N. D.* p. 396.

[9] *N. D* p. 396. in Marg.

[10] At *Frankfort*, Anno 1601.

[11] *N. D.* Pag. 396. in Margine.

863, there cannot be fewer than five Years; ſo that, in proſecuting this Argument, which is of your own Deviſing, you have ſcarce ſpoken one true Word.

Pap. [1] I pray you tell me how they called this *Joan*, when ſhe read publickly in the Schools at *Rome*.

Prot. They called her *John*. How elſe?

Pap. What; *John?* And was ſhe called *John* after her Election to the Popedom too?

Prot. Yea, Why not?

Pap. [2] That is not likely; for *Sergius*, a few Years before, had brought in a laudable Cuſtom, that the Pope Elect ſhould not ſtep out of the Conclave, before he had changed his proper Name.

Prot. Indeed there are [3] who ſay, that, becauſe *Sergius* had a filthy Name before his Election, to wit, the Name of *Swine's-ſnout*, he changed it after his Election.

Pap. [4] Yea, but they who ſay ſo, are greatly deceived; for *Swine's-ſnout* was not his proper Name, but the Sirname of a noble Family, whereof he was deſcended.

Prot. So are they greatly deceived, who ſay that he changed his proper Name; for, 'ex paterno nomine a principio *Sergius* eſt appellatus;' from his Birth he was called *Sergius*, after the Name of his Father, as [5] *Baronius* notes. The firſt who changed his Name was [6] *Sergius the Third*, and yet not for the Filthineſs of his Name, but in Reverence to St. *Peter*: 'Cum enim ille *Petrus* vocaretur, indignum putavit ſe vocari eodem nomine, quo Chriſtus primum ejus ſedis Pontificem, Principem Apoſtolorum, ex *Simone Petrum* nominaverat.' For, his Name being *Peter*, he thought it was not meet that he ſhould be called by that Name, whereby Chriſt called the firſt Biſhop of that See, even the Prince of the Apoſtles, whoſe Name he changed from *Simon* to *Peter*, as we read in *Baronius*, in the ſame Place.

Pap. I never heard this before; but I like it the better, if it be in *Baronius*, for [7] I cannot ſay too much Good of that Man: Marry, I had rather thought you would have taken Exception againſt me, in Reſpect that *Platina* aſcribes this Cuſtom of the Popes, in changing their Names, to *John the Twelfth*, who, being called *Octavian*, before his Papacy, thought that Name too warlike for him, after he was made Pope, and therefore took the Name of *John*. Now I could eaſily have replied unto this; for, beſides that *Platina* ſpeaks amiſs in many other Points, it is not likely, that *John the Twelfth* made any Conſcience by what Name he was called, ſeeing he lived as licentiouſly, after he was Pope, as before.

Prot. You have your Learning at the Second-hand: Have you not?

Pap. I have this out of *Florimondus*, I confeſs: But what of that?

Prot. Your learned Maſters deceive you, and eſpecially *Florimondus*; for [8] *Platina* is one of them, who aſcribes the Original of this Papal Cuſtom to *Sergius the Second*; for which he is reproved by *Onuphrius*. *Onuphrius*, and not *Platina*, aſcribes the Original hereof to *John the Twelfth*: 'Johannem hunc XII. primum eſſe inveni qui nomen in Pontificatu mutarit,' [9] ſaith *Onuphrius*. 'Nam, cum antea *Octavianus* vocaretur, gentili nomine omiſſo, tanquam parum majeſtati & religioni Pontificis idoneo, ſe *Johannem* appellavit;' that is, *John the Twelfth* was the firſt, as far as I can learn, who changed his Name, when he was made Pope; whereas, before, he was called *Octavian*, he left that Heatheniſh Name, as little beſeeming the Pope's Majeſty and Religion, and called himſelf *John*.

Pap. *Onuphrius* muſt pardon me, though I believe him not in this.

Prot. Yet *Onuphrius*, in [10] *Florimondus*'s Opinion, was a moſt painful Antiquary: But what if *Baronius* ſay as much, Will you not believe him for *Baronius*'s Sake?

---

[1] *Florim.* Cap. xxx. Num. 4.

[2] *Florim.* ibid.

[3] Faſcic. Temp. ad Ann. 844. *Polyd. Virg.* de Invent. Rerum. Lib. IV. Cap. x. *Joh. Stella* in vit. Pont. in *Sergio ii.*

[4] *Florim.* ibid.

[5] Annal. Tom. X. ad An. 844. Num. i.

[6] He would have ſaid *Sergius the Fourth*, as appeareth, Annal. Tom. xi. ad An. 1009.

[7] *Baronii* laudandi finem prorſus invenio nullum, *Florim.* Cap. xxii. Num. 6 Non ignoro *Platinam*, qui ſæpius, in aliis etiam rebus, lapſus eſt, hanc conſuetudinem *Joh. xii.* acceptam referre, &c. *Florim.* Cap. xxx. Num. 5.

[8] De Vit. Pont. in vita *Sergii ii.*

[9] Annot. in *Plat.* in vitam *Sergii ii.* & *Joh. xiii.*

[10] *Onuphrius* antiquitatis perſcrutator diligentiſſimus, *Florim.* Cap. xxi. Num. 6.

Pap. How can *Baronius* ſay ſo much, if you wronged him not before, when you told me, that he referred this Cuſtom of changing Names to *Sergius the Third?* If *Sergius the Third* begun it, then not *John the Twelfth* : If *John the Twelfth* begun it, then not *Sergius the Third.*

Prot. Look you and *Baronius* to that, how both Tales will hang together ; but aſſure yourſelf, *Baronius* ſaith both : For, notwithſtanding the former Aſſertion, coming to ſpeak of *John the Twelfth*, he uſeth [1] theſe Words : ‘ Hic reveta primus inventus qui mutavit ſibi nomen, ut qui ex *Octaviano* vocari voluerit *Johannes*, pro mutata, non exuta tyrannide. Nam qui dictus eſt a patre, ob temporale urbis dominium, *Octavianus* ; ob ſpirituale, nomine *Johannes* appellari idcirco voluit, vel quod eo nomine ejus patruus *Johannes xi.* Papa ſit appellatus ; vel ut in nomine ſaltem bene poſſet audire in adulatoris acclamationibus, quibus male uſurpatum proferri ſoleret ſacrum illud eloquium (Fuit homo miſſus a Deo, cujus nomen erat *Johannes :*)’ that is, This, in Truth, is the firſt who changed his Name, who of *Octavian* would needs be called *John* ; and not for that he meant to leave his Tyranny, but for that he reſolved to uſe another Kind of Tyranny : For he, who was called by his Father *Octavian*, in Reſpect of his temporal Authority in the City, would now, in Reſpect of his Spiritual, be called *John* ; either for that his Uncle, *John the Eleventh*, was called ſo, or for that he deſired to hear well, at leaſt for his Name's Sake, whilſt, in clawing and fawning Acclamations, the People fondly applied unto him that good Speech : ‘ There was a Man that was ſent from God, whoſe Name was *John*.’ Thus *Baronius.* Have you not another Queſtion to aſk ?

Pap. [2] Yes. Who was Pope *Joan*'s Father ?

Prot. What is that to the Purpoſe ?

Pap. Much : [3] For the Hiſtories expreſly ſet down who was the Father of *Linus*, of *Cletus*, of *Clemens*, and of all the reſt of the Popes : And would they not have done as much for her, if ſhe had been Pope ?

Prot. It is falſe, that the Hiſtories expreſly ſet down the Fathers of all the reſt of the Popes ; for, by the Hiſtories, you cannot tell me, who was the Father of *Higinus*, or *Dennis*, or of *John the Nineteenth*, and that I will prove unto you by the Hiſtories ; for in [4] them we read, that ‘ *Higini* genealogia non invenitur ;’ No Man knows of what Parentage *Higinus* was. And [5] ‘ *Dionyſii* generationem invenire non potuimus,’ we could not find out *Dennis* the Pope's Anceſtors. And [6] ‘ *Johan. xix.* cognomen & patria ignoratur ;’ It is unknown of what Sirname, or Country, *John the Nineteenth* was. Again, in the [7] Hiſtories, it is expreſly written, that *Urban the Fourth* was begotten, ‘ ex patre ſutore veteramentario ;’ that is, of a Cobler. That [8] *John the Twenty-ſecond* was ‘ filius veteramentarii, reſarcitoris videlicet ſolearum ;’ that is, the Son of a Botcher. That [9] *Benedict the Eleventh* was ‘ fillius Lotricis pauperculæ, the Son of a poor Laundreſs. That [10] *Benedict the Twelfth* was ‘ Molitoris filius,’ the Son of a Miller. That [11] *Sixtus the Fourth* was the Son of a Mariner. That [12] *Adrian the Sixth* was a Clothworker's Son, or elſe a Brewer's. That [13] *Sixtus Quintus* was a baſe and beggarly Fellow's Son, even the Son, as is ſaid, of a Swineherd. But what the Names of theſe Men's Fathers were, that is not expreſly written ; you may peruſe many Hiſtories, and find nothing to that Purpoſe. Your *Alexander the Fifth* [14] confeſſed, ‘ Se nec parentes, nec fratres, aut aliquem ex agnatis, cognatiſve ſuis unquam vidiſſe ;’ That he never ſaw either his Father or Mother, or Brother, or any of his Kindred. And can you tell me what was his Father's Name ? [15] ‘ Nihil tam incertum inter hiſtoriarum ſcriptores, quam

---

[1] Tom. x. Annal. ad Ann. 955. Num. 4.

[2] Quiſnam hujus Pſeudopontificis pater, &c? *Florim.* Cap. viii. Num. 5.

[3] Aliorum quidem Pontificum parentes, ut *Lini, Cleti,* & omnium cæterorum in Annalibus leguntur. *Florim.* Cap. vii. Num. 5.

[4] *Anaſtaſ.* de Vit. Pont. in vita *Higini*, *Polon.* in Chron. ad Ann. 154.

[5] *Anaſtaſ.* in vita *Dionyſii*, *Polon.* in Chron. ad Ann. 257.

[6] *Joh. Stella* de Vitis Pont. in *Joh. xix.* ad Ann. 999.

[7] *Onuph.* Annot. in *Plat.* in vita *Urbani iv.*

[8] *Paulus Langius* in Chron. Citizen. ad An. 1316.

[9] Idem. ad Ann. 1363.

[10] Papyrius *Maſſonus* de Urbis Epiſcopis, Lib. vi. in *Benedicto xii.*

[11] Patre ortus qui ſemper nauticam exercuit, *Papyr. Maſſ.* Lib. cit. in *Sixto iv.*

[12] *Onuph.* Addit. ad *Plat.* in vita *Adriani vi.*

[13] *Cicarellus* in vita *Sixti v.*

[14] *Papyr. Maſſon.* de Urb. Epiſc. Lib. vi. in *Alex. v.*

[15] De Urbis Epiſc. Lib. ii. in *Marcello ii.*

‘ qui fuerunt parentes ſingulorum;’ There is nothing more uncertainly ſet down in Hiſtories, than who were the Popes Fathers, ſaith *Maſſonus*.

Pap. Well, Sir, to be brief with you, I prove it as a Fable thus: [a] Either this Pope *Joan* was young or old, when ſhe was choſen. If ſhe were young, that was againſt the Cuſtom to chuſe young Popes, as may appear by the great Number of Popes that lived in that Dignity, above the Number of Emperors that ſucceeded often in their Youth. But, if ſhe were old when choſen, then how did ſhe bear a Child publickly in Proceſſion, as you *Hereticks* affirm? Anſwer me this: For to this *Sutcliffe* ſaith nothing, in Anſwer to *Parſons*, as he calls him. And no Marvel, for nothing can with any Colour be pretended, as *B. C.* aſſures himſelf, in his [b] doleful Knell of *Thomas Bell.*

Prot. I deny the Ground of this your Reaſon, to wit, That this Pope *Joan* was either young, or old, when ſhe was choſen. For [c] learned Men divide the whole Courſe of Man's Life, not into Youth, and old Age, as you do; but into *pueritiam*, *pubertatem*, *adoleſcentiam*, *juventutem*, *conſtantem*, *mediamve*, *&* *ſenectutem*. Now middle Age is from Thirty-five to Forty-nine, whereof ſhe might have been, and ſo neither old nor young: For *Leo the Tenth* was choſen Pope at Thirty-eight Years of Age; for he was not Forty-ſix Years of Age when he died, and yet he ſat as Pope eight Years, eight Months, and twenty Days. And *Gregory the Eleventh*, *fuit dum eligebatur in Papam forſitan circa* 35 *Annos*, was about thirty-five Years old, as [d] *Theodoricus de Niem* and [e] *Maſſonus* witneſs. Again, ſhe might have been choſen young, for any Cuſtom you *Papiſts* have to the Contrary. For *Boniface the Ninth*, as [f] ſome write, *erat annorum* 34, *dum eligebatur in Papam*, was but Thirty-four, when he was choſen Pope: And [g] *Innocent the Third* was but Thirty. Yea, ſhe might have been one of the Youths of the Pariſh: For (not to ſpeak of the Boy-Pope, I mean, *Benedict the Ninth*, [h] who was choſen Pope about twelve Years old:) *John the Thirteenth*, alias *Twelfth*, [i] *in juvenili & florida ætate creatur Pontifex*, was made Pope when he was in his Prime; that is, about the eighteenth Year of his Age, as [k] *Baronius* gathereth by Circumſtances. But why might not ſhe have been old, ſince we read, that old Women have borne Children? ‘ *Henricus Suevus* Imperator ex uxore quinquagenaria genuit *Fridericum* II,’ [l] ſaith *Maſſonus*: *Henry* the Emperor begat *Frederick the Second*, of his Wife, who was fifty Years old. ‘ *Machutus* Epiſcopus ortus eſt matre pluſquam ‘ ſexagenaria,’ [m] ſaith *Petrus de Natalibus*: Biſhop *Machutus*'s Mother was above threeſcore Years old when ſhe bare him. ‘ Hic in *Palatinatu* ante annos aliquot vidi meis oculis, ‘ & vocatus interfui partui cujuſdam fœminæ, ‘ amplius annos 56 natæ, quæ binos mares ‘ enixa eſt eodem partu,’ [n] ſaith *Franciſcus Junius*: A few Years ſince, I was intreated to ſee a Woman in this Country, above fifty-ſix Years old, who was delivered of two Boys at a Birth. *N. D.* whoſe Steps you follow, hath one good Property; for he is always like himſelf; he is no Changeling: He began with Lyes, and goeth on with Fooleries; yet, in giving the Reaſon why it was not the Cuſtom to chuſe young Popes, he ſhews himſelf moſt a Fool. For the Multitude of Popes above the Emperors came not, by Reaſon of their Age, but by other Accidents. In the firſt three-hundred Years, while the Popes were generally good, they were cut off by Martyrdom. For though it be not true (as [o] *Onuphrius* notes well) that all the Popes, from Saint *Peter*'s Time to *Sylveſter*, were Martyrs; which yet is confidently avouched by [p] ſome *Papiſts*: It is true, I grant, that the moſt of them were Martyrs. Now in ſucceeding Times, their Numbers grew the greater by their Poiſoning, and evil Entreating one of another. If you peruſe diligently the Stories of their Lives, you ſhall find, that, of forty Popes already dead, and gone to their own Place, there was not one that ſat a full Year: You ſhall find, that, within the Compaſs of nine Years, or little above, [a] there were nine ſeveral Popes: You ſhall find, [b] that one Man, in thirteen Years, poiſoned ſix Popes: You ſhall find, that God in his Juſtice cut them off, for their wicked and abominable Lives.

---

[a] *N. D.* Num. 35. Pag. 402, 403. [b] Lib. ii. Pag. 303. [c] De *Galeni* ſententia univerſæ vitæ ſex ſunt omnino ætates. *Leonard. Fuchſius* Inſtitut. Medicin. Lib. i. Cap. 5. [d] *Nem.* Unionis Tract. vi. Cap. 39. [e] De Urbis Epiſcop. Lib. vi. in *Greg.* XI. [f] *Maſſon.* de Urbis Epiſc. Lib. cit in *Bonif.* IX. *Plat.* in *Bonif.* IX. [g] *Maſſon.* Lib. iii. de Urb. Epiſc. in *Innocent.* III. [h] *Glaber. Radulphus*, Hiſt. Lib. v. Cap. ult. & *Maſſon.* Lib. iv. in *Bened.* IX. [i] *Paulus Langius*, in Chron. Citizenſe ad Ann. 1389. [k] Annal. Tom. x. ad Ann. 955. Num. 3. [l] De Urbis Epiſc. Lib. v. in *Celeſtin.* III. [m] In Catal. Sanct. Lib. x. Cap. 64. [n] Annotat. Biblicis in *Ruth* i. Edit. ult. [o] Annotat. in *Plat.* in Vita *Higini.* [p] *Briſtow* in his Table of Popes.

Liberius ſat about ſome ſix Years, [c] ſaith Cardinal *Turrecremata*, and then died an evil Death: 'Mala morte precibus ſanctorum extinctus eſt.' He died not for Age, but with Curſing.

Anaſtaſius the Second ſat two Years, but God ſtruck him ſuddenly for his Naughtineſs, and he died. Yea, he died, ſome ſay, as *Arius* the Arch-heretick died. For, 'Sunt qui ſcribunt eum in latrinam effudiſſe inteſtina, dum neceſſitati naturæ obtemperat,' ſaith [d] *Platina*, and [e] *Johannes Stella* the *Venetian*.

Clemens the Second kept the Popedom but nine Months, not for that he was old when he was choſen, but becauſe he was poiſoned, as we [f] read in your own Writers.

Damaſus the Second, [g] who had a Hand in Poiſoning this *Clemens*, kept the Papacy but twenty-three Days, not for that he died of Age, but by the juſt Judgment of God, that he might be an Example to others, as [h] *Platina* notes, who climb to that Dignity by Bribery, and unlawful Means, to which they ſhould aſcend by Virtue.

Benedict the Sixth reigned but a Year and an Half, and then died, either of Strangling, or Famine, in cloſe Priſon, as we read in the ſame [i] *Platina*, yea in [k] *Baronius*.

Victor the Third kept the Papacy but one Year and four Months, and died of Poiſon, ſay [l] *Platina*, [m] *Genebrard*, [n] *Charanza*, and [o] *Polonus*.

[p] *Pius the Third* died within a Month, not without Suſpicion of Venom.

John the Thirteenth (alias *the Twelfth*) [q] while he was committing Adultery, was ſlain: Whether [r] thruſt through by ſome, who took him in the Act, or [s] ſtricken by the Devil, Hiſtorians agree not. But your [t] Cardinal takes that as more likely, which is more dreadful. For, becauſe, ſaith he, the Life of Pope *John* was deteſtable, and marvellous offenſive to the *Chriſtian* People, therefore *Chriſt* himſelf gave out the Sentence of Condemnation againſt him. For, while he was abuſing a certain Man's Wife, the Devil ſtruck him ſuddenly into the Temple of his Head, and ſo he died without Repentance.

Boniface the Seventh ſat but ſeven Months, and a few odd Days, and then the Beaſt died, ſaith [u] *Krantius*.

Marcellus the Second lived but twenty-two Days in the Popedom; not for that he was full of Years when he died, for he was but fifty-five Years old, but for that he was poiſoned. And, which is ſtrange, it is [x] obſerved, that he was poiſoned, becauſe ſome thought he would prove an honeſt Pope.

That *Sixtus Quintus*, after the ſixth Year of his Reign, was fetched away by the Devil, by whoſe Help he came to that Place; [y] Sir *Francis Breton*, a Monk of the Order of the *Celeſtines*, proteſted, that a Prior of Saint *Bennet's* Order aſſured him at *Rome*. And, [z] they ſay, your Jeſuits report as much under-hand in *Italy*. But, to end this Point in a Word, * your own Men tell us in plain Terms, that many Popes were of ſhort Continuance, becauſe

---

[a] See *Faſciculus* Temp. ad Ann. 904.

[b] Teſte *Bennone* Cardinale in Vita *Hildibrand.*

[c] Summ. de Eccleſ. Lib. iv. Part. i. Cap. 9.

[d] *Plat.* in Vita *Anaſtaſii* II.

[e] De Vit. Pont. ad Ann. 498.

[f] *Genebrard.* Chronol. Lib. iv. ad Ann. 1046. *Æneas Sylvius*, in Decad. *Blond.* Epit. Lib. iii.

[g] *Platina* in Vita *Clem.* II.

[h] In Vita *Damaſ.* II. Supplement. Chron. Lib. xii. ad Ann. 1042. *Joh. Stella*, de Vita Pont. ad Ann. 1040. in *Damaſo* II.

[i] In Vita *Bened.* VI.

[k] Annal. Tom. x. ad Ann. 974. Num. 1.

[l] In Vita *Victor.* III.

[m] Chron. Lib. iv. ad Ann. 1087.

[n] In Summ. Conc.

[o] In Chron. ad Ann. 1095.

[p] *Plat.* in Vita *Pii* III.

[q] *Kran.* Metrop. Lib. v. Cap. 1.

[r] *Plat.* in Vita *Joh.* XIII. *Blond.* Decad. ii. Lib. iii.

[s] *Luitprand. Ticinenſ.* Lib. vi. Cap. 11. *Sigebert.* in Chron. ad Ann. 963. *Trith.* in Chron. Monaſt. Hirſaug.

[t] *Turrecremat.* Summ. de Eccleſ. Lib. ii. Cap. 103. & Lib. iv. Cap. ix. Part i. and ſo doth *Walthramus* Epiſc. *Naumburgenſ.* Tract. de Inveſtitura Epiſc.

[u] Metrop. Lib. v. Cap. 1.

[x] Obiit Die 22, non ſine veneni ſuſpicione, quòd nimiùm rectus quibuſdam videretur, *Geneb.* Chron. Lib. IV. ad Ann. 1555.

[y] In his Declaration made at *Vendoſme*, *Jan.* 28. *Anno* 1601.

[z] Relation of the Weſtern Church by Sir *Ed. Sands.*

* Pontifices tanquam monſtra quædam è medio brevi Deus ſuſtulit. *Platina* in Vita *Chriſtophori.* Paucorum labes ſinceris maculam, & univerſ. Eccleſ. infamiam ingerit.

cauſe God ſaw they proved Monſters, and ſhamed the true Religion: * God, in his Juſtice, would not ſuffer them to live. And ſo this Argument of Years hath its Anſwer.

Pap. Yea, but it is a moſt unlikely Thing, that the whole *Roman* Clergy would chuſe a Pope without a Beard, eſpecially a Stranger.

Prot. And why might not the *Roman* Clergy, as well as the Clergy of *Conſtantinople*, [1] whom you upbraid with ſuch a Fact, do ſuch a Deed; eſpecially if all your Clergy in thoſe Days, as ſome of you write, were ſhaven? For Men by Shaving may make themſelves look like Women, and Women by often Shaving may make themſelves look like Men. Certainly a [2] learned Man among yourſelves imputes the Error of *Joan* the Woman's Choice to this, that your Clergy were then ſhaven. For, by the Means of Shaving, ſaith he, the People were ſo diſguiſed, that Men and Women were ſcarce known aſunder. And by this it happened that a Woman was choſen Pope of *Rome*, to the perpetual Rebuke of that ſame Holy Order. The ſame Reaſon is given alſo by [3] *Chalcocondylas*. And by it is another of your Arguments anſwered, which by [4] *N. D.* is touched in theſe Words: How did they not diſcern her to be a Woman or an Eunuch, ſeeing ſhe had no Beard in her old Age? For, it being ordinary, that the Clergy ſhould be ſhaven, why ſhould they diſlike her the more for Want of a Beard?

Pap. [5] Yea, but was there none, that either by Countenance, or Voice, or other Actions of her, could diſcern the Fraud?

Prot. Look you to that. But this is ſure, if your Stories be true, that divers Women have lived longer among Men, in Men's Apparel unknown, than Dame *Joan* lived in the Popedom. For *Marina*, [6] they ſay, lived all her Life among Monks, and No-body knew but ſhe was a Monk. [7] *Euphroſina* lived thirty-ſix Years amongſt Monks, and was reputed for a Monk. So did [8] *Eugenia*, *Pelagia*, and *Margareta*, and no Man ſuſpected them of Fraud.

Pap. [9] Yea, but how happened it her own Lovers had not diſcovered her, or her incontinent Life?

Prot. That her Lovers did not diſcover her, it is no Wonder. For Partners in Miſchief are good in Concealments. As for her incontinent Life, that diſcovered her at length: God, according to his [10] Promiſe, bringing forth the Shadow of Death to Light, that is, making known her ſecret Naughtineſs.

Pap. [11] Yea, but how could ſhe paſs through Prieſthood, and other Eccleſiaſtical Orders; how by ſo many Under-offices and Degrees as they muſt, before they come to be Popes, without Deſcrying? [12] For, nine-hundred Years from St. *Peter*, no Man was choſen Pope, that was not brought up in the *Roman* Church, and paſſed through Prieſthood, and other Eccleſiaſtical Orders.

Prot. That is not ſo. For [13] *Dionyſius* was made Pope of a Monk; and [14] *Valentinus* in the Time of his Deaconſhip, before he was prieſted. And ſo was [15] *Benedict the Fifth* too. And as for [16] *Leo the Eighth*, he was choſen, being but a Layman: *Per Othonem* I. *homo laicus Leo intruſus eſt*, ſaith *Baronius*. Your own [17] *Genebrard* did note, that this Note of *Onuphrius* was worth nothing; yea, that it was falſe, as many of his Notes are.

Pap. [18] Yea, but *Polonus* and others ſay, that this *Joan* brought forth a Child, as ſhe went in Proceſſion. Now it is not credible, that a Woman, who had gone ſo many Months with Child, would then eſpecially go Abroad, when there was moſt Fear ſhe might be diſcovered.

Prot. This is like the reſt: For the Time of Child-birth is uncertain. For, though Wo-

---

gerit. Et in mea opinione ideo frequentius moriuntur Pontifices, ne totam corrumpant Eccleſiam. *Joh. Saliſb.* de Nugis Curialium, Lib. vi. Cap. 24. * *N. D.* Num. 35. Pag. 403.

[1] *N. D.* Num. 28. Pag. 396. *Bell.* Lib. iii. de *Rom.* Pont. Cap. 24. [2] *Johan. Pierius Valerianus* pro Sacerdotum Barbis, Fol. 21. ad Cardinal. *Medicen.* printed at *Lond.* in ædib. *Tho. Berthelet.* Anno 1533. [3] Lib. vi. de Rebus Turcicis. [4] *N. D.* Num. 35. Pag. 403. [5] *Onuph.* Annot. in *Plat.* in Vita *Joh.* VIII. *Florim.* Cap. 23. Pag. 197. [6] *Raviſ Textor* in Officina. Tit. Mulieres habitum virilem mentitæ. [7] Ibid. & *Pet. de Natal.* in Catal. Sanct. Lib. iii. Cap. 113. [8] Vit. Patrum, Lib. i. *Pet. de Natal.* Lib. ii. Cap. 3. *Pet. de Natal.* in Catal. Sanct. Lib. ix. Cap. 36 & 37. [9] *N. D.* Pag. 402. [10] *Job* xii. 22. [11] *Onuph.* Loco citato. *N. D.* Pag. 402. [12] *Onuph.* ibid. [13] *Plat.* in Vita *Dionyſii.* [14] Idem in Vita *Valentini.* [15] Idem in Vita *Bened.* V. [16] *Geneb.* Chron. Lib. iv. ad Ann. 963. Annal. Tom. x. ad Ann. 999. Num. 2. [17] Chronol. Lib. iv. ad Ann. 398. [18] *Bell.* Lib. iii. de *Rom.* Pont. Cap. 24.

men go uſually ten Months, yet ſometimes they come ſooner, at Nine or Eight, yea at ſeven Months, as [1] Phyſicians have obſerved. Honeſter Women than Pope *Joan* have fallen in Travel upon the high Way, before ever they were aware, that they were ſo near their Reckoning, as *Theophylact* obſerveth; for, ‘Novit mulier quòd pariet, quando verò, non novit, *ſaith* [2] *he:* Nam non paucæ 8. menſe pepererunt etiam in itinere, nihil præſcientes;’ that is, A Woman knows ſhe ſhall be delivered, but the Time ſhe knows not; for divers have been delivered in their eighth Month, as they have been in their Journies, never dreaming of any ſuch Thing. What is your next Exception?

Pap. [3] They ſay, ſhe was buried without any Solemnities in the World. And how is that credible, ſeeing it is a barbarous and ſavage Part, to deprive them of the Order of ſolemn Burial, which have borne the greateſt Offices?

Prot. Is it ſo? Do we not read in Scripture, that God in his Juſtice doth uſe to ſerve the greateſt Princes ſo, who diſhonour him? Do we not read, [4] that *Jehoiachim*, King of *Judah*, was to be buried as an Aſs is buried, *&c.* Yea, do we not read in ſome of your own Stories, that ſome of your Popes have had as ſmall Solemnities? ‘*Bonifacius* VII. poſt mortem *Joh.* XV. ſedit Menſes 4, repentina morte interiit, & in tantum eum odio habuerunt ſui, ut poſt mortem cæderent eum, & lanceis vulnerarent, atque per pedes traherent nudato corpore uſque ad campum qui eſt ante caballum *Conſtantini*; ibi projecere eum atque dimiſerunt,’ ſaith [5] *Baronius. Boniface the Seventh*, who ſat after *John the Fifteenth*, four Months, died a ſudden Death, and he was ſo hateful to his own Followers, that, after his Death, they beat him, and ran him into the Body with Lances, and dragged him by the Feet, all naked, till they came to the Field which is near the Place where *Conſtantine*'s Horſe ſtands; there they threw him from them, and there they left him.

Pap. [6] Yea, but it was never heard of before, nor never in Uſe among Chriſtians, to bury a Man in the high Ways.

Prot. No? Is it not written, that [7] *Deborah*, *Rebecca*'s Nurſe, was buried under an Oak; and that [8] *Rachel*, *Jacob*'s Wife, a far honeſter Woman than Pope *Joan*, was buried in the Way to *Ephrath*; though, if it had not, yet Pope *Joan* was but right ſerved to be buried ſo; for it was never heard of before, nor never in Uſe among Chriſtians, that a Pope ſhould be delivered of a Child. The Extraordinarineſs of the Caſe deſerved extraordinary exemplary Uſage. Your Friend *Papyrius Maſſonus*, [9] much commended by your Cardinal [10] *Baronius*, [11] holds Opinion, that, if there had been any ſuch Pope, the *Romans* could have done no leſs, in Equity, than to have hanged her up in Chains after her Death: [12] Becauſe he finds not that ſhe was ſhamefully enough hanged after her Death, he denies the Story.

Pap. Papyrius Maſſonus is a worthy Man indeed: ‘Ut ventus fumum, evaneſcere totam in auras fabulam fecit;’ He hath diſproved this Tale thoroughly [13] in *Baroniu*'s Judgment. But yet I think with *Florimondus*, they ſhould have allowed her Chriſtian Burial; they ſhould have made her a Tomb; they ſhould have written Epitaphs on her.

Prot. What? Epitaphs on ſuch a Whore? That had been a Jeſt indeed. Yet perhaps ſome Mad-cap did ſo. And how prove you the Contrary?

Pap. If ſhe had had a Tomb made for her, and Epitaphs on her, they would have been forth-coming. For as [14] *Florimondus* writes, ‘Sepulchrorum nunquam intermoritur memoria,’ Tomb-ſtones continue for ever.

Prot. Indeed I have [15] read, that by Law it was provided, that no Men ſhould deface Tomb-ſtones. And I have [16] read alſo, that to this Day, hard by *Troy*, ‘Videre licet magna marmorea ſepulchra operis antiqui ex uno lapide, inſtar ciſtæ, excavata, quorum opercula adhuc integra ſunt;’ A Man may ſee many marble Sepulchres, wrought after the old Faſhion, cut hollow like a Cheſt, out of Stone, the Covers whereof are ſtill whole. But I do not read, that Men can ſhew, which was *Priamus*'s Grave, which *Hector*'s, &c. Yet, but for evil Fingers, I could have told you where Pope *Joan*'s Tomb was. Till *Pius Quintus* caſt it into *Tybur*, it was to be ſeen in *Rome*.

---

[1] *Levinus Lemnius* de occultis Naturæ Miraculis, Lib. iv. Cap. 22 & 23. [2] Comment. in 1 *Theſſ.* v. [3] *Florim.* Cap. 23. Num. 6. [4] *Jer.* xxii. 18, 19. [5] Annal. Tom. x. ad Ann. 985. è veteri Pontif. *Vaticano* Codice. [6] *Florim.* Cap. 23. [7] *Gen.* xxxv. 8. [8] Ibid. ver. 19. [9] *Papyr. Maſſo.* vir præſtans ingenio & pietate. [10] Tom. x. Annal. ad Ann. 853. Num. 62. [11] De Urb. Epiſc. Lib. iii. in *Bened.* III. [12] Ultimo ſupplicio affeciſſent. [13] Loco citato. [14] Loco citato. [15] *Polyd. Virg.* de Invent. Rerum. Lib. vi. Cap. 10. [16] *Bellon.* Lib. ii. Obſervat. Cap. 6.

Pap. They ſay further, that ſhe died inſtantly. But, though the Pains of Women be great at ſuch Times, yet it comes by Throes; they have ſome Intermiſſion; their Pain is not like to a ſudden Apoplexy, on which they die inſtantly.

Prot. Men do not die inſtantly who are taken with an Apoplexy; they may live long after, and be cured thereof, as [1] Phyſicians ſay. Your *Florimondus* herein is out of his Element. Neither did ſhe die inſtantly, though it ſeems ſuddenly: For ſhe was delivered of a Boy before her Death.

Pap. Was ſhe delivered of the Boy wherewithal ſhe went; and what was then the Cauſe of her Death? *Florimondus* accounts this as one of the Abſurdities which follows on this Tale: 'Imò, ut aiunt, [2] *ſaith he*, maſculum 'pepererat, quid igitur mortem repentinam 'attulit?' If a Woman be once delivered of the Fruit of her Womb, there is no Danger of Death in his Opinion.

Prot. Commend me to him, if ever you ſee him. And aſk the Woodcock, if he have not known Women die in Child-bed, as well as in Child-birth. [3] *Rachel* was delivered of her Son *Benjamin*, and yet died ſhortly. [4] *Phinehas*'s Wife was delivered of her Son *Ichabod*, and yet died preſently after. And, if they died ſo, why not Pope *Joan*? I pray you, let me hear what Exceptions ſome wiſer Men take againſt this Story; for I am weary of *Florimondus*'s Fopperies.

Pap. [5] How is ſhe ſaid to have gone from the Palace of St. *Peter* to St. *John Lateran*, whereas the Pope lay not then in the *Vatican*, but at St. *John Lateran* itſelf?

Prot. How prove you that the Pope lay not then in the *Vatican*?

Pap. [6] *Platina* witneſſeth, that the Pope lay not in the *Vatican* till *Boniface the Ninth*'s Days, to wit, till the Year 1350.

Prot. *Boniface the Ninth* lived in the Year 1390, not 1350, wherefore in that Circumſtance you fail; and ſo you do in fathering ſuch a Fancy upon *Platina*. For [7] *Platina* reports only, that the *Vatican* was repaired by *Boniface the Ninth*. He ſaith not, it was firſt inhabited by *Boniface the Ninth*; though, if he had, yet the Pope might well have gone to ſee the *Lateran*, for he had other Houſes to ſolace himſelf and his Courtiers in beſides the *Lateran*. He dwelt not always in that; for [8] *Gregory the Fourth* made two goodly Houſes, even out of the Ground, for the Pope's Uſe, as your *Anaſtaſius* teſtifieth. And *Leo the Third* (as we read in the ſame [9] *Anaſtaſius*) made another goodly Houſe, near to St. *Peter*'s Church, which ſtands in the *Vatican* [10], wherein *Leo the Fourth* gave Entertainment to *Ludovick* the Emperor. But beſides, the Stories do not report, ſhe went from St. *Peter*'s Palace to the Palace of the *Lateran*; but from St. *Peter*'s Church to the *Lateran* Church. For ſhe was delivered, as they went in Proceſſion. Now ſhe might go from St. *Peter*'s Church to the *Lateran* Church, and yet dwell in the Palace of the *Lateran*. For Popes began not always their Proceſſions at the next Church to them. [11] *Leo the Third* appointed to go in Proceſſion three ſeveral Days before *Aſcenſion day*. And he began the firſt Day at one of [12] St. *Mary*'s Churches, and ended at St. *Saviour*'s Church. The ſecond Day he began at St. *Sabina* the Martyr's Church, and ended at St. *Paul*'s. The third Day he began at St. *Croſs*'s Church in *Jeruſalem*, and ended at St. *Lawrence*'s without the Walls. So that this Queſtion of yours is anſwered. Let me know if you have any more to ſay.

Pap. You ſhall; and, *Firſt* [13], I will prove it a Fable out of their own Mouths that report it.

Prot. That is a Piece of Cunning in good Earneſt. But how I pray you?

---

[1] *Felix Platerus Archiater Baſil.* Pract. Cap. 1. Pag. 46. Edit. *Baſil.* 1608.

[2] Pag. 205.

[3] *Gen.* xxxv. 17, 18.

[4] 1 *Sam.* iv. 20, 21.

[5] *N. D.* of 3. Converſ. Part II. cap. 5. Num. 36. *Florim.* pag. 202. *Bell.* Lib. iii. de Rom. Pont. cap. 24.

[6] *Florim.* loco citato.

[7] In Vita *Bonif.* IX.

[8] De Vit. Pont. in Vita *Greg.* IV.

[9] In Vita *Leon.*

[10] Idem in *Leone* IV.

[11] *Platina* in Vita *Leon.* III. & *Anaſtaſ.* de Vit. Pont. in *Leon.* III.

[12] Eccleſia Dei Genetricis ad præſepe.

[13] *Baron.* Annal. Tom. x. ad Ann. 853. num. 67.

Pap. Marry, even as St. [1] *Mark*, the Evangeliſt, proved the *Jews* Lyars, by the Inconvenience of their Teſtimonies.

Prot. What mean you by the Inconvenience of their Teſtimonies?

Pap. Their Diſagreeing one with another.

Prot. But ſo did not St. *Mark*. For thoſe falſe Witneſſes, whoſe Teſtimony (as he notes) was inconvenient, agreed well enough in their Tale. [2] They only failed in this, that the Matter which they witneſſed againſt him was not Capital, though it had been true. For to promiſe the Re-edifying of a Church, in three Days, is neither Felony nor Treaſon. And in this Reſpect St. *Mark* obſerves, that their Teſtimony was inconvenient, meaning to condemn him to Death. But what great Diſagreement have you obſerved among the Relaters of this Tale?

Pap. [3] Infinite. Inſomuch that a Man may well think God hath taken a new the ſame Courſe with theſe, which he took of old with them who occaſioned him to ſay: [4] *Come, let us confound their Language, that one of them know not what another ſaith.*

Prot. That is much, I long to hear the Particulars.

Pap. So you ſhall by and by. But, *Firſt*, I pray you, tell me by the Way, [5] why *Marianus*, the firſt Broacher of this Tale, gave her ſuch a new fangled and new deviſed Name as *Joan*? Why took he that Name which in former Ages was proper to Men only, and by changing a Letter made it a Woman's Name? *Florimondus* cannot teach the Reaſon of this.

Prot. *Florimondus* is a proper 'Squire, and you are a wiſe Man to demand ſuch a Queſtion. Read the Scriptures, and you ſhall find, that the Name of *Joan* is no new deviſed Name, nor proper to Men only. For [6] they mention one *Joan*, the Wife of *Chuza*. Or, if, for Fear of proving an Heretick, you dare not read the Scriptures, [7] read your Legends and Feſtivals, and in them you ſhall find that your Sea Saint, *Nicholas*'s Mother, was called *Joan*. If ſome ſhould hear you demand ſuch a Queſtion, they would think the Fool rid you. Wherefore, no more of this, if you reſpect your Credit; fall to ſhew me the manifold Diſagreement which you promiſed.

Pap. I will. [8] And, *Firſt*, obſerve with me the Confuſion that is among them, touching her Name before her Papacy. Some ſay, ſhe was called *Agnes*, ſome *Gilbert*, ſome *Iſabel*, ſome *Margaret*, ſome *Tutta* or *Jutta*, others *Dorothy*.

Prot. Who calls her (I pray you) either *Dorothy*, or *Jutta*, or *Tutta*? Who ever called her *Margaret*, or *Iſabel*? Yea, who of the ancient Sort of Writers called her *Gilbert*, or *Agnes*? In ſome of later Time I find ſome Difference, one calling her *Gilbert*, and another *Agnes*. But, of all thoſe whom I brought in, to give in Evidence againſt her, there is not paſt one or two, who, either before, or after her Papacy, gives her any other Name than *Joan*. And, for aught I know, there is no Man, either old or young, who ever chriſtened her *Dorothy*, or *Jutta*, or *Iſabel*, or *Margaret*. Know you any that have done ſo?

Pap. No; for I find no Authors cited for Proof of this, neither by *Florimondus*, nor by *Baronius*. And I can ſay no more than I find in them. But what ſay you to the next Difference? [9] Do not ſome of your Witneſſes feign her *John the Seventh*, ſome *John the Eighth*, ſome *John the Ninth*.

Prot. Who feigns her to be *John the Ninth*?

---

[1] *Mark* xiv. 59.

[2] Teſtes quidam inter ſe rectè conveniebant, cum eadem uterque verba, & eodem ſenſu recitaret.——Sed quamvis affirmarent Chriſtum dixiſſe: Ego diſſolvam, &c. non judicabant Pontifices propterea Chriſtum ad mortem condemnari. *Maldonat.* in *Mat.* xxvi. 61.

[3] *Baron.* Annal. Tom. x. ad Ann. 853. Num. 67.

[4] *Gen.* xi.

[5] *Marianus* eam *Johannem* novo adinvento & innovato vocabulo appellavit. Quorſum verò nomen, quod antea ſolis maſculis imponebatur, ſola litera mutata, ad mulierem detorſit? *Florim.* cap. 7. Num. 1.

[6] *Luke* viii. 3. and xxiv. 10.

[7] Golden Legend and *Engliſh* Feſtival, in the Life of St. *Nicholas*, and *Pet. de Natal.* in Catal. Sanct Lib. i. cap. 33.

[8] Audi quanta inter eos confuſio in confictæ fœminæ nomine, &c. *Baron.* Annal. Tom. x. ad Ann. 853. num. 67. and *Florim.* cap. 4. Num. 5, & cap. 7. Num. 4.

[9] Alii eam vocant *Joh.* vii. alii viii. alii vero ix. ſaith *Baronius*, loco citato. Some do feign him to be *John the Eighth*, ſome *the Ninth*, ſaith *N. D.* pag. 401.

Not a Man that I know. If you bring not ſome Author for the Proof of this Point, you muſt give me Leave to think you ſpeak over.

Pap. Over or ſhort, I follow in this *Baronius*, and *N. D.* For ſome, ſaith *Baronius*, call her *John the Seventh*, ſome *John the Eighth*, ſome *John the Ninth.* Some, ſaith *N. D.* do feign her to be *John the Eighth*, ſome the *Ninth.*

Prot. Baronius and *N. D.* are as like to ſpeak over as you, for they are Papiſts; wherefore I neither believe them nor you, further than I ſee Reaſon. And herein neither they nor you ſhew Reaſon. For none of you cite ſo much as one Author, good or bad, for it. [1] Beſides, your *Florimondus* confeſſeth, that we are only troubled about this, whether we ſhould call her *John the Seventh*, or *John the Eighth*; he chargeth us not with naming her *John the Ninth.*

Pap. Well, let that be your Difference, that you know not whether to call her *John the Seventh*, or *John the Eighth.*

Prot. That Difference is not ſo great. For the like may be ſhewed in other Popes, which yet you yourſelf confeſs were Popes. But who ſtiles her either *John the Seventh*, or *John the Eighth*? Verily, neither *Marianus Scotus*, nor *Sigebert*, nor *Gotefridus Viterbenſis*, nor *Polonus*, nor *Platina*, nor *Palmerius*, nor *Trithemius*'s *Faſciculus Temporum*, nor *Krantius*, nor *Alphonſus è Carthagena*, nor *Textor*, call her either *John the Seventh*, or *John the Eighth*, but ſimply *John* or *Joan.* For it ſeems they were of [2] *Onuphrius*'s Mind in this, that 'numeri notam habere non debuit ſacri ordinis non capax;' that, ſeeing ſhe was not capable of Prieſthood, ſhe ſhould not go for one in the Number of *Johns.*

Pap. Yes, by your Leave, *Platina* ſtiles her *John the Eighth*, and the next *the Ninth*; for which he is reproved by [3] *Onuphrius*, and that upon the Reaſon which you mentioned. For theſe are *Onuphrius*'s Words: '*Johannes* VIII. non IX. eſt, ut à *Platina* deſcribitur: Nam, etſi *Johannes* fœmina Papa, quam profitetur, fuiſſet, non tamen numeri notam habere debuiſſet ſacri ordinis non capax:' That is, *John* queſtionleſs is the Eighth, and not the Ninth, as *Platina* accounts him; for, though *John* the Woman, whom he talks of, had been Pope, yet, ſeeing ſhe was not capable of Prieſthood, ſhe ſhould not go for one in the Number of *Johns.*

Prot. Platina ſtiles her not *John the Eighth. Onuphrius*, or ſomebody elſe, hath abuſed both *Platina* and you: For Proof whereof, I appeal to *Platina*, printed in the Year 1481 [4], which was the Year wherein *Platina* died; and to the next Edition, *Anno* 1485. For, ſpeaking of *John* the Woman, in thoſe ancient Editions, he ſets no numeral Note upon her Head, but begins his Story thus: '*Johannes Anglicus*, ex *Moguntiaco* oriundus, &c.' *John Engliſh*, born at *Mentz.* Neither ſtiles he the next *the Ninth*, but *the Eighth.* For, coming to that Pope's Life, '*Johannes* VIII. patria *Romanus*, &c.' ſaith he: *John the Eighth*, by his Country a *Roman*, &c. For further Proof of which latter Point, I appeal to the [5] later Editions, whereunto *Onuphrius*'s Annotations are annexed. For, though we read thus in them, '*Johannes Nonus*, patria *Romanus*, &c.' *John the Ninth*, by his Country a *Roman*, &c. yet, that that Reading is falſe, and the ancient Reading true, it appears by that which is written of the next Pope's Life, to wit, *Martin the Second*, even in thoſe later Editions; for [6] *Platina*, ſhewing how *Martin* lived in the Time of *Charles the Third*, adds preſently, 'Quem ab *Johanne* VIII. coronam accepiſſe ſcripſimus:' That is, Who was crowned by *John the Eighth*, as we have written. Now *Charles the Third* was crowned by *John*, next before *Martin*, according to [7] *Platina*: Wherefore the next before *Martin* was *John the Eighth*, in *Platina*'s Account, and not *John the Ninth*, as *Onuphrius*, or ſomebody elſe would make us believe. Which Overſight, or Fraud of *Onuphrius*, was not ſo great, but, by this Means, he is forced to alter *Platina*'s numeral Note, ſet to all the *Johns* that follow, to call him *John the Tenth*, whom *Platina* calls *John the Ninth*; to call him *the Eleventh*, whom *Platina* calls *the Tenth*; to call him *the Thirteenth*, whom *Platina* calls *the Twelfth*; and ſo unto the laſt, *Baldeſar Coſſa*, who was in the Number of *Johns*, according to the ancient Editions, *the Twenty-third*, and not *the Twenty-fourth*, as he is numbered in the Editions with *Onuphrius*'s Notes. But ſay on: What other Diſagreement have you obſerved among the Reporters of this Story?

---

[1] Hoc unum eorum animos torquet, utrum *Joh.* vii. aut *Joh.* viii. nomen ſibi uſurparit. *Florim.* Cap. v. Num. 5. [2] Annot. in *Plat.* in Vita *Joh.* IX. [3] Loco citato. [4] *Platina* moritur Romæ, Anno 1481. *Trith.* de Script. Eccleſiaſt. verbo, *Bartholomæus.* [5] Such as that of *Cologne*, Anno 1574. [6] De Vitis Pont. in Vita *Martini* II. [7] In Vita ejuſdem *Joannis.*

Pap. [1] Some ſay, ſhe began her Papacy in the Year 853; ſome, in the Year 854; ſome, in the Year 857; ſome, in 858; ſome, in 904; ſome, in 653; ſome, in 686.

Prot. Why name you not the Authors that write this? For, to this Day, I never read, or heard of any, who placed her either about the Year 653, or 686, or 904; all the above-named Hiſtoriographers mention her within the Compaſs of five Years: Till you bring forth your Proof, there is great Reaſon to ſuſpect your Truth.

Pap. [2] Peradventure you will ſuſpect my Truth, if I tell you, that ſome ſay, ſhe ſucceeded *Leo the Fourth*; ſome, *Leo the Fifth*; ſome, *Benedict the Third*; ſome, *Martin the Firſt*; ſome, *John the Fifth*.

Prot. I ſhall indeed; for I read, in [3] *Bellarmine*, that 'Omnes, qui iſtum *Johannem* admittunt, dicunt eum ſediſſe poſt *Leonem* IV. & ante *Benedictum* III.' All, who acknowledge ſuch a Woman Pope, place her after *Leo the Fourth*, and before *Benedict the Third*.

Pap. Yea, but you have little Reaſon to believe *Bellarmine* therein; for [4] *Polonus* writes, That ſhe ſucceeded *Leo the Fifth*; and ſo doth [5] *Sigebert* too.

Prot. That *Leo*, whom *Sigebert* placeth next before *Joan* the Woman, is numbered *the Fifth*; it is ſome Error in the Print, for [6] he names but three Popes of that Name before that *Leo*; wherefore, when *Sigebert* is corrected, you have no Colour of Exception from him: No more have you from *Polonus*; for, though, according to his Account, *Leo*, before this Woman-Pope, be *Leo the Fifth*, yet he is the ſame Man, whom others call *Leo the Fourth*. *Polonus* reckons one *Leo*, as Pope, in the Year 698, whom others reckon not at all; which is the Cauſe of the Difference between him and others, in the Account of *Leo*'s that follow; but, in the Perſons, all agree. What is the next Diſagreement?

Pap. [7] Some ſay, ſhe ſat Pope one Year, one Month, and four Days; ſome, two Years, two Months, and four Days; ſome, two Years and a Half; ſome, but two Years full. [8] Very many ſay, ſhe ſat one Year, five Months, and three Days; and they are no ſmall Number, who ſay, ſhe ſat but barely four Months.

Prot. If this be true, *Bellarmine* was far wide; for [9] he writes, that 'Omnes, qui iſtum *Johannem* admittunt, dicunt eum vixiſſe in Pontificatu duobus annis & quinque menſibus.' All, that acknowledge that Woman Pope, ſay, ſhe ſat as Pope two Years and five Months. He knew none (no more than I) that gave her ſo little Time as four Months. He knew no ſuch Difference herein, as you talk of; yet, among the later Writers, I confeſs, there is ſome Difference of ſome few Months; but *Marianus* and *Polonus*, which are two of the principal, agree upon the Point; they write uniformly, That ſhe ſat two Years, five Months, and four Days: And *Platina* is not far ſhort of that Sum, for, by his Reckoning, ſhe ſat two Years, one Month, and four Days. But, ſuppoſe the Differences in theſe Circumſtances were great and many, What is that to diſcredit the Subſtance of the Story? We find great Difference among them who have written of Pope *Lucius*; for [10] ſome ſay, he was a *Roman*; [11] ſome, a *Tuſcan*; ſome ſay, he was the Son of *Lucinus*; [12] ſome, of *Porphyry*; [13] ſome ſay, he was choſen Pope in the Year

---

[1] Alii ponunt hoc anno 853; alii, anno ſequente; alii, 857; octavo, alii; quidam 904, præter eos qui ponunt eum poſt *Martinum* I. Anno 653. Alii poſt *Johannem* V. Anno 686. *Baron.* loco citato, & *Florim.* c. vii. num. 4.

[2] *Florimondus*, loco citato.

[3] Lib. III. de Rom. Pont. cap xxiv.

[4] In Chron. ad Annum 855, collat. cum Anno 847.

[5] In Chron. ad Annum 847, collat. cum Anno 854.

[6] *Sigebert* names *Leo* I. ad Annum 448, *Leo* II. ad Annum 684, *Leo* III. ad Annum 796; and the next is that *Leo*, who ſat *ad Annum* 847.

[7] Alii eum ſediſſe tradunt anno uno, & menſe uno, & diebus quatuor. Alii annis duobus, totidemque menſibus, & diebus quatuor. Alii duobus annis cum dimidio; duobus tantum annis alii; alii vero quatuor tantum menſes. *Baron.* loco citato. *Florim.* Cap. vii. num. 4.

[8] This is in *Florimondus*, and not in *Baronius*.

[9] Lib. III. de Rom. Pont. Cap. xxiv.

[10] *Platina*, de Vita Pont. in Vita *Lucii* I. *Onuph.* in Chron. Rom. Pont. ad Annum 253.

[11] *Anaſtaſius* in Vita *Lucii*.

[12] Idem ibid.

[13] *Plat.* & *Onuph.* loco citato.

253; [a] ſome, in the Year 254; [b] ſome, in the Year 255; [c] ſome, in the Year 259; [d] ſome, in the Year 275. [e] ſome ſay, he ſat Pope three Years, three Months, and three Days; [f] ſome, three Years and five Months; [g] ſome, three Years, ſeven Months, and ſix Days; [h] ſome, but one Year, three Months, and thirteen Days; [i] ſome, but eight Months, and no longer; and yet there is no Man denies that *Lucius* was Pope.

Again, Do we not read, that *Sergius the Third* began his Reign in the Year 905, as [k] ſome ſay? As [l] others, in the Year 907? As a [m] third Sort, in the Year 908? Do not [n] ſome alſo write, that he ſucceeded *Benedict the Fourth*? [o] Others, that he ſucceeded *Formoſus*? [p] Others, *Chriſtopher*? And is not there Difference alſo about the Time of his Continuance in the Popedom? While [q] ſome ſay, he ſat ſeven Years, three Months, and ſixteen Days; [r] ſome, three Years only; yet, Who ever denied, that there was ſuch a Pope?

We [s] read, that *Formoſus*'s Carcaſe was taken up out of his Grave by one of his Succeſſors, and brought into Judgment before a Council of Biſhops; and that it was ſpoiled of his Papal Robes, and clad with a Layman's Garment? That he was indicted, arraigned, and condemned. But, among them that report this, there is great Diſagreement; for [t] ſome ſay, it was taken up by *Sergius the Third*, of whom I ſpoke even now; ſome ſay, it was taken up by [v] *Stephen the Sixth*, whom ſome call *Stephen the Seventh*; [w] ſome ſay, it had two Fingers cut off; [x] ſome, three: [y] Some ſay, the Head was chopped off; [z] ſome ſeem to deny that: [1] Some ſay, the Trunk of the Body was caſt into *Tybur*; [2] others ſay, it was allowed Layman's Burial. I pray you now, Dare you deny the Truth of this Story, by Reaſon of theſe Differences?

Pap. Why not? Doth not [3] *Onuphrius* upon that Reaſon deny it, ſaying: 'Quæ de *Formoſi* cadavere ex ſepultura a Succeſſoribus 'eruto dicuntur, procul dubio fabulæ magis 'quam vero ſimilia ſunt, quod illorum qui de 'ea re ſcripſerunt diverſitate & repugnantia 'facile liquet:' That is, the Speeches which go touching the Digging up of *Formoſus*'s Body out of his Grave, by ſome of his Succeſſors, are queſtionleſs fabulous, not true: Which is apparent by the Diſagreements and Diſconveniences, which are to be found among them, that write of it.

Prot. Now ſee you then the Diſagreement and Diſconveniences that are among you *Papiſts*. For, though [4] *Baronius* confeſs, [5] it was ſuch a villainous Prank, as was never played before; though he confeſs, [6] it may ſeem incredible, by Reaſon of the Barbarouſneſs of it; yet he grants it true, and avows that they err fouly, who deny that ſuch Things befel *Formoſus*; who hold the Reports for Fables. Notwithſtanding the manifold Differences in ſome Circumſtances, he durſt not caſt it off as *Onuphrius* doth. Neither could he indeed upon *Onuphrius*'s Reaſon. For [7] *Bellarmine* ſaith true in this, though he miſs the Truth often, that *ſæpiſſime accidit ut conſtet de re, & non conſtet de modo, vel alia circumſtantia*. It oftentimes falls out, that Men are ſure ſuch a Thing is done, when yet, they are not ſure of the Manner how it was done, or of ſome other ſuch like Circumſtance. The Difference among Writers, about a Circumſtance, doth not weaken any Man's Argument touching the Subſtance. If it do, to give one Inſtance more, blot out, for Shame, St. *Urſula* and her Fellows Holiday, out of your [8] Kalendar; and all the Prayers, which you make to them, in your Primmers,

---

[a] *Matth. Weſtm.* Flores Hiſt. ad Annum 254.

[b] *Marian. Scot. & Polon.* in Chron. ad Annum 255.

[c] *Abbas Urſperg.* ad Annum 259.

[d] Compilatio in Chron. ad Annum 257.

[e] *Polon. & Matth. Weſtm.* locis citatis.

[f] *Marian. Scotus*, loco citato.

[g] *Albo Floriacenſis*, de Vitis Pont. in *Lucio.*

[h] *Onuph.* loco citato

[i] *Euſeb* Lib. VII. Hiſt. Cap. iii. & *Abbas Urſpergenſis*, loco citato; & *Hermannus* Contractus, circa Annum 260.

[k] *Matth. Weſtm.* Flores Hiſt. ad Annum 905.

[l] *Polon.* in Chron. ad Annum 907.

[m] *Baron.* Annal. Tom. x. ad An. 907. Num. 2.

[n] *Herman.* Contract. circa An. 907.

[o] *Luitprandus*, teſte *Baron.* ad An. 908. Num. 2.

[p] *Baron.* ibid.

[q] *Polon* ad Ann. 907.

[r] *Baron.* Tom. x. *B*nnal. ad Ann. 910. Num. 1.

[s] *Baron.* Annal. Tom. x. ad Annum 897. num. 2.

[t] *Luitprand.* Lib. I. Cap. viii. & *Abbas Urſpergenſis*, in Chron. ad Annum 897.

[v] *Platina* in Vita *Steph.* VI.

[w] *Wernerus Rolenink.* in Faſcic. Temp. ad Annum 904.

[x] *Luitprandus*, loco citato.

[y] *Abbas Uſpergenſis*, loco citato.

[z] *Luitprandus* & alii.

[1] *Papyrius Maſſonus*, Lib. III. da Urbis Epiſcopis, in *Bonifacio* VI.

[2] *Platina* in Vita *Steph.* VI.

[3] Annot. in *Plat.* in Vita *Formoſi.*

[4] Intentatum hactenus ſcelus.

[5] Præ ſui immanitate omnibus incredibile, Annal. Tom. x. ad An. 897. Num. 3.

[6] Erroris convincuntur qui iſta de *Formoſo* negant, & conficta putant.

[7] Lib. ii. de *Rom.* Pont. Cap. 5.

[8] *Octob.* 21.

Porteſſes, and Breviaries. For there was never greater Diſagreement among the Relators of any Story, than among the Relators of that. Some [1] ſay, that *Urſula* was the King of *Scotland*'s Daughter; but [2] others ſay, ſhe was the King of *Cornwall*'s Daughter. [3] Some ſay, her Father was called *Maurus*; but others ſay, he was called [4] *Dionethus*, or [5] *Dionotus*, or [6] *Dionocus*, or [7] *Deonotus*; for ſo diverſly do they chriſten him. And, which concerns the Huſband, to whom ſhe ſhould have been married, [8] ſome write, that he was King of *England*: [9] Others, that he was King of *Little Britain*. And [10] one calls him *Ætherius*, another [11] *Holofernes*, [12] a third *Conanus*. Now in her Company, as ſome ſay, there were only Eleven-thouſand Ladies and Gentlewomen, Virgins; but, as [13] others ſay, there were Sixty-thouſand Country Maidens over and above thoſe Eleven-thouſand of better Rank. Beſides, [14] there were divers Biſhops and Lords of the Temporalty who accompanied them. Yea, *Cyriacus* the Pope of *Rome*, like a good Fellow, left his Papacy, and followed theſe Pilgrims, ſay [15] ſome, though others deny it. For [16] ſome ſay, that they went in Pilgrimage to *Rome*, though [17] others hold not that probable. [18] Some ſay they were martyred on the Sea-coaſt: [19] Some, before the Gates of *Cologne*. And [20] ſome ſay, that all this fell out in the Year 238. Some in [21] *Maximus*'s Time: [22] Some, in the Year 453. Laſt of all, [23] ſome ſay, that, if any be buried in St. *Urſula*'s Church, though they be Infants newly baptized, the Ground will caſt them up again: Whereas [24] others ſay, that that is a Tale of a Tub.

Pap. I know not what to reply to this. But learneder Catholicks will anſwer you, I hope. And, in the mean Time, I will go on: [25] By the Reporters of this Story ſhe was carried firſt to *Athens*. Now there was no *Athens* ſtanding at that Time.

Prot. Yes, that there was. For [26] *Paulus Æmilius* writes, that *Gotefridus* was made Duke of *Athens*, and Prince of *Achaia*, about the Year 1220. And [27] afterwards, that certain Pirates, invading the Country of *Græcia*, ſlew the Duke of *Athens*, who was of the Houſe of *Brennus*, and took the City. In like Manner, we read in [28] *Matthew Paris*, that *Johannes de Baſingſtocke*, Archdeacon of [29] *Legria*, who died in the Year 1252, ſtudied at *Athens*, and that he learned of the learned *Grecians* many Matters unknown to Men of the *Weſt Church*; eſpecially of one *Conſtantia*, the Daughter of the Archbiſhop of *Athens*. Beſides, [30] *Æneas Sylvius*, who lived ſince that, doth juſtify, that, in his Time, *Athens* was not quite razed, but carried the Shew of a pretty Town. For *Civitas Athenienſis* (quoth he) *quondam nobiliſſima fuit, &c. eadem noſtro tempore parvi oppidi ſpeciem gerit.* The noble City of *Athens*, at this Time, carries but the Shew of a little Village. Wherefore, neither doth this your Exception prejudice the Truth of this Story. Your next had need be better.

Pap. By the Reporters of this Story ſhe was not only carried to *Athens*, but to *Athens*, for Learning. Now, it is a plain Caſe, as [31] *Bellarmine* writes, that there were no Schools at that Time, neither in *Athens*, nor in any Place of *Græcia*.

Prot. What? No Schools in any Place of *Græcia*, at that Time? Notes *Bellarmine* that? And that as a plain Caſe? And doth he prove it too?

---

[1] *Pet. de Natal.* in Catal. Sanct. Lib. ix. c. 87. [2] *Galfridus Monumetenſ.* Hiſt. *Brit.* Lib. v. Cap. 15, 16. [3] *Petrus de Natal.* Loc. cit. [4] *Herman. Flien.* in Vita S. *Urſulæ, Octob.* 21.

[5] *Ponticus Virunius* Hiſt. *Brit.* Lib. v. [6] *Baron.* Annot. in Martyrol. *Rom. Octob.* 21. b.

[7] Incertus Author apud *Surium*, Tom. v. de Vitis Sanct. *Octob.* 2. [8] *Pet. de Natal.* Loc. cit.

[9] *Baron.* Loc. cit. [10] *Eliſabetha* Abbatiſſa Schonaugien. in Princip. Revelationum.

[11] Frater T. in Revelat. ſcriptis An. 1185. ut refert *Flien.* Loc. cit. [12] *Flien.* Loc. cit.

[13] *Ponticus Virunius* & *Galfridus* Loc. cit. [14] *Pet. de Natal.* Loc. cit. [15] Vide ſupr. p. 65.

[16] *Harigerus Abbas Lobienſis* in Catalog. Epiſc. *Tongerenſium* in Metropol. [17] *Flien.* Annot. in Vitam *Urſulæ*. [18] Martyr. *Rom.* and *Baron.* Annot. in Martyr. *Octob.* 21. [19] *Flien.* Loco cit.

[20] Author Chron. Colon. Fol. 68. & *Harig. Abbas* Loco cit. &c. [21] *Baron.* in Martyr. *Oct.* 21.

[22] *Sigebert.* in Chron. ad Ann. 853. [23] *Lindan.* apud *Baron.* Annot. in Martyr. *Oct.* 21.

[24] *Flien.* Loc. citat. Fabulam anilem eſſe didici. [25] *Onuph.* Annot. in *Platin.* in Vit. *Joh.* VIII. and *Hard.* Anſwer to B. *Jewel*'s Apology. [26] Lib. viii. [27] Lib. vi. [28] In *Hen.* III. ad Ann. 1252. p. 1112. [29] *Johan.* de Legria Vir in Trivio et Quadrivio experientiſſimus. [30] *Coſmog.* de Europa Cap. 11. [31] Conſtat eo Tempore neque *Athenis*, neque uſquam alibi in *Græcia*, fuiſſe ulla Gymnaſia Literarum, Lib. III. de *Rom.* Pontif. Cap. 24.

Pap. Yea, [a] he proves it by divers Writers. And firſt by [b] *Syneſius* who lived a little after *Baſil* and *Nazianzen*'s Time. For *Syneſius* writes unto his Brother, that *Athens* retained only the bare Name of an Univerſity.

Prot. And doth that import (think you) that, in *Syneſius*'s Opinion, there was no Univerſity at *Athens?* I, for my Part, do rather think the Contrary: I think *Syneſius* meant thereby, that *Athens* was an Univerſity, though Nothing ſo flouriſhing as formerly. Queſtionleſs, when [c] *Bernard* writ, that *Peter Abailard* had Nothing of a Monk, ſaving the Name and the Cowl, his Meaning was, not, that *Peter* was no Monk, but rather, that he was a Monk, though a ſorry Monk. And I am the rather perſuaded, to underſtand *Syneſius*'s Words ſo, becauſe *Athens*, in St. *Baſil*'s Time, about ſome Forty Years before *Syneſius*, [d] was held the Mother of Learning; and, in Regard thereof, termed Golden *Athens* by [e] *Gregory Nazianzen.* For who can think, in ſo few Years, Learning ſhould quite be quenched; and that ſo famous an Univerſity ſhould, in ſo ſhort Time, be utterly decayed? But let us ſuppoſe, there was no Univerſity at *Athens* in *Syneſius*'s Time. What is that to prove, that there was no Univerſity at *Athens* in Pope *Joan*'s Time, which was Four-hundred Years after? That Univerſity might get Life again in ſo many Years. And indeed it did ſo; for, a hundred Years after *Syneſius*'s Time, *Boethius* went to ſtudy at *Athens*, as [f] *Baronius* confeſſeth; noting further, that the Study of Philoſophy was revived there in thoſe Days. And, as we read in *Hector Boetius*, *John Scotus*, who lived about the Year 850, *complures Annos Athenis Græcis Literis' inſudavit*, ſtudied *Greek* at *Athens* many Years.

Pap. Why, but that there were no Schools in any Part of *Græcia* in Pope *Joan*'s Days, it is proved by [g] *Bellarmine* out of [h] *Cedrenus* and *Zonaras.* For they record, that, in the ſole Reign of *Michael* the Emperor, which fell to be about the Year 856, *Bardus Cæſar* reſtored Learning: 'Cum uſque ad illud tempus 'per Annos plurimos ita fuiſſent extincta omnia ſtudia Sapientiæ in *Græcia*, ut ne veſtigium quidem ullum extaret.

Prot. Bellarmine wrongs *Cedrenus* and *Zonaras*, in Bringing them in, to witneſs ſuch a Point. For they ſay no more, but that Learning was not regarded, of a long Time before *Bardus Cæſar.* They ſay not, it was quite extinct, [i] but almoſt extinct. *Bardus Cæſar* added Life unto it, [k] by Setting up Schools for every one of the liberal Sciences, and appointing publick Profeſſors, and giving them Stipends out of the *Exchequer*, as *Cedrenus* and *Zonaras* write; but he raiſed it not up ſimply to Life. For, if it had been ſtark dead, How could he, upon ſuch a Sudden, have gotten Profeſſors to furniſh his Schools? Again, do we not read in the ſame *Zonaras*, that, at the ſame Time, whereof *Bellarmine* ſpeaks, there was a [l] matchleſs Philoſopher at *Conſtantinople*, and many ſkilful Mathematicians, who were his Scholars? And do we not read in [m] *Cedrenus*, that this Philoſopher was called *Leo*, and that he [n] was brought up in Learning at *Conſtantinople*, though afterwards he learned Rhetorick, Philoſophy, Arithmetick, and the other liberal Sciences, in the Iſle of *Antro?* And doth not this argue, that *Cedrenus* and *Zonaras* do not report, that there was no Learning in any Place of *Græcia? Thirdly*, Is it not well known, that, [o] about the Year 680, there was kept a general Council at *Conſtantinople*, whereat there were many Biſhops of *Greece*, and among the reſt the [p] Biſhop of *Athens?* Is it not well known that there was kept another Council at *Nice*, an hundred Years after, *viz.* [q] about the Year 780: At which, there were [r] more Biſhops of *Greece*, than at the former? Is it not well known, there was a third Council holden at *Conſtantinople*, which did exceed in Number either of the former two, [s] about the Year 870? And, how is it credible ſo many Councils conſiſting of many Biſhops ſhould be kept in *Greece*, and yet *Greece* utterly without Learning? Wellfare *N. D.* in Compariſon of *Bellarmine* herein, for *N. D.* durſt not, it ſeemeth, ſay, with *Bellarmine*, that, about Pope *Joan*'s Time, there was no School in any Place of *Græcia*. He was aſhamed to run with his Maſter to ſuch Exceſs of Lying. He left him, in this.

---

[a] Loco citato. [b] In Epiſt. ult. ad Fratrem ſuum *Syneſius* ſcribit *Athenis* nihil fuiſſe niſi Nomen Academiæ. [c] *Petrus Abailardus* nihil habens de Monacho præter Nomen & Habitum. *Bern.* Epiſt. 193.

[d] *Baron.* Annal. Tom. iii. ad An. 354. Num. 25, 26. [e] In Monodia in *Baſilii* Magni Vitam.

[f] Annal. Tom. vi. ad An. 510. Num. 2. [g] Loco citato. [h] In Vit. *Michael.* & *Theod.* Imperat.

[i] Philoſophia neglecta jacebat ac propè omnino extincta erat, ut ne ſcintilla quidem ejus appareret.

[k] Cuique Diſciplinæ Scholas conſtituit, & Doctores deſignavit, & ſingulis publica Stipendia decrevit.

[l] In Philoſophicis Rationibus incomparabilem, &c. [m] Loco ſupra citato. [n] Literis & Poetis *Leo* (ut ipſe ferebat) initiatus fuit *Byzantii.* Rhetoricam, Philoſophiam, Arithmeticam, & reliquas Scientias in Antro Inſula didicit. [o] *Bellar.* Lib. i. de Conc. Cap. 5. [p] Conc. Conſtantinop. 6. Act. 17. [q] *Bellar.* Lib. i. de Conc. Cap. 5. [r] 350. teſte *Bellar.* ibid. [s] *Bellar.* Loco citato.

Pap. True. But that *Athens*, at that Time, had no School in it at all, nor many Years before, [1] *N. D.* is as confident, as his Maſter *Bellarmine*; and that Circumſtance is that which gauls you moſt; wherefore tell me, what more can you ſay to it.

Prot. Nay, firſt tell me how *N. D.* proves that; for I ſhall eſteem of his Poſition, as I find his Proof to be.

Pap. His Poſition is evident, [2] he ſaith, by *Cedrenus* and *Zonaras*, in the Places already cited.

Prot. He lyes falſly, *Cedrenus* and *Zonaras* make as much for *Bellarmine*'s Opinion, as for his; for they ſpeak of the Decay of Learning through *Greece* generally, and not in *Athens* particularly; yet, as you have heard, they make nothing for *Bellarmine*. *N. D.* might as well have caſt off *Bellarmine*'s Witneſſes, as *Bellarmine*'s Opinion, for inſufficient. Have you any more Exceptions?

Pap. [3] Yea; for theſe Tale-tellers report, that ſhe came to *Rome*, and there profeſſed Learning openly, and had great Doctors to her Scholars: But this is a notorious Untruth, for there was no Learning openly profeſſed at *Rome*, in thoſe Days, as the Stories declare.

Prot. The [4] Stories declare, that *Ina*, one of our *Saxon* Kings, did build a School in *Rome*, a little before Pope *Joan*'s Days, *viz.* in the Year 727; and that, to this End, that the Kings of *England*, and their Children, the Biſhops, the Prieſts, and the reſt of the Clergy, might repair thither, to be inſtructed in the Catholick Faith, and afterwards return Home; which School flouriſhed in [5] King *Offa*'s Time, *viz.* 795, and continued, at leaſt, till *Alfred*'s Time; for we read, that *Marinus*, the Pope, who ſat in the Year 883, freed it from all Payments, at [6] *Alfred*'s Motion. Now is it likely, that ſuch a School was built, and maintained for ſuch a Purpoſe, where no Learning was publickly profeſſed? Moreover, we read of many other Schools kept in the ſame City, in *Stephen the Sixth*'s Time, which was about the Year 885; for all the Schools in *Rome* concurred in a joyful Manner, bringing *Stephen the Sixth* to the Palace of *Lateran*, ſaith [7] one of your Popiſh Chroniclers, and *Stephen* was ſorry, with all his Heart, he had not wherewith to gratify the Schools. And is it to be thought, that all theſe Schools were maſterleſs, that they had no Profeſſors, nor Readers?

Pap. [8] If there had been ever ſuch a *Joan* Pope, which ſome had forborne to ſpeak of, for Reverence to that See; the Difference which is found among Hiſtorians, in numbering of ſuch Popes as were called by the Name of *John*, ſhould have riſen at that Time, and by Reaſon of that Occaſion; but the Difference among Hiſtorians, about the Number of *John* Popes, aroſe not from that Time, and about that Occaſion; it aroſe in Pope *John the Twelfth*'s Time, about the Year 955; *Ergo*, there was never ſuch a *Joan* Pope. Now anſwer me this Argument, if you can, for this is held [9] a doughty one.

Prot. Is it ſo? Well, hearken then what I anſwer to it: I ſay, *firſt*, there it no Reaſon, that Hiſtorians ſhould have differed in their Account of *Johns* from her Time, though ſome, for Reverence of that See, forbore to ſpeak of her; ſo they, who ſpoke of her, were not to ſet any numeral Note upon her Head, as [10] before I ſhewed you out of *Onuphrius*. They were not to reckon one *John* the more for her; neither, indeed, did any Hiſtorian, before *Platina*, reckon her in the Number of *Johns*, though they called her by the Name of *John*.

Pap. Yes, *Platina* ſet a numeral Note upon her Head, and called her *John the Seventh*, and ſo did many ſince his Time.

---

[1] Num. xxxii. Pag. 46. [2] Ibid. [3] *Onuph.* & *Harding*, Locis ſupra citatis. [4] *Math. Weſtm.* Flores Hiſt. ad An. 727. [5] Idem ad An. 794. [6] Idem ad An. 883. [7] Omnes ſanctæ Romæ Eccleſiæ ſcholæ conjunctæ eundem (*Stephan.* VI.) ad Latenarenſe perduxerunt palatium——gravi mœrore affectus eſt, quia quod erogaret clero & ſcholis non haberet. *Anaſtaſ.* in Vita *Steph.* VI. [8] *Florim.* Cap. vii. Page 62. *Bernart.* Lib. ii. Page 117. [9] Omnem hanc de *Joanna* confictam fabulam hoc uno dicto damnarunt. *Florim.* ibid. [10] Page 70.

Prot. Many, ſince his Time, have called her ſo, I grant, being moved thereto, as I ſuppoſe, by this, that they ſaw her ſo called in *Platina*: But *Platina* hath been corrupted by ſome of your Generation, as [1] before I noted; for he neither called her *John the Seventh*, nor *John the Eighth*. But, *ſecondly*, I ſay, your Minor is falſe; for the Difference, which is about the Number of *Johns*, aroſe not from *John the Twelfth*, but from this Woman, *Joan*; for, ſince *Platina*'s Time, ſome called her *John the Seventh*, ſome *John the Eighth*, and ſo diſagreed in the total Sum.

Pap. [2] Nay, herein you are out; for, that their Diſagreement began in *John the Twelfth*'s Days, *Lambertus*, who lived in thoſe Days, witneſſeth, and your Century Writers do confeſs.

Prot. Doth *Lambertus* witneſs that? Fie that you ſhould ſay ſo, for he hath not one Word ſounding that Way, no more have the Century Writers.

Pap. Yes but they have; for they [3] write, that, whenas *John the Twelfth* was depoſed by the Cardinals, and *Leo the Eighth* placed in his Room, *John the Twelfth* got the Popedom again, and kept it four Months; which ſome Hiſtorians not obſerving, made two Popes of one.

Prot. The Century Writers do not write this. Your *Florimondus* and *Bernartius*, from whence you have this Stuff, are ſhameleſs Fellows to report this by them. They ſay, indeed, that there is great Difference in Writers about Pope *John the Twelfth*; meaning, by *John the Twelfth*, not him, into whoſe Room *Leo the Eighth* was choſen, of whom you talk at random, but another *John*, who was Son to *Sergius*, commonly called *John the Eleventh*; but that Hiſtorians began to differ in their Account, by Reaſon of that Difference, they ſay not. Yea, it is plain, they impute the Difference, among the Hiſtorians, to this, [4] that ſome called *Joan*, *John the Seventh*; ſome, *John the Eighth*; wherefore you muſt caſt about for a new Argument, for this will not ſerve your Turn.

Pap. I have Arguments good Store; whereof the *Firſt* ſhall be taken from the Time wherein, they ſay, ſhe ſat as Pope; and [5] I will deal eſpecially with *Marianus Scotus*, the firſt Reporter of this Matter; for, if he be confounded, all the reſt muſt reſt confounded.

Prot. Well, fall to your Work, and be as good as your Word.

Pap. [6] If *Leo the Fourth* lived to the Year 855, then *Marianus Scotus* lyed falſely, in reporting that this *Joan* was choſen Pope in the Year 853; for, by his Confeſſion, ſhe ſucceeded *Leo the Fourth*; but *Leo the Fourth* lived to the Year 855: *Ergo*, *Marianus Scotus* lyed falſely, in reporting that this *Joan* was choſen Pope in the Year 853.

Prot. What is that to the main Chance, that *Marianus Scotus* miſtook the Year of her Entering into the Popedom? In Hiſtories, a Year or two break no Square: But how prove you, that *Marianus* reports, that this Pope *Joan* was choſen in the Year 853?

Pap. [7] By his own Words; for thus he writes: ‘Anno octingenteſimo quinquageſimo tertio *Leo* Papa obiit Kalend. *Auguſti*. Huic ſucceſſit *Joanna* mulier annis duobus, menſibus quinque, diebus quatuor.’ In the Year 853, *Leo*, the Pope, died on the Kalends of *Auguſt*, and *Joan*, the Woman, ſucceeded after him, for the Space of two Years, five Months, and four Days.

Prot. Theſe are not *Marianus*'s Words; for he ſets not down the Year preciſely, but in numeral Figures, by the Side of the Text. [8] And it is plain, by Conference of Years, that he meant to note out the 855th for her Enterance, and not the 853d; for *Benedict the Third*, who ſucceeded her, entered not, by his Account, till the Year 857. Now, if ſhe had entered 853, ſhe had been Pope four Years, or thereabouts; for, between 853 and 857, there run four Years; whereas, in plain Words, he notes that ſhe was Pope but two Years, five Months, and four Days. *Secondly*, it is plain, by *Marianus Scotus*, that Ser-

---

[1] Page 71. [2] *Florim* loco ſupra citato. [3] Cent. x. Cap. 10. as *Florim.* and *Bernart.* ſay. [4] *Joh. vii.* ut *Sabellicus* vult, aut *viii.* ut *Platina*, vocatus eſt. Cent. ix. Cap. 10. [5] *Baron.* Annal. Tom. x. ad An. 853. Num. 64. [6] *Baron.* ibid. [7] *Baron.* ibid. [8] See *Marianus*'s Chronicle, and the Caſe will appear to be plain.

gius the Second began his Popedom in the Year 844, and ſat three Years. It is plain, that *Leo the Fourth*, next Succeſſor to *Sergius*, began his in the Year 847, and ſat eight Years. Now put theſe odd Sums, four, three, and eight, to 840, and they will make 855. So that whoſoever ſucceeded *Leo the Fourth*, muſt begin in the Year 855, and that was *Joan* the Woman, in *Marianus*'s Opinion.

Pap. Why, but right over-againſt theſe Figures, 853, theſe Words are ſet: *Leo* Papa obiit Kal. *Aug.* *Leo*, the Pope, died on the Kalends of *Auguſt*. And doth not that argue, that, in *Marianus*'s Opinion, *Leo* died that Year?

Prot. No, no more than the Words following, 'Huic ſucceſſit *Joanna* mulier, &c.' which are ſet juſt over-againſt theſe Figures 854, do argue, that ſhe began her Popedom the next Year after; or that *Leo the Fourth* began his Popedom in the Year 852, becauſe, right over-againſt that Number, his Entrance upon *Sergius*'s Death is mentioned. Is not your next Argument better?

Pap. [1] ThePeople of *Rome*, about that Time, were evil affected towards the Pope; and ſo was the greater Part of all *Italy*: For that *Charles* had ſubdued them, and given them to the Pope. Now, if ſuch an Accident as this had fallen out, it might have given them juſt Cauſe to have fallen from the Pope again: For they might have pretended, that they would not be ſubject to a womaniſh and a whoriſh Government. But we read of no ſuch Thing. *Ergo.*

Prot. *Charles* reſcued *Italy* out of the Hands of the *Lombards*, with the great good Liking both of the *Romans*, and the reſt of *Italy*. But he never turned them over to live under the Pope's Government. All his Life he kept them in Obedience to himſelf, and by Will bequeathed the whole Country to his youngeſt Son *Pipin*, as [2] *Baronius* ſheweth out of the *French* Hiſtories. *Ergo*, this Argument is naught: Let me have a new one.

Pap. [3] The Popes, about the Time of this your ſuppoſed Pope *Joan*, did take up roundly both Kings and Emperors for their Adulteries. Which is a plain Argument, there was no Pope *Joan* in that See, guilty of any ſuch Crime.

Prot. What Kings and Emperors were theſe, whom the Popes took up ſo roundly for their Adulteries?

Pap. *Ludovicus*, the Emperor, was one: For *Gregory the Fifth* turned him into a Monaſtery for his Adultery with one *Judith*, that there he might, a-part, do Penance for his Sin.

Prot. *Gregory* [4] *the Fifth* lived almoſt One-hundred and fifty Years after Pope *Joan*; and beſides, there was no Emperor called *Ludovick* in his Time. Perhaps *Florimondus* would have ſaid *Gregory the Fourth*, for he lived not long before Pope *Joan*'s Time, and in his Days there was one *Ludowick* an Emperor.

Pap. Indeed, it may be ſo, for the numeral Figure might ſoon be miſtaken. For *Gregory the Fourth*, a Man may eaſily ſet down *Gregory the Fifth*: And what ſay you to it?

Prot. I ſay, *Florimondus* is a Palterer. For *Ludowick*, who lived in *Gregory the Fourth*'s *Time*, was never noted for an Adulterer, with any *Judith*, nor with any Woman elſe. *Judith*, his Wife, was ſuſpected of that Sin with others, and thereupon was veiled, and thruſt into a Monaſtery by ſome of the Princes of the Empire. And *Ludowick* himſelf, upon other Pretences, was, for a Time, deprived of the Empire. But *Gregory the Fourth* had no Hand, either in her Veiling, or in his Deprivation, as you may ſee by [5] *Baronius*. Beſides, this fell out before Pope *Joan*'s Time; and, therefore, doth not hinder, but that there was ſuch a *Joan*. Methinks you ſhould be drawn dry, you talk ſo idly.

Pap. [6] If there had been ſuch a Pope *Joan*, ſome Hiſtorian would have written either Good or Bad of her. But we read nothing of her in any Hiſtory.

Prot. Do we read nothing of her in any Hiſtory? Whence have we this of her Aſpiring to the Popedom, and of her lewd Behaviour in the Time of her Popedom? Have I not proved it unto you out of the Hiſtories?

Pap. Yea, but my Meaning is, [7] that we read nothing in any Hiſtory of her Reforming the Church; of her Determining of Cauſes and Queſtions, uſually propoſed by Biſhops to them that are Popes, of any Intercourſe or Affairs, that ſhe had with King or Emperor.

---

[1] *Florim.* Cap. 14. Num. 6.

[2] Annal. Tom. ix. ad Ann. 806. Num. 19.

[3] *Flor.* Cap. 27. Num. 2.

[4] *Greg.* V. *Ludovicum* Imperatorem adulterii cum *Juditha* quadam perpetrati reum—— cujuſdam cœnobii clauſtris addixit. *Florim.* ibid.

[5] Annal. Tom. ix. ad Ann. 833 & 834.

[6] *Flor.* Cap. 25. Num. 3.

[7] *Flor.* ibid.

Prot. No more do we read in any Hiſtorian, of any ſuch Act done by *Anaſtaſius the Third*, who ſat as Pope two Years, and upward. *Anaſtaſius the Third*, as [1] *Platina* witneſſeth, did nothing worthy of Remembrance. We read nothing of any great Acts done by *Leo the Seventh.* He ſat three Years and ſix Months; yet he did as [2] little as *Anaſtaſius*, for any Thing we read; he neither reformed the Church, nor reſolved any Biſhop his Doubts, nor intermeddled with any Princes.

Pap. [3] Oh, but that Age, wherein you feign this *Joan* lived, was an Age wherein fell out great Variety of Matter, both in the Eaſt and in the Weſt. In it many Princes and Emperors of great Worth reigned. In it many Men of great Learning lived: And therefore, if there had been any ſuch Monſter then, we could not but have heard of it on all Sides.

Prot. So we have, as before I proved. But what great Variety of Matter fell there out in that Age more than ordinary?

Pap. [4] In that Age, there was old Holding and Drawing between the Eaſtern and Weſtern Churches about Images. Many Councils were kept by both Sides, and many evil Words paſſed on all Hands.

Prot. Go, go, I am aſhamed of you, and of *Florimondus* your Maſter. All Stories teſtify, that the Difference between the Eaſtern and Weſtern Churches, about Images, began in the former Ages; and that, though they continued ſome few Years after the Year 800, yet there was no Talk of that Matter for divers Years before Pope *Joan*'s Days: Yet I am willing to hear you ſpeak on. Wherefore tell me what Sort of learned Men that Age brought out?

Pap. Great Store, but it were too long to reckon them.

Prot. It may be ſo: Yet you muſt know that they went for learned Men in that Age, [5] who were but bare Grammarians. And therefore, were they never ſo many, Pope *Joan*'s Acts might paſs unwritten.

Pap. [6] Yea, but I would gladly know of you, what Dukes, what Princes, what Kings, what Emperors, this *Joan* inaugurated and crowned: What Ambaſſadors ſhe entertained, what Honours ſhe beſtowed upon any Perſons.

Prot. Indeed, you poſe me now; eſpecially in that which concerns the Inaugurating and Crowning of Dukes, and Princes, and Kings, and Emperors. For I remember none inaugurated or crowned by her.

Pap. I thought ſo. And therefore you do well to confeſs it. I truſt at length you will alſo confeſs that there was no Pope *Joan.*

Prot. Why, I pray you? Did every Pope inaugurate and crown either Dukes, or Princes, or Kings, or Emperors?

Pap. Nay, I ſay not ſo. But in that Age the Emperors themſelves had ſuch a reverend Opinion of the *Roman* Popes, that they would not take upon them to reign, except they gave them their Conſent, and crowned them.

Prot. How prove you that?

Pap. [7] By this, that *Adrian the Firſt* baptized the two Sons of *Charles the Great*, and after that anointed them Kings.

Prot. This proves not your Purpoſe; for this fell out in the Year 781, as [8] *Baronius* notes, and not in that Age wherein Pope *Joan* lived. But do you think that every Pope in that Age inaugurated ſome Dukes, or Princes, or Kings, or Emperors? I would gladly know of you, what Duke, or Prince, or King, or Emperor, was inaugurated, or crowned by Pope *Eugenius the Second,* who ſat in the Year 824; or by Pope *Valentinus*, who ſat in the Year 827; or by Pope *Gregory the Fourth*, who ſucceeded *Valentinus*; or by Pope *Sergius the Second*, who ſat in the Year 844; or by Pope *Leo the Fourth*, who ſat in the Year 847. I am ſure, never a one of theſe crowned any Emperor. And I remember not, that any one of theſe anointed any Duke, or King, ſave *Leo the Fourth*, who anointed *Alfred*, the youngeſt Son of *Ethelwulfus*, King of *England.* Which furthered him nothing to the Attaining of the Kingdom; for, till the Death of his three elder Brethren, for all the Pope's Anointing him, he lived like a Subject, he lived not like a King. Wherefore, to put you in Mind of the main Point, though Pope *Joan* inaugurated, or crowned, no ſuch Perſons as you ſpeak of, yet you cannot conclude thereupon: *Ergo*, there was no Pope *Joan*.

---

[1] Ab *Anaſtaſio* nil memoria dignum geſtum eſt. *Plat.* in Vita *Anaſtaſii* III. [2] *Leo* VII. nil dignum memoria geſſit. *Plat.* in Vita *Leonis* VII. [3] *Flor.* Loco ſuprà citato. [4] *Flor.* ibid.

[5] Qui ſciret tantùm Grammaticam iſto ſeculo rudi, doctiſſimus habebatur. *Baronius* Annal. Tom. ix. ad Ann. 802. Num. 12. [6] *Flor.* Cap. cit. Num. 6. [7] *Flor.* ibid. [8] Annal. Tom. ix. ad [redacted] Num. 2.

Pap. [1] But if ſhe beſtowed no Honours upon any Perſons; if ſhe made no Biſhops; if ſhe gave no Biſhopricks, it is more than probable there was never any ſuch.

Prot. Oh, but we read, that ‘ contulit ſacros ordines, promovit Epiſcopos, miniſtravit Sacramenta, cæteraque Romanorum Pontificum exercuit munera:’ She gave Orders; ſhe made Biſhops; ſhe adminiſtered the Sacraments, and ſhe performed all other Offices belonging unto the Papacy.

Pap. Where read you that? I warrant you, you had it out of *Bale*; of whom I wiſh you to ſee, at your Leiſure, what [2] *Florimondus*'s Cenſure is.

Prot. *John Bale*, for aught I know, is a far honeſter Man than *Florimondus*. And, to tell you Truth, if *Florimondus* rail upon him, I ſhall have the better Opinion of him. For as [3] *Tertullian* perſuaded himſelf, that whoſoever knew *Nero*, would eaſily believe Chriſtianity were good, becauſe it was diſliked by *Nero*: So I perſuade myſelf, that whoſoever knows *Florimondus*, he will the rather be well perſuaded of *John Bale*, becauſe he is reviled by *Florimondus*. But yet I would have you know, I read not this in *Bale* only, but in [4] *Cornelius Agrippa*; a Man much commended by [5] *Leo* X, and in a [6] Book of his ſolemnly privileged by *Charles* V.

Pap. Well, Sir, ſince theſe Reaſons prevail not with you, I will come a Step or two nearer to you. And firſt, to prove your Story a fabulous Fiction, I argue thus: [7] If the Report of Pope *Joan* be not a Fiction, than *Nicholas*, the firſt Pope of that Name, who at the Time of her Election was a Cardinal, gave her a Voice, and ſo conſented to her Election. But it is not credible that *Nicholas* gave her a Voice, and conſented to her Election, *Ergo*.

Prot. *Firſt*, I deny that *Nicholas* was a Cardinal at the Time of Pope *Joan*'s Election. For he was made [8] Subdeacon by *Sergius* II, and [9] Deacon by *Leo* IV. In which Order he continued [10] till the Death of *Benedict* III, who ſat after *Joan*. *Secondly*, I deny we are bound to believe that he gave Pope *Joan* his Voice, though we ſhould grant he was a Cardinal. For it was never required, that all the Cardinals ſhould give Conſent to any Pope's Election. But principally I deny your minor Propoſition, *viz.* that it is not credible *Nicholas* gave her his Voice, and conſented to her Election. And how can you prove it?

Pap. [11] If *Nicholas* had given her a Voice, and conſented to her Election, then could he not honeſtly have reproved *Photius* Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, for that he ſuffered himſelf of a meer Lay-man to be made a Patriarch. [12] Neither could he juſtly have reproved *Michael* the Emperor, for that he gave his Conſent to *Photius*'s Ordination and Election. But (no Doubt) he reproved them both honeſtly and juſtly. *Ergo*, he never gave Pope *Joan* his Voice, he never conſented to her Election.

Prot. Why might not he, without Note of Diſhoneſty, reprove *Photius* and the Emperor for their Dealing, though he himſelf had a Hand in Pope *Joan*'s Election?

Pap. Becauſe he ſhould have been guilty of the ſame Fault, if not of a Greater; for a Woman, you know, is not capable of Holy Orders.

Prot. Oh is that it? As though there were not a main Difference between *Nicholas*'s Fact, to ſuppoſe he did it, and the Fact of *Photius* and the Emperor. *Photius* and the Emperor did that wittingly and willingly, which *Nicholas* reproves in them. *Nicholas* choſe a Woman Pope unwittingly. It was with *Nicholas*, in all Likelihood, at the Election of Pope *Joan*, as it was with the [13] Two-hundred of *Jeruſa-*

---

[1] *Florim.* Loco citato.

[2] *Florim.* Cap. 3. Num. 1 & 2.

[3] Qui ſcit illum, intelligere poteſt, non niſi grande aliquod bonum à *Nerone* damnatum. *Tertull.* Apologet. Cap. 5. *Euſeb.* Hiſt. Eccleſ Lib. ii. Cap. 24.

[4] De Vanitate Scientiarum. Cap. 62. de Sectis Monaſticis.

[5] Lib. i. Epiſtol. Epiſt. 38. te magnopere commendamus, &c. *ſaith Leo the Tenth.*

[6] Lib. de Vanitate Scientiarum, *is mentioned in the Emperor's Privilege.*

[7] Si ea fabula vera fuiſſet, ut *Romæ* hoc tempore ſederit fœmina, cui in electione ipſe *Nicolaus* tunc Cardinalis ſuffragium oportuerit contuliſſe, qua fronte *Photium* redarguere potuiſſet (quod ſæpiſſimè facit) eo nomine quòd cum eſſet laicus ordinari ſe Epiſcopum paſſus eſſet, &c. *Baron.* Annal. Tom. x. ad Ann. 853. Num. 70.

[8] *Anaſtaſ.* Biblioth. in Vita *Nicolai* I.

[9] Ibid.

[10] Ibid.

[11] *Baron.* Loco ſupra citato.

[12] Imperatorem ipſum acerrima reprehenſione perſtringit, quod id agere præſumpſiſſet. *Baron.* ibid.

[13] 2 *Sam.* xv. 11.

lem, who were called by *Abſalom* to *Hebron*; of whom the Scriptures witneſs, that they went in their Simplicity, knowing nothing. Now Ignorance, invincible Ignorance, ſuch as this was, excuſeth, though not from all Fault, yet from ſo great Fault. Wherefore you muſt come nearer me yet, if you mean to drive me from my Opinion.

Pap. Have at you then, and that with a [1] a golden Argument, [2] ſuch as can never be anſwered, and this is it: [3] About one-hundred and ſeventy Years after this deviſed Election of Pope *Joan*, to wit, upon the Year of Chriſt, 1020, the Church and Patriarch of *Conſtantinople* being in ſome Contention with *Rome*, Pope *Leo* IX. wrote a long Letter to *Michael* the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, reprehending certain Abuſes of that Church, and among others, that they were ſaid to have promoted Eunuchs to Prieſthood, and thereby alſo a greater Inconvenience fallen out, which was, that a Woman was crept to be Patriarch. [4] Now, no Doubt, *Leo* would never have durſt to write thus, if the Patriarch might have returned the Matter back, upon him again, and ſaid: This was but a ſlanderous Report, falſly raiſed againſt the Church of *Conſtantinople*, but that a Woman indeed had been promoted in the *Roman* Church.

Prot. Is this your golden and unanſwerable Argument? Truly, I am ſorry for you, that you have no more Skill in an Argument; for you preſume in this, that *Leo* would never object that againſt *Conſtantinople*, whereof *Rome* itſelf might be convinced; and make that the Ground of your Concluſion. Now that is a ſlabby Ground, as may appear by this, that it is ordinary with you Papiſts to object that againſt others, whereof yourſelves ſtand moſt guilty. It is ordinary with you Papiſts to call your Enemies Whores firſt. Do not you complain with open Mouths of us Miniſters, for Want of Continency; and yet is it not well known, that your Prieſts and Monks, [5] like fed Horſes, have neighed after their Neighbours Wives; and your Nuns have opened their Feet (to [6] uſe the Prophet's Phraſe, when he ſpeaketh of ſuch-like light Skirts) to every one that paſſed by, and have multiplied their Whoredoms?

'Taceo de Fornicationibus & Adulteriis, 'à quibus qui alieni ſunt, probro cæteris ac 'ludibrio eſſe ſolent, Spadoneſq; aut Sodomi- 'tæ appellantur;' *ſaith* [7] *Nicholas Clemangis*, ſpeaking of your Prieſts.

I ſay nought of your Prieſts Fornications and Adulteries, from which Crimes, if any Man be free, he is made a Laughing-ſtock to the reſt, and either called an Eunuch or a Sodomite.

'Laici uſque adeò perſuaſum habent nullos 'cœlibes eſſe, ut in pleriſq; parochiis non ali- 'ter velint preſbyterum tolerare, niſi concubi- 'nam habeat; quo vel ſic ſuis ſit conſultum 'uxoribus; quæ ne ſic quidem uſquequaque 'ſunt extra periculum,' ſaith the [8] ſame Man.

The Lay People are ſo conceited of the Incontinence of all Prieſts, that willingly they would not have a Pariſh Prieſt, unleſs he have a Whore of his own, that ſo they might keep their own Wives. And yet, for all that, they are ſcarce ſure of their own by that Courſe.

'Fornicantur complures Monialium cum 'ſuis Prælatis, ac Monachis, & Converſis, & 'in Monaſteriis plures parturiunt filios & filias, 'quos ab iiſdem Prælatis, Monachis, & Conver- 'ſis fornicariè, ſeu ex inceſtuoſo coitu concepe- 'runt,' ſaith [9] *Theodoricus de Niem*, Secretary to Pope *Urban* VI, going on thus, 'Et quod 'miſerandum eſt, nonnullæ ex hujuſmodi 'Monialibus aliquos fœtus earum mortificant, '& infantes in lucem editos trucidant, *&c.*

Many Nuns commit Fornication with Biſhops, and Monks, and Converts, and are delivered of Sons and Daughters within their Monaſteries, which were got by thoſe Perſons Fornicator like, if not inceſtuouſly. And, which is moſt pitiful, very many of theſe Nuns kill, with Saberdi-ſauces, the Fruit in their Wombs; many kill them, after they be born.

'Quid (obſecro) aliud ſunt hoc tempore 'puellarum Monaſteria, niſi quædam Veneris 'execranda proſtibula, & laſcivorum, &

---

[1] O Locus Epiſt opportunus & auro contra non carus, & quo facile protelem omnia adverſariorum tela, &c. *Bernart.* Lib. citato. Pag. 109. [2] Ratio ineluctabilis, *ſaith Genebrard*, Chron. Lib. iv. Maximi ponderis arg *ſaith Flor.* Cap. 25. Pag. 209. [3] *Leo* IX. Epiſt. ad *Michaelem* Epiſc. *Conſtantinop.* Cap. 23. [4] *N. D.* Lib. citat. Num. 29. Pag. 398. [5] *Jer.* v. 8. [6] *Ezech.* xvi. 25. [7] De Præſulibus Simoniacis: In Bibliotheca ſanctorum Patrum, *printed at* Paris, 1576, Page 655. [8] Ibid. [9] Nemoris Unionis, Tract. vi. Cap. 34.

‘ impudicorum juvenum ad libidines explendas receptacula; ut idem ſit hodié puellam velare, quod & publicè ad ſcortandum exponere;’ ſaith [1] *Clemangis* above-named.

What are Nunneries, I pray you, now, ſave curſed Stews, and Places for meeting of wanton and ſhameleſs Youths to ſatisfy their Luſts in? So that now it is all one, to make a Wench a Nun, and to make her a Whore.

[2] *Johannes Cremenſis*, one of your *Romiſh* Cardinals, held a Council at *London*, in the Year 1125, wherein he inveighed bitterly againſt ſuch Prieſts as kept Concubines, ‘ dicens ſummum ſcelus eſſe à latere meretricis ad corpus Chriſti conficiendum ſurgere,’ ſaying, it was a damnable Sin for a Prieſt to ariſe from a Whore, to go to ſay Maſs; yet he himſelf loved a Whore with all his Heart. For as we read in our [3] *Engliſh* Stories, ‘ Ipſe cum eadem die corpus Chriſti confeciſſet, cum meretrice poſt veſperam interceptus eſt;’ he Himſelf was taken with a Whore the ſame Night after he had ſaid Maſs. And, as it ſeems, he was taken in the Manner; for the Hiſtoriographers note, ‘ Res notiſſima negari non potuit;’ The Matter was ſo plain, it could not be denied.

Again, do you not condemn us of Ignorance, [4] reporting by us, that we are afraid to reaſon with common Catholicks; and that, when we do reaſon, the common Sort of Catholicks are able to anſwer all our Arguments, and to ſay alſo more for us, than we can ſay for ourſelves; as though ye were the People only, and Wiſdom muſt die with you. And yet are not we able to prove out of your own Mouths, that your Prieſts and Monks were generally like the [5] Six-ſcore Thouſand *Ninivites*, who had not ſo much Wit, as to diſcern between their Right-hand and the Left?

‘ Videas admitti ad Sacerdotium cæteroſque ſacros Ordines Homines idiotas & illiteratos, vix moroſè ac ſyllabatim abſque ullo intellectu legere ſcientes, qui *Latinum* & *Arabicum* æqualiter norunt:’ Saith [6] *Clemangis*, ſpeaking of the Ignorance of your Clergy.

Thou mayeſt ſee ignorant and unlettered Perſons advanced to Prieſthood, and the other Holy Orders; which cannot read without Stuttering and Stammering, who have as great Skill in the *Arabian* Tongue, as in the *Latin*. And in [7] another Place:

‘ Quotuſquiſque hodie eſt ad Pontificale Culmen evectus, qui ſacras, vel perfunctoriè, Literas legerit, audierit, didicerit, imò qui ſacrum Codicem niſi Tegumento tenus unquam attigerit?

How many are now a-Days preferred to Biſhopricks, who, not ſo much as curſorily, have either read, or heard, or learned the Holy Scriptures? Yea who have not ſo much as touched the Bible, except it were on the Outſide of the Covering?

‘ Hoc Seculo Epiſcopatus & Sacerdotia indoctiſſimis Hominibus & à Religione alienis deferri ſolent.—Hodiè Epiſcopi noſtri (paucis exceptis) ſacrarum Literarum Scientia cæteris ex Populo longè inferiores ſunt, ſaith [8] *Duaren*.’

In this Age, Biſhopricks and Parſonages are beſtowed on moſt unlearned and irreligious Men.——At this Day, our Biſhops (except a few) are more unlearned than the common People.

‘ Pudeat *Italiæ* Sacerdotes, quos ne ſemel quidem legiſſe conſtat novam Legem; apud *Thaboritas*, vix Mulierculam invenias, quæ de novo & veteri Teſtamento reſpondere neſcit,’ ſaith [9] *Æneas Sylvius*.

Fie upon the Prieſts of *Italy*, who never read over the New Teſtament: [10] A Man can hardly find a Woman among the *Thaborites*, who cannot anſwer roundly to any Thing out of the Old and New Teſtament.

‘ Eccleſiarum Regimina minus dignis, *Romæ* videlicet, committuntur, qui ad Mulos magis quàm Homines paſcendos & regendos eſſent idonei.’

The Government of the Churches, even at *Rome*, is committed to unworthy Perſons, who are fitter to look to the Keeping of Mules than Men.

---

[1] De corrupto Eccleſiæ Statu. [2] *Henricus Huntingdon*. Hiſt. Lib. vii. ad Ann. Chriſti 1125. *Roger Hoveden* Annal. pars prior in *Hen.* I. Ann. 1126. *Matth. Paris* in *Hen.* I. ad Ann. 1125. Pag. 93. *Matth. Weſtm.* Flores Hiſt. ad Ann. 1125. [3] *Huntingdon*, *Hoveden*, *Matth. Paris* Locis citat. [4] *Briſtow*, Motive 31. [5] *Jonas* iv. 11. [6] De Præſulibus Simoniacis, in Biblioth. Sanct. Part edit. *Pariſ.* 1576. [7] De corrupto Eccleſiæ Statu. [8] De ſac. Eccleſ. Miniſt. & Benefic. Lib. i. Cap. 11. [9] Comment. de Dict. & Fact. *Alfonſi* Regis, Lib. ii. Apotheg. 17. [10] *Gravamen* VII. Nationis *Germanicæ*, quod habetur in Faſciculo Rerum expetendarum, impreſſ. Colon. 1535, Fol. 167. b.

Thirdly, Do not you upbraid us with Baſeneſs and Vileneſs: Accounting no better of our moſt reverend Biſhops, than uncircumciſed *Philiſtines*, which, as [1] you ſay, were taken out of the Raſcality of the whole Realm? [2] Do not you give out, that a great Part of our Clergy reſteth in Butchers, Cooks, Catchpoles, Coblers, Dyers, and Dawbers; Felons, carrying their Mark in their Hand, inſtead of a ſhaven Crown; Fiſhermen, Gunners, Harpers, Inn-keepers, Merchants, and Marriners; Net-makers, Potters, Apothecaries, and Porters of *Billinſgate*; Pinners, Pedlars, ruffling Ruffins, Sadlers, Shearmen, and Shepherds; Tanners, Tilers, Tinkers, Trumpeters, Weavers, Wherrimen, &c.? Do not [3] you report, that ſo many Bankrupts, and infamous and villainous Wretches, are admitted to it, that none, almoſt, except he be driven thereto by Beggary, will enter into it? As though ye only were the Sons of Nobles, and we the Children of Fools, and the Children of Villains, which were more vile than the Earth: And yet are we not able to prove againſt you, that you have made *Levites*, even Biſhops, and Prieſts, of the Blind and the Lame, of the Flat-noſed, Broken-footed, and Broken-handed, of the Crook-backed and Blear-eyed, of the Scurvy and Scabbed, of the Loweſt of the People, Tag and Rag.

‘ Si quis deſidioſus eſt, ſi quis a Labore abhorrens, ſi quis in ocio luxuriari volens, ad Sacerdotium convolat; quo adepto, ſtatim ſe cæteris Sacerdotibus Voluptatum Sectatoribus adjungit, qui magis ſecundum *Epicurum*, quam ſecundum *Chriſtum* viventes, & Cauponulas ſeduli frequentantes, potando, commeſſando, pranſitando, convivando, cum teſſeris, & pilo-ludendo Tempora tota conſumunt: Crapulati vero & inebriati pugnant, clamant, tumultuantur, Nomen Dei & Sanctorum ſuorum pollutiſſimis Labiis execrantur, ſicque tandem compoſitum, ex Meretricum ſuarum complexibus ad divinum Altare veniunt;” ſaith [4] *Clemangis*, ſpeaking of your Worthies.

If there be any lazy Fellow, any that cannot away with Work, any that would wallow in Pleaſures, he is haſty to be prieſted. And, when he is made one, and hath gotten a Benefice, he conſorts with his Neighbour Prieſts, who are altogether given to Pleaſures; and then both he, and they, live, not like *Chriſtians*, but like *Epicures*; drinking, eating, feaſting, and revelling, till the Cow come Home, as the Saying is; playing at Tables, and at Stool-ball; and, when they are well crammed and tippled, then they fall by the Ears together, whooping, and yelling, and ſwearing damnably, by God and all the Saints in Heaven, And, after all Matters be ſomewhat pacified, then, ariſing out of their Whores Laps they go to the Maſs.

‘ Aſciſcuntur nunc (ſaith [5] *Platina*) non modò ſervi & vulgo concepti, ac nati, verumetiam flagitioſi omnes ex flagitioſo quoque geniti.’

Now-a Days not only Servants, and they which are begotten and born under Hedges, are admitted to be of the Clergy, but every vile Fellow, and every vile Fellow's Brat.

‘ Ex Aulicis perditiſſimis & quod omni Ætate fuit poſt Chriſtianorum Memoriam inauditum, ex Militibus deploratiſſimis, iiſque ſanguinariis—— Dei Loco ad Eccleſiæ collocantur, imo repentè intruduntur, Gubernacula,’ ſaith [6] *Lindan*. ‘ Quid quod Puerulis & Adoleſcentulis creduntur hæc tractanda?

Wretched Courtiers, forlorn and bloody Soldiers, a Thing never heard of before among Chriſtians, are all upon a ſudden thruſt in upon the Church to manage it in God's Stead, yea Boys and Youngſters are made Biſhops and Prelates in the Church.

‘ Bibones, Scortatores, Aleatores, & qui hæc Vitia, Vultu, Cultu, Inceſſu, totoque Habitu præ ſe ferunt; paſſim (ad Sacerdotium) admittunt.’ *Eraſm.* Schol. in Epiſtolam *Hieron.* de Veſte Sacerdotali ad *Fabiolam.*

Doth not [7] *Bellarmine* charge us with that Fault, whereof you yourſelves ſtand condemned; to wit, with making a Woman a Pope, from which all the World, ſave foul-mouthed Papiſts, will queſtionleſs acquit us? Doth not [a] *Parſons* avow, Railing, and foul Scurrility, to be proper unto us, and to our Anceſtors only; as though he and his were anſwerable to *Moſes* in Mildneſs, and of ſo temperate Carriage, that Butter would not melt in their Mouths, when yet the Contrary appeareth by their own Books.

---

[1] *Allen*'s Anſwer to the Book of *Engliſh* Juſtice, Cap. 3. Page 44.

[2] *Staplet.* in the fourth Book of the Counterblaſt, Fol. 481. and *S R.* in his Anſwer to *Bell*'s Downfall of Popery. Cap. 8. Art. 7. Num. 4. Page 361.

[3] *Philopater* ad Edictum Reginæ *Angliæ*, Num. 192. Sect. 3. Page 180, alias *Stapl.* for he is the Author, teſte *Poſſevino* in Apparat. ſac. Tom. i. Verbo *Angli.*

[4] De corrupto Eccleſiæ Statu.

[5] In Vita *Sozimi.*

[6] Panoplæ Lib. iv. Cap. 77. Page 405.

[7] Jam reipſa Calviniſtis in *Angliæ*, Mulier eſt ſummus Pontifex. De Notis Eccleſiæ, Lib. iv. Cap. 11.

The general Conſent of all, that ever have thoroughly converſed with *Parſons*, is this, ſaith [b] *Watſon* the *Quodlibetting* Prieſt, that he is of a furious, paſſionate, hot, cholerick, exorbitant working Humour, buſy-headed, and full of Ambition, Envy, Pride, Rancour, Malice, and Revenge: Whereunto may be added, that he is a moſt diabolical, unnatural, and barbarous, butchery Fellow, unworthy the Name, nay curſed be the Hour, wherein he had the Name of a Prieſt, nay of a religious Perſon, nay of a temporal Lay-man Jeſuit, nay of a Catholick, nay of a Chriſtian, nay of a Creature, but of a Beaſt, or a Devil; a Violater of all Laws, a Contemner of all Authority, a Stain of Humanity, an Impoſthume of all Corruption, a Corrupter of all Honeſty, and a Monopoly of all Miſchief. And is not this Railing? Now, if this be thus, to return to the main Point, Why may we not think the Church of *Rome* to be faulty in Electing Pope *Joan*, though *Leo* reproved the Church of *Conſtantinople* with the ſame?

Pap. [c] Yea, but how could *Leo* have anſwered the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, if the Patriarch might have replied truly upon him, that *Rome* was guilty of ſuch an Overſight?

Prot. *Leo* might have anſwered the Patriarch's Reply, as *Ahab*, who charged *Elias* with Troubling of *Iſrael*, anſwered *Elias* (when [d] he replied: I have not troubled *Iſrael*, but thou and thy Father's Houſe;) to wit, with Silence. For otherwiſe I know not how he could have anſwered him honeſtly. No more than I know how other of your Popes can anſwer other Replies (in other Caſes) which may be made upon them. [e] *Agatho*, one of your Popes, avoucheth, that the *Roman* Church never ſwerved from the Tradition of the Apoſtles; that ſhe never gave Ear to Novelties; that the Pope's Predeceſſors had ever boldly ſtrengthened their Brethren, according to Chriſt's Commandment unto *Peter*. For Proof thereof, he appeals to all the World. In like Manner, *Nicholas*, another of your Popes, ſpeaking of his Fellow Popes, [f] braves it out, that never one of them was ſo much as ſuſpected to have held an Error. Now if a Man ſhould have replied upon them, as any Man might have replied truly, that *Victor* was ſuſpected to have held, that Chriſt was a pure Man, and not God, which is witneſſed by [g] *Euſebius:* That *Zepherinus* was ſuſpected of *Montaniſm*, which is teſtified by [h] *Tertullian:* That *Marcellinus* ſacrificed to Idols, which is witneſſed by [i] *Damaſus*, and acknowledged by [k] *Bellarmine*, though denied in ſome Sort [l] by *Baronius:* That *Liberius* ſubſcribed to the *Arian* Hereſy, which is reported by [m] *Damaſus*, by [n] *Athanaſius*, by [o] *Jerom*, and by [p] *Sozomen:* That *Felix*, as [q] ſome ſay, was an *Arian*, or at leaſt, as [r] others ſay, communicated with the *Arians:* That *Honorius the Firſt* was a *Monothelite*, and for that condemned by Name in the [s] ſixth and [t] ſeventh General Councils: How could *Agatho* and *Nicholas* have anſwered this Reply, think you?

We read that *Taraſius*, the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, charged your Pope *Adrian the Firſt*, with the Crime of Simony. And do you therefore think that he himſelf was free from Simony? Or, rather, do you not know that he himſelf was grievouſly ſuſpected of Simony.

Pap. Yes, I [v] know, that, though *Taraſius* was an holy Man in his Life, and approved ſo to be by Miracles wrought after his Death, [w] yet he was very greatly ſuſpected of Simony: Wherefore, I rather think, that you never read he charged Pope *Adrian* with that Fault.

Prot. The Epiſtle which *Taraſius* wrote to

---

[a] In the Defence of the Cenſure, Pag. 13.
[b] *Quodlibet* of Religion and State, Page 236.
[c] *N. D.* Loco ſupra citato.
[d] 1 *Kings* xviii. 17, 18.
[e] In Epiſtola 1. ad Imperatorem.
[f] *Nichol.* I. Epiſt. ad *Michaelem.*
[g] *Euſeb.* Hiſt Eccl. Lib. v. Cap. 28.
[h] *Tertul.* Lib. contra *Praxeam.*
[i] In Pontificali in Vita *Marcel.*
[k] Lib. iv. de *Rom.* Pont. Cap. 8.
[l] Annal. Tom. ii. ad Ann. 302. Num. 101, 102.
[m] Lib. citato in Vita *Liberii.*
[n] In Epiſt. ad ſolitariam Vitam agentes.
[o] De Script. Eccleſiaſticis, Verb. *Fortunatianus.*
[p] Hiſt. Lib. iv. c. 15.
[q] *Hieron.* de Script. Eccleſiaſt. Verbo *Acacius.*
[r] *Sozomen.* Lib. iv. Cap. 10.
[s] Act. 16, 17, 18.
[t] Act. 7. in Definit. Synodi.
[v] See *Baronius* Annal. Tom. ix. ad Ann. 806. Num. 1 & 2.
[w] *Baron.* Annal. Tom. ix. ad Ann. 787. Num. 58 & 59.

Adrian, wherein he reproved him for that, is extant in Print, ſo that you yourſelf may read it alſo, if you will.

Pap. I remember [1] *Baronius* talks of ſuch an Epiſtle. But he ſuſpects that *Balſamon*, who firſt publiſhed it, did counterfeit it, to diſcredit the *Roman* See. And, indeed, *Balſamon* loved not *Rome*.

Prot. [2] *Gentian Hervet*, who tranſlated the Epiſtle into *Latin*, was nothing ſuſpicious of it. No more was [3] *Bignæus*, who put it into his Library of Holy Fathers: Nor *Poſſevine*, who mentions it in his *Apparatus ſacer*. I ſee it goeth hard with you, when you are driven to plead, that the Evidence I bring is forged. I thought that Shift had been proper to us Proteſtants, for [4] you often upbraid us with it; but now I ſee it is common to us with you. But why is *Baronius* ſuſpicious of it?

Pap. Becauſe it was firſt ſet out by *Balſamon*, who loved not *Rome*.

Prot. *Baronius* ſaith, therein, untruly. For Proof whereof, I will uſe no other Witneſs but himſelf; his own Mouth ſhall condemn him. For [5] he himſelf confeſſeth, that '*Taraſii* Epiſtola ad *Adrianum* Pontificem de Simoniaca hæreſi profliganda, ab *Anaſtaſio* ad finem ſeptimæ Synodi poſita legitur, necnon apud *Theodorum Balſamonem* in Appendice ad *Nomocanonem Photii*:' That is, that *Tharaſius*'s Epiſtle unto *Adrian* the Pope, treating of the Rooting up of the Sin of Simony, is to be read in the End of the ſeventh General Council, where it was put by *Anaſtaſius*: And, withal, in *Theodorus Balſamon*, in his Appendix unto *Photius*'s *Nomocanon*. For, if *Anaſtaſius* placed it at the End of the ſeventh General Council, then was not *Balſamon* the firſt that publiſhed it. For *Anaſtaſius* lived about three-hundred Years before *Balſamon*. For *Anaſtaſius* lived about the Year 860, and *Balſamon* lived about the Year 1180.

Pap. You ſpeak probably: [6] But methinks, though Men at that Time had been ſo far bewitched and diſtracted of their five Wits, as they could not have known a Man from a Woman, yet God himſelf, who appointed and ordained the Seat of *Peter*, whereof he would the whole Church to be directed, ſhould never have departed ſo far from his merciful Providence, as to ſuffer the ſame to be polluted by a Woman, which is not of Capacity for Holy Orders.

Prot. And why, I pray you, might not God as well ſuffer that Church to be polluted by a Woman, as by ſo many monſtrous Men, of whom your own Hiſtorians write very ſhamefully? Why might ſhe not ſit there, as well as *Sabinian*, that baſe and miſerable Companion, 'Qui formidabili morte, & culpabili vita, notatus eſt:' Who is taxed by your [7] Writers, for his vile Life and fearful Death? Why might not ſhe ſit there as well as [8] *Stephen the Sixth*, who, as [9] I told you before, took up the Carcaſs of *Formoſus*, his Predeceſſor, out of the Grave, brought into Judgment before a Council of Biſhops, ſpoiled it of his Papal Robes, clad it with a Layman's Garment, indicted it, arraigned it, condemned it, cut off three Fingers of it, and caſt it into the Stream of *Tyber*; depriving all them of their Orders whom he had ordained, re-ordaining them again? Why might not ſhe ſit there as well as *Boniface the Seventh*,[10] who robbed Saint *Peter*'s Church, and fled for a Time to *Conſtantinople*; who, afterwards, by Simony, and Murdering two Popes, made himſelf Pope; who, in Miſchief, outſtripped the moſt notorious Robbers and Slayers by the High-ways, that ever were; which, in Cruelty, went before bloody *Sylla* and *Cataline*, and ſuch as ſought the Ruin of their Country, [11] as your own *Baronius* confeſſeth; and who, at length, died like a Beaſt? Why might not ſhe ſit there, as well as *Sylveſter the Second*, that famous Conjurer, who gave himſelf, both Body and Soul, to the Devil, that he might get the Popedom, and died thereafter? Why might not ſhe ſit there?

---

[1] Loco proximè citato. Certè quidem qui eam primus edidit *Theod. Balſamo* in ſuſpicionem addicitur impoſturæ.

[2] *Poſſevin.* in Apparat. ſac. verbo *Taraſius.*

[3] Nor *Papyrus Maſſon.* de Urbis Epiſcop. Lib. iii. in *Adriano.* Fol. 131. b.

[4] *Rhem.* Annot. in *Act. Apoſt.* xvii. 34.

[5] Annal. Tom. ix. ad Ann. 787. Num. 49.

[6] *Onuph.* Annot. in *Platinam*, in Vita *Joh.* VIII. *Harding*, in his Anſwer to *Juel*'s Apology.

[7] Faſcicul. Temporum, ad Ann. 614.

[8] Some ſay it was *Sergius*: The Reaſon of which Diverſity, ſee in *Dr. Reynold*'s Conf. Ch. 7. Diviſ. 1. P. 282. Edit. 1584, in Marg.

[9] Pag. 91.

[10] *Platina* in Vita *Bonifacii* VII.

[11] *Bonifacius* VII. annumerandus inter famoſos latrones & potentiſſimos graſſatores atque patriæ proditores, *Syllas* & *Catilinas* horumque ſimiles, quos omnes ſuperavit ſacrilegus iſte turpiſſima nece duorum Pontificum, Annal. Tom. x. ad Ann. 985. Num. 1.

Pap. Nay, ſtay a little. They ſay it is a Sin to belye the Devil. Now, [1] I perſuade myſelf, that you belye Pope *Sylveſter*; for I [2] read, that he was reputed a notable Man, both for his Life and Learning.

Prot. How notable he was, let *Platina* ſpeak, who [3] writes, that ‘ambitione & diabolica dominandi cupiditate impulſus, largitione primò quidem Archiepiſcopatum *Rhemenſem*, inde *Ravennatem* adeptus, Pontificatum poſtremò majore conatu, adjuvante Diabolo, conſecutus eſt, hac tamen lege, ut poſt mortem totus illius eſſet, cujus fraudibus tantam dignitatem adeptus erat:’ That is, *Sylveſter the Second*, being deviliſhly ambitious, got firſt, by Bribery, the Archbiſhoprick of *Rheims*, then of *Ravenna*, and after that, by the Devil's Help, the Biſhoprick of *Rome*; yet, upon this Condition, that, when he died, he ſhould be wholly his; by whoſe Means, he attained to ſuch Dignity. Have you not Cauſe to believe, that this Fellow was notable for Life and Learning? But, perhaps, *Platina* is ſingular in this. No, [4] *Sigebert* confeſſeth, that *Sylveſter* was thought to have got the Popedom [5] ill-favouredly; and that he was [6] ſuſpected of Negromancy; and, that ſome ſaid, the Devil brought him to his End. The ſame, in Effect, is reported by [7] *Benno Cardinalis*, by [8] *Martinus Polonus*, by [9] *Johannes Stella* a *Venetian*, by [10] *Philippus Bergomenſis*, by [11] *Ranulphus Ceſtrenſis*, by [12] *Matthæus Weſtmonaſterienſis*, by [13] *Faſciculus Temporum*, by [14] *Charanza*, and by [15] *Æneas Sylvius*: For, ‘Non nos fugit *Sylveſtrum* Secundum diabolica fraude *Romanum* Pontificatum aſcendiſſe,’ ſaith *Æneas*: We are not ignorant that *Sylveſter the Second* got the Papacy by deviliſh Subtlety.

Pap. Tut, all this is to no Purpoſe; [16] Pope *Sylveſter* was learned in the Mathematicks; and ſuch was the Ignorance of that Age, that thereupon they held him for a Conjurer.

Prot. Indeed, [17] *William* of *Malmſbury* having related the ſame Story in Subſtance, with the above-named Writers, ſuppoſeth that ſome might reply ſo, ſaying, ‘Sed hæc vulgata, ficta crederet aliquis.’ But ſome Men, peradventure, will ſay, this is but a made Tale, ‘Eo quod ſolet populus literatorum famam lædere, dicens illum loqui cum Dæmone, quem in aliquo viderint excellentem opere:’ Becauſe the common People are wont to ſay, that Scholars, who are ſingular in any Thing, do uſe a Familiar: Yet, he concludes, that he believes it for true. For, ‘Mihi verò fidem facit de iſtius ſacrilegio inaudita mortis excogitatio,’ [18] ſaith he, I am verily perſuaded, *Sylveſter* was ſuch a Villain, becauſe of the Strangeneſs of his Death. For, ‘Cur ſe moriens excarnificaret ipſe ſui corporis horrendus Laniſta, niſi novi ſceleris conſcius eſſet?’ For why ſhould the butcherly Fellow have torn his own Fleſh, as he did, but that he was guilty of ſome ſtrange Sin? Do not you think there is Reaſon in this Queſtion? Doubtleſs, your *Onuphrius* was afraid to anſwer it. And, therefore, in his Notes upon *Platina*, where he labours to clear *Sylveſter* of the Imputation of a Conjurer, [19] he takes Day with his Reader, to clear him from ſo fearful a Death.

Pap. [20] Yea, but *Sylveſter* II. is commended by *Sergius* IV. a very Holy Pope, who lived within five Years after him; wherefore it is not [21] credible that he died ſuch a ſhameful Death.

Prot. Say you ſo? Doth not [22] *Baronius* confeſs, that though *Stephen* VI. was a wicked Fellow; and that as he entered into the Popedom like a Thief and a Murtherer; ſo he died like a Thief; yet [23] *Sergius* III, who ſucceeded within eight Years after him, commended him; yea *John* IX, his next Succeſſor, who in that Age was a ſingular honeſt Pope, commended him, as a Man of bleſſed Memory.

---

[1] *Florim.* Cap. 24.

[2] *Jodocus Coccius* in Catechiſm. Cathol. Lib. vii. Art. 15.

[3] *Platina* de Vitis Pont. in *Sylveſt.* II.

[4] In Chron. ad Ann. 988.

[5] Non per oſtium intraſſe creditur.

[6] A quibuſdam negromantiæ arguitur.

[7] De Vit. & Geſt. *Hilbedrandi.*

[8] In Chron. ad Ann. 1007.

[9] De Vit. Pont. in *Sylveſt.* II. ad Ann. 995.

[10] Supplem. Chron. ad Ann. 997.

[11] In Polychron. Lib. vi. Cap. 14.

[12] Flores Hiſt. Ann. 998.

[13] Ad Ann. 1004.

[14] In Summa Conc.

[15] Comment. de Geſt. Conc. Baſil. Lib. i.

[16] *Bell.* Lib. iv. de Rom. Pont. Cap. 14. *Onuph.* Ann. in *Plat.* in Vit. *Sylveſt.* II.

[17] Lib. ii. de Geſtis Regum Angl. Cap. 10. Fol. 36.

[18] Loco citatò.

[19] De morte ejus ſive Diaboli percuſſione famam alibi commodius convellam. *Onuph.* Loco ſupracitatò.

[20] *Bell.* Lib. iv. de *Rom.* Pont. Cap. 12. *Baron.* Annal. Tom. x. ad Ann. 999. Num. 7.

[21] Facinoroſus homo, quique ut fur & latro ingreſſus eſt in ovile ovium, laqueo vitam adeo infami exitu, vindice Deo, clauſit. Tom. x. Annal. ad Ann. 900. Num. 5.

[22] *Baronius*, ibid.

[23] Ad Ann. 904. Num. 4.

Upon which later Confeſſion, he makes this ‘Obſervation: Hîc conſidera Lector, quanta ſolerent ſucceſſores Pontifices quantulumcunq; reprehenſibiles Prædeceſſores reverentia perſequi, ut *Johannes Stephanum* ſuum prædeceſſorem tum ſedis invaſione, tum etiam ſeſſione, in omnibus planè execrandis facinoribus deteſtabilem, piæ tamen recordationis *Stephanum* appellet.’ The Effect of which *Latin* is, That it is worthy the Obſervation, that the live Popes ſpoke reverently of the dead Popes, were they never ſo naughty. Wherefore to go on, Why might not Pope *Joan* ſit there as well as *Benedict* IX, [1] that ugly Monſter, as [2] *Platina* calls him, [3] who got the Room, when he was but twelve Years old, [4] who, when he was caſt out for his Unworthineſs, got it again by a ſtrong Hand within a few Days after; and, for fear that he could not keep it long, ſold it to another for Money, who after his Death [5] appeared partly like an Aſs, and partly like a Bear, confeſſing that he carried ſuch a Shape, becauſe he lived like a Beaſt in his Life-time? Why might not ſhe ſit well in St. *Peter*'s Chair, as *Boniface* VIII, who ([6] when he ſhould upon an *Aſhwedneſday*, as the Popiſh Manner is, have laid Aſhes upon an Archbiſhop's Head, and religiouſly told him, that he was but Aſhes, and ſhould return to Aſhes;) caſt them in the Archbiſhop's Face and Eyes, maliciouſly telling him, that he was a *Gibelline*, and that he ſhould die with the *Gibellines*; of whom *Celeſtinus* his Predeceſſor, a Man famous [7] they ſay for Miracles, [8] propheſied: That, as he entered like a Fox, ſo he ſhould reign like a Lion, and die like a Dog, which fell out accordingly?

Why might not ſhe ſit there as well as *Gregory* VII, commonly known by the Name of *Hildebrand*, [9] who ſet both the Church and Commonwealth on Fire; [10] who hired a bad Fellow to tumble down great Stones from the Battlements of a Church upon the Emperor's Head, to ſqueeſe him in Pieces, whilſt he was at his Prayers; [11] who caſt the Sacrament into the Fire; who ordinarily [12] carried about him a conjuring Book; who ſhrewdly bebumbed his Predeceſſor *Alexander*; who wreſted the Scriptures to cover his Lewdneſs; [13] who at his Death confeſſed, that the Devil ſet him on Work, to provoke God to Wrath againſt the World.

Why might not ſhe ſit there as well as *John* XXIII, [14] who was fitter for the Camp, than for the Church; for profane Things, than for the Service of God; as knowing no Faith, no Religion at all; [15] who taught again and again, and maintained it before many of good Place, that there was no Life after this, but that it was with Men as with Beaſts. Who in a Word [16] lived ſo ſcandalouſly, that commonly he was called by them who knew him, a plain Devil incarnate. Why might not ſhe ſit there as well as *John* XII, [17] who made Deacons in a Stable, who made a Boy of ten Years old a Biſhop, who made the *Lateran* a plain Stews, who drank to the Devil; who, when he was at Dice, made his Prayers unto *Jupiter* and *Venus*, and to ſuch Idolatrous Gods of the Heathen: Who at length was ſlain even by the Devil himſelf, while he was committing Adultery, as [18] before I noted. If you cannot deny, but God hath ſuffered theſe and many as evil as any of theſe, except the laſt, to occupy St. *Peter*'s Room, you may well wonder with [19] *Antoninus*, at the Story of Pope *Joan*, and ſay, Oh the Depth of the Wiſdom of God, how incredible be his Judg-

---

[1] Teterrimum monſtrum.

[2] In Vita *Greg.* VI.

[3] *Rodolphus Glaber.* qui tunc vivebat. Hiſt. Lib. v. Cap. ult. *Papyrius Maſſonius* de Urb. Epiſc. in *Benedicto* IX.

[4] *Platina* in *Benedict.* IX. *Sigonius* de Regno *Italiæ*, Lib. viii. ad Ann. 1042.

[5] Caput & cauda erant Aſinina, ut reliquum corpus ſicut Urſus. Faſcic. Temp. ad Ann. 1034. *Plat.* in Vita *Bened.* IX. *Polonus* in Chron. ad Ann. 1042.

[6] *Petrus Crinitus*, Lib. viii. de honeſta Diſciplina. Cap. 13. ut legimus in Faſciculo Rerum expetendarum, &c. Fol. 44.

[7] *Celeſtinus* vir ſanctiſſimus, & tam ante Pontificatum quàm etiam poſt miraculis pluri̇mis illuſtris *Bell.* Appendix ad Lib. de Summ. Pont. Cap. 14 & 24.

[8] *Celeſtinus* V. prophetavit in hunc modum, ut fertur, Aſcendiſti ut Vulpes, regnabis ut Leo, morieris ut Canis. Et ita ſane contigit. *Tho. Walſing.* in Edu. 1. & Polychron. Lib. vii. Cap. 40.

[9] *Hildebrand* Eccleſiaſticum ſubvertit ordinem Chriſtiani imperii, perturbavit regnum, &c. Conventus Epiſcoporum 50. apud *Brixian*, teſte Abbate *Urſpergenſi* in Chron. ad Ann. 1080.

[10] *Benno* Cardinalis, Lib. ſupra citato.

[11] Ibid.

[12] Ibid.

[13] *Florentinus Vigornienſis* in Chron. Pag. 641. *Matth. Paris* in *Guil.* Conqu. ad Ann. 1086.

[14] *Onuph.* Append. in *Plat.* in Vita *Joh.* XXIV.

[15] Conc. Conſtant. Seſſ 11. Art. penult.

[16] Ibid Art. 6, &c.

[17] *Luitprand* Hiſt. per *Europam* geſtarum, Lib. vi. Cap. 7, 8, & 10.

[18] Pag. 97.

[19] Part. ii. Tit. 16. Cap. 1. Sect. 7.

ment,

ments, *&c.* But you have no Cauſe in this Reſpect to deny it, you have no Cauſe to caſt it off as a Fable. But give me Leave to aſk you a Queſtion. How ſhould this Tale of Pope *Joan*'s ariſe, if there was not ſuch a Pope? Was there ever ſuch a Smoke and no Fire; ſuch a Report and no Probability?

Pap. No indeed. [1] Great Lyes ariſe always out of ſome Truth. And ſo did this. For *John* XII, to confeſs a Truth, was a wenching Fellow; and, among other Wenches which he kept, there was one called *Joan*, who was all in all with him, and ruled the Roaſt. Now the People, perceiving what Hand ſhe had over him, termed her Pope, and deſpiſed him. Whereupon the Church's Enemies took Occaſion to ſlander the Church, as though the Church had, indeed, had a Woman-Pope.

Prot. This is one of *Florimondus*'s Reaſons, is it not.

Pap. Yes. [2] He mentions this, and likes indifferently well of it. But he mentions it as out of *Onuphrius.* Wherefore take you it rather as *Onuphrius*'s Anſwer to your Queſtion, than as *Florimondus*'s Anſwer.

Prot. Content; provided that you tell me, how *Onuphrius* proves that *John* XII. had ſuch a maſterful Whore called *Joan.*

Pap. [3] *Onuphrius* proves that out of *Luitprandus Ticinenſis*, a Writer of that Age. For he witneſſeth (as *Onuphrius* ſaith, and *Florimondus* believes) that *John the Twelfth* had three famous Whores, of whom the faireſt, and therefore the beſt beloved, was called *Joan.*

Prot. Luitprandus, [4] in the Place cited by *Onuphrius*, witneſſeth, that *John the Twelfth* kept one famous Whore, whom he called *Raynera*, whom he made Governor of many Cities, and on whom he beſtowed many golden Croſſes and Chalices belonging to St. *Peter*. In like Manner, he witneſſeth, that he kept another called *Stephana*, and that he lay with married Wives, with Widows, and with Maids, who came to viſit the Apoſtolical Churches. And withal he witneſſeth, that he kept a third called *Anna* (who was a Widow) and her Niece; making the Palace of *Lateran* no better than a Baudy-Houſe. But he no where names any *Joan*, on whom that worthy Head of your Church, *John the Twelfth*, doated; *Onuphrius*, I ſuppoſe, miſtook *Joanna*, for *Anna*: And *Florimondus* juſtified the Proverb, A Fool believeth every Thiing. Have you not another Anſwer to ſecond this?

Pap. Yes, I have two or three beſides this.

Prot. That is well. And what is the firſt of them, I pray you?

Pap. This *John the Ninth* was made Biſhop of *Bononia*, and afterwards Archbiſhop of *Ravenna*, and at laſt, Pope of *Rome*, by the Means of one *Theodora*, a famous Whore, who ſwayed all Matters at *Rome* in thoſe Days. Now the People, perceiving that this *Theodora* could turn this *John* which Way ſhe would, and lead him whither ſhe liſt, they held him worthier the Name of a Woman than of a Man, and, therefore, called him *Joan*, and not *John.* Whereupon aroſe the Report of a *Joan* Pope.

Prot. And who (I pray you) is the Father of this Anſwer?

Pap. [5] *Johannes Aventinus*, who, by Reaſon he was a *German* born, knew beſt (no Doubt) the Original of this Fable, as [6] *Florimondus* ſheweth.

Prot. Then *Florimondus* believes this too.

Pap. He thinks it very probable.

Prot. But ſo did not his Countryman *Genebrard.* For, '*Aventinus* Lib. iv. Annalium 'Fabellam eſſe aſſerit, à *Theodora* nobili Scorto 'ortam,' [7] ſaith *Genebrard:* 'Ego vero è re'centioribus Adulatoribus in *Romanæ* Sedis 'Odium, &c.' That is, *Aventinus* holdeth that this Tale aroſe, by Reaſon of a noble Whore called *Theodora.* But I think, ſome latter Clawbacks (of the Emperors) deviſed it, to diſcredit the Papal Seat. Thus *Genebrard.* And is not *Genebrard*'s No as good as *Florimondus*'s Yea? Eſpecially ſince *Genebrard* [8] ſpent upon his Chronicles ten whole Years: Whereas [9] *Florimondus*, by Reaſon of his Clients, can ſpare no Time for ſuch Studies?

Pap. Genebrard was a worthy Man, I [10] know. But I reſpect no Man's Perſon, wherefore give me a Reaſon, why you diſlike this Conceit of *Aventinus*, approved by *Florimondus.*

---

[1] Omnia inſignia mendacia ab aliqua veritate originem habent. *Onuph.* Annot. in *Plat.* in Vit. *Joannæ.* Fucis quædam ineſt veri ſpecies. *Florim.* Cap. 29. Num. 2.

[2] Loco citato, Num. 5.

[3] Loco ſupra citato.

[4] Lib. vi. Cap. 6, 7.

[5] Annal. Lib. iv.

[6] Page 236.

[7] *Genebrard.* Chron. Lib. iv. ad Ann. 855.

[8] Diuturno 10 Annorum Studio. *Geneb.* Præfat Chronograph. ad *Pontacum.*

[9] Fabula *Joannæ* Cap. 31. Pag. 253. Num. 6.

[10] *Poſſevin.* Apparat. ſacr. Verbo *Gilbertus Genebrardus.*

Prot. I will. Yet firſt I would have you know, that though I grant, that *John*, who was firſt Biſhop of *Bononia*, then of *Ravenna*, and *laſtly*, of *Rome*, came to thoſe Biſhopricks, by the Means of *Theodora* a famous Whore: In Reſpect whereof, your [1] Cardinal Hiſtoriographer makes Queſtion, whether he was a Pope or no; and terms him [2] ſometimes *Pſeudopontifex & Antipapa*, a falſe Pope and Antipope: [3] Sometimes, *intruſor & detentor injuſtus Apoſtolicæ Sedis*; an Intruder and an Uſurper of the Apoſtolical Chair; yet I deny that this was *John the Ninth*, for he was *John the Tenth. John the Ninth* came by good Means to the Papacy, as your [4] Cardinal ſaith. [5] He carried himſelf honeſtly in it, and died naturally; but ſo did not this. [6] This confirmed a Child under five Years old, in the Archbiſhoprick of *Rheims:* At which Fact, [7] *Baronius* ſtands againſt. [8] Then this, *Turpior nullus*, *cujus ſicut ingreſſus in Cathedram Petri infamiſſimus*, *ita et exitus nefandiſſimus.* There was never a filthier Fellow than this. This entered with Infamy, and died fearfully. [9] This was ſtifled with a Pillow, by the Procurement of one as famous for Whoredom, as *Theodora* who preferred him.

Pap. This, of whom *Florimondus* ſpeaks, was ſtifled with a Pillow by *Theodora*'s own Daughter. But it ſeems you wrong her in her good Name. For ſhe cauſed him to be ſtifled, becauſe ſhe could not brook his filthy Kind of Life, with her Mother, as [19] *Florimondus* notes.

Prot. Florimondus will never be good. The Daughter diſliked not her Mother's and the Pope's Courſe of Life at all. She herſelf [11] played the Whore with *Sergius* one of your Popes, and had by him *John the Eleventh.* [12] She married her Huſband's Brother, and lived with him in Inceſt. The only Cauſe, why ſhe procured him to be ſtifled, was her Envy to one *Peter* the Pope's Brother, as [13] *Baronius* proveth out of *Luitprandus.*

Pap. But in good Earneſt, Was not this *John John the Ninth? Florimondus* [14], again and again, calls him *John the Ninth.* And, methinks, he ſhould not miſtake him ſo often.

Prot. In Earneſt, this was not *John the Ninth. Florimondus* was deceived.

Pap. Why, but *Benedict the Fourth* ſucceeded *John the Ninth*, Did he not?

Prot. Yes, that is true. But *Benedict the Fourth* ſucceeded not this *John*, *John the Eleventh*, as [15] *Luitprandus* writes; or rather *Leo the Sixth*, as [16] others write, ſucceeded this *John.*

Pap. Florimondus [17] writes, that *Benedict the Fourth* ſucceeded this *John*; and obſerves withal a Knack of Knavery in thoſe, who report this Story, in that they fathered this Tale upon a *John*, whom a *Benedict* ſucceeded.

Prot. Obſerve you then a Knack of Foolery, or Knavery, or rather fooliſh Knavery in *Florimondus*; for I tell you, once again, that *Benedict the Fourth* ſucceeded not this *John*; [18] all Hiſtories are againſt it. But ſuppoſe he was *John the Ninth*, if his looſe Carriage of himſelf with *Theodora* gave Occaſion of the Report of a Woman-pope, Why was it not recorded, as happening in his Time, but above forty Years before his Time? *John the Ninth* was made Pope in the Year 901, yet this Story is recorded as happening about the Year 854.

Pap. [19] That came to paſs by the Subtlety of the Reporters; for, about the Year 800, the Empreſs, who, in a Manner, ruled all the World, was called *Theodora.* Now theſe trifling Tale-tellers, hearing of a Pope *Joan* in *Theodora*'s Time, chopped it into the Time of *Theodora* the Empreſs, who lived about thirty Years before the Harlot *Theodora.*

Prot. This would rather argue Simplicity than Subtlety in the Reporters; for, *cui bono*, whether it happened in the one, or in the other *Theodora*'s Time; but it carries no Colour of Truth with it, for *Theodora*, the Empreſs, never carried any Sway in *Rome* at all. At *Conſtantinople*, for a While, in the Time of her Son's Minority, ſhe could do ſomething; [1] but, in Pope *Joan*'s Time, ſhe was turned out of Office at *Conſtantinople*; ſhe was depoſed from her Regency, and thruſt into a Monaſtery, where ſhe was kept till her Death. What is one of your other Anſwers?

---

[1] Annal. Tom. x. ad An. 925. Num. 11. ſi ipſe Pontifex eſt dicendus.

[2] Ad An. 912. Num. 12.

[3] Ad An. 928. Num. 2.

[4] Annal. Tom. x. ad An. 901. Num. 1.

[5] Idem ad Ann. 905. Num. 1, 2.

[6] *Frodoard.* Hiſt. *Rhemenſ.* Lib. iv. Cap. 19.

[7] Iſta nova, turpia, deteſtanda, ſolo Auditu horrenda atque pudenda. Ann. Tom. x. ad Ann. 925. Num. 9.

[8] *Ibid.* Num. 11.

[9] Idem ad An. 928. Num. 2.

[10] Cap. 29. Num. 3.

[11] *Luitprand.* Lib. ii. Cap. 13. agnoſcente *Baron.* Annal. Tom. x. ad An. 908. Num. 5.

[12] *Baron.* ad An. 933. Num. 11.

[13] Ad An. 928.

[14] Cap. 29, Pag. 235, 236. Cap. 30, Pag. 240, 241.

[15] Lib. iii. Cap. 12.

[16] *Leo Oſtienſ.* Lib. i. Cap. 57. in Fine *Baron.* Annal. Tom. x. ad An. 928. Pag. 702.

[17] Cap. xxx. Pag. 242.

[18] *Baron.* Annal. Tom. x. ad An. 901. Num. 1.

[19] *Florim.* Cap. xxx. Num. 1.

Pap. My third Anſwer to your main Queſtion is, that, perhaps, this Tale aroſe from *John the Eighth*; for *John the Eighth* dealt not like a Man in the Caſe of *Photius*, Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, but ſheepiſhly, and like a Woman; for *John the Eighth* received *Photius* into Communion, who was excomunicated by his Predeceſſors. *John the Eighth* ſuffered himſelf to be overcome by Half a Man; whereupon, in Reproach, he was called 'non Papa, ſed Papiſſa;' and, upon that reproachful Speech, came this Tale of a Woman-pope.

Prot. Who deviſed us this Anſwer, I pray you?

Pap. This is [2] *Baronius*'s Anſwer.

Prot. *Baronius*'s Anſwer! Is that poſſible? Is not *Baronius* one of them who holds, that the Rumour of the Church of *Conſtantinople*'s Overſight, in ſuffering a Woman to creep in to be a Patriarch, occaſioned this Tale againſt *Rome*?

Pap. Yes, marry is he; for having ſet down Pope *Leo*'s Words touching that Rumour: 'Quæ ita erant fama vulgata de Ec-'cleſia *Conſtantinopolitana*, converſa in *Ro-'manam* Eccleſiam a Schiſmaticis eam odio 'proſequentibus, & calumniis proſcindenti-'bus, quis non intelligat?' [3] ſaith *Baronius*, that is, Who ſeeth not, that what was reported of *Conſtantinople*, the ſame was turned, by Schiſmaticks, as ſpoken againſt *Rome*?

Prot. And with what Honeſty can he ſay both? [4] *N. D.* who holds this latter Opinion, profeſſeth, that it ſeemeth moſt certain, that, in Pope *Leo*'s Time, *viz.* 1020, there was not ſo much as any Rumour or Mention of any Woman-pope that ever had been in the *Roman* Church. So doth *Baronius* himſelf; for verily, [5] ſaith he, if there had been but ſome flying Tale of any ſuch Accident at *Rome*, in former Days, Pope *Leo* ſhould firſt have cleared it, before he had charged the Church of *Conſtantinople* with the like. Was there not ſo much as a flying Report of a Woman-pope before *Leo the Ninth*'s Time, in *Baronius*'s Opinion? How then did *John the Eighth* occaſion ſuch a Report, who lived an 140 Years before *Leo*? But let *Baronius* go with this Eſcape. What Reaſon have you to think, that the Rumour of *Conſtantinople* might occaſion this Tale againſt *Rome*?

Pap. [6] Good Reaſon; for every Man knows that *Conſtantinople* was called *New Rome*, and *Rome* ſimply. Now a Man might eaſily be deceived, in ſuppoſing that to be done in *Rome* in *Italy*, which was reported to be done in *Rome*, but in *Rome* in *Græcia*.

Prot. That *Conſtantinople* was called *New Rome*, [7] I eaſily yield unto you; but that it was, at any Time, called ſimply *Rome*, that your *Florimondus* is not able to make good; that is his own Fancy, and, in delivering it, he bewrays his own Folly: '*Conſtantinopolis* 'nunquam abſolute dicebatur *Roma*, ſed cum 'addito, ut eſt hodie, *Nova Roma*.' *Conſtantinople* was never ſimply called *Rome*, but with an Addition, as we call at this Day, *New Rome*, ſaith *Gretſer*. Yet, to ſuppoſe it true, why did not the Relators of it ſet it down as happening in *Leo*'s Time, but 240 Years before, if ſo be it was occaſioned by the Report that went of *Conſtantinople* in *Leo*'s Days? If it had thence begun, it ſhould have been regiſtered as then happening.

Pap. Well, ſuppoſe it were true, what gain you by it; or what is the Church prejudiced by her? If Pope *Joan* had been, ſhe had not prejudiced the Church, [8] ſaith *N. D.*

---

[1] *Baron.* Annal. Tom. x. ad An. 855. Num. 51. [2] Annal. Tom. x. ad An. 879. Num. 5.

[3] Annal. Tom. x. ad An. 853. Num. 58. [4] Cap. v. Num. 29. Page 399. [5] Certe ſi vel leviſſimus rumuſculus per calumniam de his ſparſus eſſet, utique is ab eo fuiſſet antea diluendus, quam ut fama perlatum facinus ejuſdem generis objeciſſet. Annal. Tom. x. ad An. 853. Num. 66.

[6] *Florim.* Cap. xxv. Num. 3. [7] Conſtantinop. novam Romam jam inde a Conſtantini tempore Græci vocabant. *Papyr. Maſſon.* Lib. ii. de Urbis Epiſc. in *Simplicio.* Tom. ii. Defen. *Bell.* Lib. ii. Cap. 31. Col. 812. [8] Part. II. of three Converſions, Cap. v. Page 389.

Prot. But ſhe had; for, if ſhe was Pope, then it will follow thereon neceſſarily, that the Church, according to your Learning, once hopped headleſs: For the[a] Church, in your Learning, is defined to be a Company of Chriſtian Men, profeſſing one Faith under one Head, to wit, the Pope; but ſhe, however ſhe carried the Name of Pope, was no Pope, [b] for a Woman is not capable of Holy Orders; a Woman cannot play the Pope. *Ergo*, all the Time of Pope *Joan*, the Church hopped headleſs.

Pap. Indeed, the only Inconveniency of ſuch a Caſe is, [c] as *N. D.* confeſſeth, that the Church ſhould lack a true Head for the Time. But that is not ſo great a Matter, for ſo ſhe doth, when any Pope dieth, till another be choſen.

Prot. What is that you ſay? Doth the Church hop headleſs, when one Pope dieth, till another be choſen? Now, alas! what a pitiful Caſe is the Church in then? Since Chriſt's Time, [d] there have been above two-hundred and forty Popes; and therefore, by your Saying, the Church hath been headleſs above two-hundred and forty Times. Yea, and ſometimes, between the Death of one Pope, and the Chuſing of another, there have paſſed many Days, many Months, ſome Years. As for Example: [e] After *Cletus*, the Biſhoprick of *Rome* was void twenty Days; [f] after *Clemens*, twenty-two; after *Alexander the Firſt*, [g] twenty-five; [h] after *Pelagius the Firſt*, three Months and odd Days; [i] after *Pelagius the Second*, ſix Months and odd Days; [k] after *John the Third*, ten Months and odd Days; [l] after *Sabinian*, eleven Months and odd Days; [m] after *Honorius the Firſt*, one Year and more; [n] after *Clemens the Fourth*, two Years and more; [o] after *Marcellinus*, ſeven Years and more; after *Nicholas the Firſt*, [p] as ſome ſay, eight Years and more; and after *Felix*, ſometimes the Duke of *Savoy*, St. *Peter*'s Chair ſtood empty ten Years, [q] ſaith *Bodin*. Whereupon will follow, that the Church hath often, and long together, been headleſs; but that is not ſo great a Matter, you ſay: --- Is it not? Whence, I pray you, ſhould the Church have her Wit, when ſhe is bereaved of her Head? The Saying is, Great Head, little Wit; but, without Queſtion, No Head, no Wit. When the Church is headleſs, ſhe is witleſs, and, by Conſequence, helpleſs; and therefore, I take it, you have good Cauſe to beware that you grant nothing, whereon it may be concluded, that your Church was once headleſs.

Pap. [r] But did not St. *Auſtin* hold Opinion, upon Suppoſition of a like Caſe, that the Church of Chriſt ſhould not be prejudiced? Did not [s] he, having recited up the Popes of *Rome* from Chriſt to his Days, make this Demand, What, if any *Judas*, or Traytor, had entered among theſe, or been choſen by Error of Men? And anſwereth preſently, ‘Nihil præjudicaret Eccleſiæ, & innocentibus Chriſtianis.’

Prot. Yes; but, conſidering the Body of your Doctrine, you may not anſwer ſo, nor think ſo: For you hold, that your Pope is Head of the Church, and that it is neceſſary unto Salvation to acknowledge him the Head; but ſo did not St. *Auſtin*. You hold, that, in a true Church, one Biſhop muſt lawfully ſucceed another, or all is daſhed; but ſo did not St. *Auſtin*: For he puts the Caſe, that ſome Traytor *ſubrepſiſſet*, that is, had come in unorderly into the Biſhop of *Rome*'s Seat; and yet reſolves, that that was not prejudicial to God's Church. Conform yourſelves in theſe two Points, of the Pope's Headſhip and Succeſſion, to St. *Auſtin*'s Judgment; and then you may better ſay, in this Caſe of Pope *Joan*, that which *Auſtin* ſaid in the Caſe propoſed, That ſhe had not prejudiced the Church of Chriſt.

Pap. We make more Reckoning of St. *Auſtin* than you do; but I will not ſtand wrangling upon his Meaning now, [t] becauſe, whatſoever Inconvenience can be imagined in this Caſe, is more againſt you than us; for your

---

[a] *Bellar.* Lib. iii. de Eccleſia, Cap. 2.
[b] *Rhem.* Annot. in 1 *Cor.* xiv. v. 34.
[c] Loco. ſupr. cit.
[d] *Cicarellus* Addit. ad *Platinam* & *Onuph.*
[e] *Anaſtaſius* de Vitis Pont. in *Cletus*.
[f] Idem in *Clemente*.
[g] Or 35. Idem in *Alex.* I.
[h] Idem in *Pelagio* I.
[i] Idem in *Pelagio* II.
[k] Idem in *Joh.* III.
[l] Idem in *Sabiniano*.
[m] Idem in *Honorio* I.
[n] *Pontacus* Chronogr. Lib. ii.
[o] *Anaſtaſ.* Lib. citat. in *Marcellino*, & *Polonus* in Codice Manu ſcripto, & *Pontacus* Chronogr. Lib. ii.
[p] Teſte *Platina* in Vit. *Nichol.* I.
[q] De Repub. Lib. vi. Num. 718.
[r] *N. D.* Part. ii. Cap. 5. Num. 19.
[s] *Auſtin.* Epiſt. 165. ad Literas cujuſdam *Donatiſtæ*.
[t] *N. D.* Loco ſupra citato.

Church admitteth for lawful and ſupreme Head thereof, either Man or Woman, which our Church doth not.

Prot. Our Church admitteth neither Man nor Woman for lawful and ſupreme Head of the Catholick Church, as yours doth. Our Church teacheth, that Chriſt only is the Head thereof. Our Church admitteth neither Man nor Woman for lawful and ſupreme Head of a particular Church; for our Church acknowledgeth the King ſupreme Governor only, not ſupreme Head; and ſo ſhe * ſtiled Queen *Eliſabeth* in her Time. Though, if we give our Princes more, yet the Inconvenieneies againſt us are not like the Inconveniencies againſt you, becauſe the next in Blood is to ſucceed with us; the greateſt Simoniſt, who can make his Faction ſtrongeſt, is to ſucceed with you.

Pap. What other Inconvenience follows upon this Accident, to ſuppoſe it true?

Prot. If it be true there was ſuch a Pope, your Church muſt be diſcarded as no true Church; for thus I argue, † That is no true Church, which cannot give, in plain authentical Writing, the lawful, orderly, intire, without any Breach, and ſound notorious Succeſſion of Biſhops. But your Church, if *Joan* was Pope, cannot give, in plain authentical Writing, the lawful, orderly, intire, without any Breach, and ſound notorious Succeſſion of Biſhops; for, by Reaſon of her, *Benedict the Third* could not orderly ſucceed *Leo the Fourth*; ſhe put in a Caveat, or, rather, was, of herſelf, a Bar to his Succeſſion; by her a Breach was made in the Rank of your Popes; ſhe, no Fool, but a Whore, marred your Play.

Pap. No, no; for all that you can rightly gather upon her Popedom is, That the Pope's Seat ſtood empty of a lawful Paſtor for the Space of two Years, and a few odd Months. Now ſo it did often, by Reaſon of the Differences among the Electors, as you yourſelf ſhewed. And yet no Man durſt ſay, nor could truly ſay, that Succeſſion failed, as [1] *Baronius* writes.

Prot. As *Baronius* notes? If *Baronius* may be Judge, there is nothing that can mar your Succeſſion, neither Vacancy, nor Entrance in by the Window. Whether the Chair be empty, or full, by Irreption, or by Uſurpation, it is all one to *Baronius*. *Baronius* will not give over his Plea of Succeſſion. For, though he (not without Grief) [2] confeſſeth, that many ugly Monſters have ſat in St. *Peter's* Chair; though [3] he confeſſeth, that many Apoſtates, rather than Apoſtolical Perſons, have occupied that Room; though [4] he confeſſeth, that there have been many Popes, which came irregularly to the Papacy, and ſerved for no other Purpoſe than Cyphers in Arithmetick, to make up the Number; yet he holdeth their Succeſſion ſound. Though [5] *Baronius* writes, that *Boniface the Sixth*, who got Poſſeſſion of St. *Peter's* Chair, and kept it fifteen Days, was a wicked Fellow, and not worthy to be reckoned among Popes, inaſmuch as he was condemned by a Council held at *Rome*. Though he [6] writes, that *Stephen the Seventh*, [7] ſuch another as *Boniface the Sixth*, or rather worſe, played at Thruſt-out-rotten with *Boniface the Sixth*, and kept the Papacy five Years; though [8] he writes, that Pope *Chriſtopher* ſhuffled *Leo the Fifth* out, and by Violence inſtalled himſelf, and kept it ſeven Months; and that *Sergius*, at the ſeven Months End, ſhuffled *Chriſtopher* out, ſhearing him a Monk, and keeping it to himſelf, as ſome ſay, ſeven Years; as [9] *Baronius* himſelf ſaith, three Years; yet all this Shuffling, in *Baronius*'s Opinion, doth nothing ſtain Succeſſion: Yea, though he cannot deny that *Boniface the Seventh*, who ſat as Pope one Year and one Month, was a [1] wicked Varlet, a plain Tyrant, a ſavage Beaſt, an Uſurper, one that had no good Property of a Pope: Though he cannot deny, but that *Leo the Eighth*, who was a Schiſmatick, and an Intruder, and an Antipope, [2] in his Opinion, kept the Place almoſt two Years. Though he cannot deny, but that *John the Twelfth*, [3] who was but like a Pope in a Play, kept it nine Years; and [4] *John the Eleventh*, the baſtardly Brat of *Sergius* above named, who came to it by evil Means, and managed it accordingly, kept it ſix Years; and [5] *John the Tenth*, as falſe a Lad as any of his Fellows, who entered by Fraud, and ruled with Violence, kept it fifteen Years; yet this leſſens nothing the Credit of his Succeſſion. I warrant you, *Baronius* was of *Genebrard*'s Opinion, who, though he granted that fifty Popes together came in unlawfully, and governed as madly, would not yet let his Hold of Succeſſion go.

---

* The Oath of Supremacy, 1 *Eliſ.*

† *Briſtow*, Motive 22.

[1] Nihil præterea ex ea ter miſeri novatores lucri capiunt, niſi ut dici poſſit duobus illis annis & menſibus ſedem Pontificiam legitimo vacuam fuiſſe paſtore——quod & aliàs accidit, ut majori temporis ſpacio ſedes Pontificia, dilata per diſcordias eligentium, electione vacarit: nec tamen ſucceſſionem defiiſſe, quis unquam auſus eſt dicere, quod nec dici potuit. Sed tantum eſſe diiatam, nullo vero modo ſublatam. *Baron.* Annal. Tom. x ad Ann. 853. Num. 63.

[2] Quot proh pudor! proh dolor! in eandem ſedem viſu horrenda intruſa ſunt monſtra, &c. Tom. x. ad Ann. 900. Num. 3.

[3] Non Apoſtolici, ſed Apoſtatici, Tom. x. ad Ann. 908. Num. 4.

[4] Qui non ſunt niſi ad conſignanda tantum tempora in Catalogo Rom. Pontificum ſcripti, Tom. x. Ann. 912. Num. 8.

[5] Homo nefarius, jam antea bis gradu depoſitus, &c. non numerandus inter Pontifices, utpote qui damnatus fuit in Rom. Synod. Tom. x. ad Ann. 897. Num. 1.

[6] Tom. x. ad Ann. 897. Num. 1.

[7] Apoſtolicæ ſedis invaſor, & fur & latro——indignus nomine Rom. Pontif. *ibid.* Ann. 900. Num. 6.

[8] Tom. x. ad Ann. 908. Num. 1. *ibid.*

[9] Ad Ann. 910. Num. 1.

Pap. Is there any further Inconvenience which may light upon us, if this Story be true?

Prot. Yea; for, if it be granted there was ſuch a Pope, the Popiſh Prieſts among you may well doubt of the Lawfulneſs of their Miſſion; and you Lay-Papiſts of the Sufficiency of the Abſolutions, which they give you upon your Ear-Confeſſions, and of the Truth of the Real Preſence, and Tranſubſtantiation. For, [6] unleſs the Popiſh Prieſts be prieſted by a lawful Biſhop, their Prieſthood is not worth a Ruſh; [7] unleſs you Lay-Papiſts be abſolved by a lawful Prieſt, your Abſolution is nought worth; and, [8] unleſs the Words of Conſecration be uttered by a lawful Prieſt, intent upon his Buſineſs, there follows no ſubſtantial Change in the Creatures of Bread and Wine. Now how can your Prieſts be aſſured, that they were prieſted by lawful Biſhops; and how can you Lay-Papiſts be aſſured that you are abſolved by lawful Prieſts; or that your Maſſes are ſaid by lawful Prieſts; ſeeing we read (as [9] before I ſhewed) that Pope *Joan* gave Orders, Pope *Joan* made Deacons, and Prieſts, and Biſhops, and Abbots? For it may be well enough, that the Prieſts of this preſent Age are deſcended from thoſe who were ordained by her; eſpecially ſeeing we no where read, that they were degraded by ſucceeding Popes, who had their Ordination from her. Her Succeſſors dealt not with her Shavelings, as Pope *John the Twelfth* did with *Leo the Eighth*'s Shavelings. [10] *John the Twelfth* degraded them all, and compelled every of them to give him up a Paper, wherein it was thus written: *Epiſcopus meus* (meaning *Leo the Eighth*) *nihil ſibi habuit, nihil mihi dedit*; had nought for himſelf, and gave me nought; but ſo did not *Benedict the Third* with her's. Unleſs you ſay, that *Communis error facit jus*, as [11] Lawyers ſaid in the Caſe of *Barbarius Philippus*, I know not what you can reply with Probability to this; and yet that will not ſerve your Turn, for, though it may be ſo in Matters of the Commonwealth, in Matters of the Church it cannot be ſo. For an Error in the Beginning, in Matters touching the Church, proves often an Hereſy in Concluſion. In Matters of the Church, Preſcription adds no Credit to Actions of evil Beginning.

---

[1] Sceleſtiſſimus vir, ad Ann. 974. Num. 1. nefandiſſimus parricida, truculentus prædo, qui ne pilum habuiſſe dici poteſt Romani Pontificis, ad Ann. 985. Num. 1.

[2] Tom. x. ad Ann. 931. Num. 38. Oſtenſus fuit tanquam in ſcena mimus pontificem agens, Tom. x. ad Ann. 955. Num. 4.

[3] Tom. x. ad Ann. 931. Num. 1.

[4] Invaſor & detentor injuſtus Apoſtolicæ ſedis, ad Ann. 928. Num. 1.

[5] Chronolog. Lib. iv. Seculo. 10. ad Ann. 904.

[6] In Epiſcopis de jure divino reſidet iſta poteſtas creandi ſacerdotes. *Tolet.* Summa Caſuum Conſcient. Lib i. cap. 1.

[7] Anathema ſit qui dixerit non ſolos ſacerdotes eſte Miniſtros abſolutionis. Conc. Trid. Seſſ. 14. Can. 10.

[8] Semper in Eccleſia pro indubitato habitum eſt, ita neceſſariam eſſe ordinationem ſacerdotalem ad Euchariſtiam conficiendam, ut ſine ea nullo modo confici poſſit. *Bell.* Lib. iv. de Euchar. cap. 16.

[9] Pag. 82.

[10] *Sigebert.* in Chron. ad Ann. 963. *Baron.* Annal. Tom. x. ad Ann. 964. Num. 9. *Joh. de Turrecrem.* Sum. de Eccleſ. Lib. ii. cap. 103.

[11] ff De Officio Prætoris.

A Scheme for the Foundation of a Royal Hoſpital, and Raiſing a Revenue of Five or Six-thouſand Pounds a Year, by, and for the Maintenance of a Corporation of ſkilful Midwives, and ſuch Foundlings, or expoſed Children, as ſhall be admitted therein. As it was propoſed and addreſſed to his Majeſty King *James* II. By Mrs. *Eliſabeth Cellier*, in the Month of *June*, 1687. Now firſt publiſhed from her own *MS*. found among the ſaid King's Papers. *Folio*, containing nine Pages.

To the King's moſt excellent Majeſty, the humble Propoſal of Eliſabeth Cellier.

Sheweth,

THAT, within the Space of twenty Years laſt paſt, above Six-thouſand Women have died in Child-bed, more than Thirteen-thouſand Children have been born abortive, and above Five-thouſand *chryſome* Infants have been buried, within the weekly Bills of Mortality; above two Thirds of which, amounting to Sixteen-thouſand Souls, have in all Probability periſhed, for Want of due Skill and Care, in thoſe Women who practiſe the Art of Midwifry.

Beſides the great Number which are overlaid, and wilfully murdered, by their wicked and cruel Mothers, for Want of fit Ways to conceal their Shame, and provide for their Children, as alſo the many Executions on the Offenders.

To remedy which, it is humbly propoſed, that your Majeſty will be graciouſly pleaſed, by your Royal Authority, to unite the whole Number of ſkilful Midwives, now practiſing within the Limits of the weekly Bills of Mortality, into a Corporation, under the Government of a certain Number of the moſt able and matron-like Women among them, ſubject to the Viſitation of ſuch Perſon or Perſons, as your Majeſty ſhall appoint; and ſuch Rules for their good Government, Inſtruction, Direction, and Adminiſtration, as are hereunto annexed, or may, upon more mature Conſideration, be thought fit to be annexed.

That ſuch Number, ſo to be admitted, ſhall not exceed a Thouſand at one Time; that every Woman, ſo to be admitted as a ſkilful Midwife, may be obliged to pay, for her Admittance, the Sum of five Pounds, and the like Sum annually, by quarterly Payments, for, and towards, the pious and charitable Uſes hereafter mentioned.

That all Women, ſo admitted into the Thouſand, ſhall be capable of being choſen Matrons, or Aſſiſtants, to the Government.

That ſuch Midwifes as are found capable of the Employment, and cannot be admitted into the firſt Thouſand, ſhall be of the ſecond Thouſand, paying, for their Admittance, the Sum of fifty Shillings, and fifty Shilling a Year by quarterly Payments, towards the pious and charitable Uſes hereafter mentioned, and out of theſe the firſt Thouſand are to be ſupplied, as they die out.

That, out of the firſt Sum ariſing from the Admittance-money, one good, large, and convenient Houſe, or Hoſpital, may be erected, for the Receiving and Taking in of expoſed Children, to be ſubject to the Care, Conduct, and Management of one Governeſs, one female Secretary, and twelve Matron-Aſſiſtants, ſubject to the Viſitation of ſuch Perſons, as to your Majeſty's Wiſdom ſhall be thought neceſſary.

That ſuch Hoſpital be for ever deemed, of your Majeſty's royal Foundation, and from Time to Time, ſubject to the Rules and Directions of your Majeſty, your Heirs and Succeſſors.

That the Annual Five or Six-thouſand Pounds, which may ariſe from the Thouſand licenſed Midwifes, and ſecond Thouſand, may be employed towards the Maintenance of ſuch expoſed Children, as may from Time to Time be brought into the Hoſpital, and for the Governeſs, her Secretary, and the twelve Aſſiſtant-Matrons, and for the neceſſary Nurſes, and their Aſſiſtants, and others, fit to be employed for the Nouriſhment and Education of ſuch expoſed Children in proper Learning, Arts, and Myſteries according to their ſeveral Capacities.

That for the better Maintenance and Encouragement of ſo neceſſary and royal a Foundation of Charity, it is humbly propoſed that by your Majeſty's royal Authority, one fifth Part of the voluntary Charity, collected or beſtowed in any of the Pariſhes within the Limits of the weekly Bills of Mortality, may be annexed for ever to the ſame, other than ſuch Money taxed for the Maintenance of the Pariſh Poor, or collected on Briefs by the royal Authority, for any particular charitable Uſe.

That likewiſe, by your Majeſty's royal Authority, the ſaid Hoſpital may have Leave, to ſet up in every Church, Chapel, or publick Place of Divine Service of any Religion whatſoever within the Limits aforeſaid one Cheſt or Box, to receive the Charity of all well-minded People, who may put Money into the ſame, to be employed for the Uſes aforeſaid.

That ſuch Hoſpital may be allowed, to receive the Donation, of any Lands, Legacies, or other Gifts, that pious and well-minded People may beſtow upon them.

That ſuch Hoſpital may be allowed to eſtabliſh twelve leſſer convenient Houſes, in twelve of the greateſt Pariſhes, each to be governed by one of the twelve Matrons, Aſſiſtants to the Corporation of Midwives, which Houſes may be for the Taking in, Delivery, and Month's Maintenance, at a Price certain of any Woman, that any of the Pariſhes, within the Limits aforeſaid, ſhall by the Overſeers of the Poor place in them, ſuch Women being to be ſubject, with the Children born of them, to the future Care of that Pariſh, whoſe Overſeers place them there to be delivered, notwithſtanding ſuch Houſe ſhall not happen to ſtand in the proper Pariſh.

All and every of the twelve Houſes to be Members of, and Dependents on the Royal Hoſpital, and ſubject to the Government of the ſame, and all ſuch Children as ſhall be expoſed into them, whoſe Parents and Places of Abode cannot be found, are to be conveighed thence to the great Hoſpital, there to be bred up and educated, as though they had been expoſed into it.

That for the better Maintenance, and Encouraging, the Government of the ſaid Hoſpital, in the educating ſuch expoſed Children, in proper Learning, Arts, and Sciences, according to their ſeveral Capacities, it is humbly propoſed, that by your Majeſty's royal Authority, all the Children, ſo expoſed, ſhall be deemed Members of, and Apprentices to the ſaid Society, till they attain the full Age of twenty-one Years, to be reckoned from their firſt Admittance into the ſame, unleſs, by Conſent of the Government thereof, they ſhould happen to be married, or otherwiſe licenſed to depart, under the publick Seal of the ſame.

That likewiſe, by your Majeſty's royal Authority, the Children expoſed and educated, as aforeſaid, may be privileged to take to themſelves Sirnames, from the ſeveral Arts, or Myſteries, they ſhall be excellent in, or from the remarkable Days they were expoſed on, or from their Complexions, Shapes, *&c.* and be made capable, by ſuch Names, of any Honour or Employment, without be liable to Reproach, for their innocent Misfortune.

That by your Majeſty's royal Charter, the Children ſo educated may be free Members, of every City and Corporation, within your Majeſty's Kingdom of *England*, and Dominion of *Wales*.

That for the better Providing ſure Ways, and Means, for the Inſtructing all preſent and future Midwives, who ſhall be admitted into the ſaid Corporation, fit Care ought to be taken to induce that Perſon, who ſhall be found moſt able in the Art, and moſt fit for that Employment, to inſtruct them in the moſt perfect Rules of Skill by reading Lectures, and diſcourſing to them.

That on the Lecture Days, or other Times appointed for that Purpoſe, ſuch Midwife, in whoſe Practice any extraordinary Occurrents ſhall happen, ſhall report the ſame to the Governeſs, and ſuch of her Aſſiſtants, as ſhall then happen to be preſent, and they to be free in his, or their Inſtructions.

And it is humbly propoſed, in the firſt Years before the Charge of the ſaid Hoſpital can be great, that out of the Annual Duties ariſing from the licenſed Midwives, the Sum of   may be paid to the Propoſer to enable her to provide for her Children, that nothing may divert her from employing all her Induſtry for the Good of thoſe poor expoſed Children.

And that all Admittance-money which ſhall be paid, after the firſt Thouſands are ſettled, ſhall be divided between the Governeſs and the Man Midwife or Director of the Houſe for the Time being, by even and equal Proportions.

That upon the Admitting any Woman to be Deputy to any Midwife, the Sum of thirty Shillings ſhall be paid, and the like Sum annually, by quarterly Payments, twenty Shillings whereof ſhall be as a Fee to the Governeſs, and ten Shillings to her Secretary, beſides their neceſſary Lodging and other Conveniencies in the ſaid Hoſpital.

That after this firſt Settlement, no married Woman be admitted to be either Governeſs, Secretary, or any of the twelve principal Aſſiſtants to the Government; and that no married Perſon, of either Sex, ſhall be ſuffered to inhabit within the ſaid Hoſpital, to avoid ſuch Inconveniences as may ariſe, as the Children grow to Maturity; and that, as ſoon as any of them be found fit and capable of ſuch Employment, the Governeſs, Secretary, under Governeſſes, Governors, Treaſurer, Regiſter, and all other Offices of the Houſe ſhall be choſen, as they become capable thereof, and have entered themſelves to continue Members of the ſaid Society, during their natural Lives; and if any of theſe Perſons do marry afterwards, than to clear their Accounts and depart the Houſe, by being expelled the Society.

Rules for Governing the Hoſpital of found Children.

THAT the Governeſs be appointed by his Majeſty, as likewiſe her Secretary, and twelve Aſſiſtants, who are to name twenfour to be of the Government.

That, upon the Death of the Governeſs, her Place be ſupplied by her Secretary, or ſuch Perſon as ſhall be choſen by the twelve principal Aſſiſtants, or the major Part of them, and the Approbation of his Majeſty; that the Secretary be choſen by the Governeſs, and approved of by his Majeſty, his Heirs and Succeſſors.

That, upon the Vacancy of one of the twelve principal Aſſiſtants, by Death or otherwiſe, one of the Four-and-twenty ſhall ſucceed, by Election of the Governeſs, Secretary, and the other Eleven; as alſo, the Number of Four-and-twenty ſhall be ſupplied, by Election of the Governeſs, female Secretary, and twelve principal Aſſiſtants, or the major Part of them; and, in all Caſes, the Governeſs to have three, and the Secretary, two Voices.

That all Rules for governing the Children, under five Years of Age, ſhall be made by the Governeſs, her Secretary, and their Aſſiſtants; that the Government of the Whole, under ſuch Rules, be in the Governeſs.

That all female Children ſhall continue under the ſole Government and Direction of the Governeſs, until they attain the full Age of twenty-one Years, or are married by her Conſent.

That all male Children, at the Age of five Years, ſhall be ſeparated from the Female, and put under Government of the ſeveral Maſters, to be appointed to inſtruct them in learning Arts and Trades, according to their ſeveral Capacities, and the Rules of the Houſe.

That the principal Chaplain be Governor of the male Children above five Years of Age, according to ſuch Rules as ſhall be made from Time to Time, for well Ordering the ſaid Hoſpital.

That all Pariſh-found Children, under the Age of three Years, ſhall be admitted into the ſaid Hoſpital, as ſoon as it is built, for two Shillings *per* Week, or the Sum of fifteen Pounds, to be paid at the Election of the Overſeers, or Veſtry of the Pariſh, that ſend them, to continue there twenty-one Years.

That there ſhall be appointed proper Miſtreſſes, to inſtruct all the Children, under five Years of Age, in Reading and Arts, according to their Capacities, who are to have Salaries and Subſiſtence from the Houſe, by ſuch Rules as ſhall be made from Time to Time, as Occaſion happens; which Miſtreſſes are all to be ſubject to the Governeſs.

That like Miſtreſſes be appointed, for inſtructing the female Children in Plain-work, Lace-making, Point-embroidery, and all other female Arts, according to their ſeveral Capacities, and under the like Government.

That Maſters, in ſeveral Myſteries, Arts, and Handicrafts, be appointed, to teach the male Children, as Painters, Engravers, Carvers, Watchmakers, Smiths, and Carpenters, of all Sorts; Salemakers, Taylors, Shoemakers, and many other Trades, according to their Geniuſſes, Strengths, and ſeveral Capacities.

That an able Regiſter be appointed, to ſet down, and keep, a due Account of the Day of the Enterance of every Child into the Hoſpital, with the proper Marks of its Body, Colour of its Cloaths, and other Things about it, with its Hoſpital Name, and where it was found, with its own Name, if a Note be left thereof, to the End that any one may recover their loſt Child, if they pleaſe; that the Regiſter take Care to cauſe all Children to be inſtructed in fair Writing and Accounts, according to their ſeveral Capacities.

That all Names are to be given by the Governeſs, and that every Child, upon its being brought into the Hoſpital, ſhall be marked with a Croſs of Blue under the Brawn of the Arm, with the Day and Year of its Admittance; to the End they may be found out and recovered, if they ſhould chance to conveigh themſelves out of the Hoſpital before the Age of twenty-one Years, to defraud it of the Benefit of the Myſtery, Art, or Trade they have learned.

That a Woman, ſufficiently ſkilled in Writing and Accounts, be appointed Secretary to the Governeſs and Company of Midwives, to be preſent at all Controverſies about the Art of Midwifery, to regiſter all the extraordinary Accidents happening in the Practice, which all licenſed Midwives are, from Time to Time, to report to the Society; that the female Secretary be reckoned an Aſſiſtant to the Government, next to the Governeſs, and capable of ſucceeding in her Stead, if choſen thereunto by the Governeſs, in her Life-time, with the Approbation of his Majeſty, his Heirs, and Succeſſors.

That the principal Phyſician, or Man-midwife, examine all extraordinary Accidents, and, once a Month at leaſt, read a publick Lecture to the whole Society of licenſed Midwives, who are all obliged to be preſent at it, if not employed in their Practice; and he ſhall deliver a Copy of ſuch Reading, to be entered into the Book to be kept for that Purpoſe: A Copy of which ſhall be made out to any Perſon, demanding the ſame, for ſuch reaſonable Fee, as ſhall be appointed by the Government, and ſhall be free, for any licenſed Midwife, at all convenient Times, to have Recourſe to the ſaid Book, and to read any Part of the ſame *gratis*.

That no Men ſhall be preſent at ſuch publick Lectures, on any Pretence whatſoever, except ſuch able Doctors and Surgeons, as ſhall enter themſelves Students in the ſaid Art, and pay, for ſuch their Admittance, ten Pounds, and ten Pounds a Year; five Pounds to the Houſe, and the other Five to be divided equally between the Governeſs and the chief Doctor, or Surgeon, that ſhall be Director of the Houſe for the Time being.

That all Phyſicians and Surgeons, ſo admitted Students and Practitioners in the Art of Midwifery, ſhall be of Council with the principal Man-midwife, and be capable of ſucceeding him, by Election of the Governeſs, her Secretary, twelve Aſſiſtants, and the twenty-four lower Aſſiſtants, or the major Part of them all: Elections to be made by Balloting, the Governeſs three Balls, and the Secretary two Balls.

That the Man-regiſter, and Secretary of the Houſe, be under the Command and Direction of the whole Government thereof for all Buſineſs, except the Art of Midwifery, which is to be meddled with by none, but the Governeſs, female Secretary, Man-midwife, and their Aſſiſtants.

That any Child, under the Age of one Year, whoſe Parents are known, or not known, ſhall be admitted into the Houſe, under the Rules of being there twenty-one Years; provided there be paid into the Stock of the Hoſpital the Sum of thirty Pounds, at the Sending in of the ſaid Child.

That any Perſon, or Perſons, who would have a Child out of the ſaid Society, ſhall have Power to examine the Regiſter, whether the Child, by its Marks, be living or dead, and may redeem the ſame, being under the Age of five Years, for twenty-five Pounds, or being of that Age, or under the Age of ſeven Years, for forty Pounds; and from Seven to Ten, for fifty Pounds; but, after the Age of ten Years, every Year it continues in the Houſe, ſhall advance ten Pounds in the Price of the Redemption, till ſuch Times they attain the Age of Fifteen; after which Time, no Increaſe of the Price of Redemption ſhall be upon any Child; any one being, at any Time, to be free for a hundred Pounds, or leſs, if the Governeſs of the Houſe, her Secretary, twelve Aſſiſtants, or the major Part of them, conſent to the ſame; the Governeſs hath three, and the female Secretary two Voices, which are to be given by the Chaplain, Regiſter, and Treaſurer, if it be a male Child that is to be redeemed; but, if it be a Female, then the Power to reſt in themſelves.

That all the Money, coming to the ſaid Hoſpital, either by Annual Payments, Charity, Redemption, or any other Ways whatſoever, ſhall be placed into one common Treaſury, to be kept in one, or more iron Cheſts; not to be opened, but by the Conſent of the Governeſs, her Secretary, the chief Chaplain, or him that ſhall be Governor of the male Children, the Regiſter, and Treaſurer, who ſhall each of them have a Key to ſo many ſeveral Locks; and the ſaid Monies, other than the conſtant Salaries of the Officers, and daily Maintenance of the Children, ſhall not be applied to any extraordinary Uſe, but ſuch as ſhall be appointed by the whole Government of the Hoſpital, in which Number the Keepers of thoſe Keys, for ſuch Purpoſes, are to be accounted Part.

The Accounts whereof, and of all Monies coming into, or going out from the ſame, ſhall be kept by the Regiſter; and free Acceſs ſhall be had, at all Times, to the ſame, *gratis*, by the Governors, or any of the Viſitors of the ſaid Hoſpital; and that, once a Month, all Comings in, and Goings out, and all other Tranſactions on that Account, ſhall be, by the Regiſter, fairly entered into a Book for that Purpoſe, which ſhall always remain with the Governeſs, and not be taken out upon any Pretence whatſoever; and that any Perſon may ſearch the Regiſter's Book, for the Fee of Six-pence for one Year's Search.

That Rules ſhall be made, from Time to Time, by the Government, for trying the Geniuſſes of the Children, and dividing them into ſeveral Claſſes and Employments, according to their ſeveral Capacities, and for entering them under proper Miſtreſſes and Maſters, upon certain Salaries, or, otherwiſe, binding them Apprentices to the ſaid Miſtreſſes and Maſters within the Houſe, or for Clothing them, during their Reſidence in, or at their Going out of the ſaid Hoſpital.

As likewiſe for all other Accidents, as Lunaticks, Idiots, and other Infirmities, Diſeaſes, and Sickneſſes, and for Separating the Infirm from the Healthful, and the infectious Diſeaſes from the other Sick, and for all other Contingencies, as there ſhall be Occaſion.

That none ſhall be detained, againſt their Wills, above the Time of twenty-one Years, nor turned out at that Time, if they deſire to ſtay; it being in the Power of any of them, at that Age, to enter him, or herſelf, *ſubject* to the Rules and Duties of the Houſe, for their natural Lives; nor are any of them incapacitated to get their Livings abroad, nor, being within the Houſe, at any Time to be turned out, but are to be maintained by them in neceſſary Meat, Drink, Cloaths, and Lodging, during their natural Lives, or till they recover of their Diſtempers, ſo as to be able and willing to leave the ſame.

But no Perſon, once diſcharged, and out of the Care of the Houſe for ſix Months, ſhall be capable of demanding Enterance into the ſame again, or of Maintenance from it, but by the Conſent of the Government thereof; and that ſuch, as return to the Houſe, ſhall give good Teſtimony, that they have ſpent their Time well, and without Scandal, or be for ever expelled the Society.

That further Rules, for the Eſtabliſhment and Foundation of the ſaid Community, or Hoſpital, and for Viſiting the ſame, may be appointed in the Charter for endowing the ſame; and ſuch Penalties impoſed, on ſuch as practiſe without Licenſe from the Corporation, as to your Majeſty's Wiſdom ſhall ſeem meet.

To which All is humbly ſubmitted.

Four for a Penny: Or, poor *Robin's* Character of an unconſcionable Pawn-broker, and Ear-mark of an oppreſſing Tally-Man: With a friendly Deſcription of a Bum-Bailey, and his mercileſs Setting-Cur, or Follower. With Allowance. *London*, printed for *L. C.* 1678. *Quarto*, containing eight Pages.

WE here preſent you, Gentlemen, with a Parcel of Beaſts of Prey, worſe than ever *Africk* bred; and more unclean than any that entered into *Noah's* Ark; yet cloven-footed, in Imitation of their Sire; and all ſo ſuperlative in their Kinds, that each may diſpute for Precedency: Only, for Method-Sake, we ſhall begin with the moſt ſly and dangerous.

An unconſcionable Pawn-broker (for there are conſcionable Dealers in that Way, that are a Relief and Comfort to the Poor; and thoſe are not concerned in this Character:) An unconſcionable Pawn-broker, I ſay, is *Pluto's* Factor, old *Nick's* Warehouſe-keeper, an *Engliſh Jew* that lives and grows fat on Fraud and Oppreſſion, as Toads, on Filth and Venom; whoſe Practice outvies Uſury, as much as Inceſt ſimple Fornication; and to call him, a Tradeſman, muſt be by the ſame Figure, that Pickpockets ſtile their Legerdemain, an Art and Myſtery. His Shop, like Hell-gates, is always open, where he ſits at the Receipt of Cuſtom, like *Cacus* in his Den, ready to devour all that is brought him; and, having gotten your Spoils, hangs them up in Rank and File, as ſo many Trophies of Victory. Hither all Sorts of Garments reſort in Pilgrimage, whilſt he, playing the Pimp, lodges the Tabby-Petticoat and Ruſſet-breeches together in the ſame Bed of Lavender.

He is the Treaſurer of the Thieves Exchequer, the common Fender of all Bulkers and Shop-lifts in the Town. To this Purpoſe, he keeps a private Warehouſe, and ſhips away the ill-gotten Goods by Wholeſale; dreading Nothing ſo much, as that a Convict ſhould honeſtly confeſs how he diſpoſed the Moveables. He is a Kind of Diſeaſe quite contrary to the Gout; for, as that haunts the Rich, ſo this mainly torments the Poor, and ſcarce leaves them ſo much as a primitive Fig-leaf to cover their Nakedneſs. Mrs. *Joan*, when ſhe is minded to ſee her Sweet-heart, and Gammar *Blue-bottle* going to a Chriſtening, muſter up the Pence, on the *Saturday* Night to redeem their beſt Riggings out of Captivity; but, on *Monday* Morning, infallibly bring them back (like Thieves that had only made an Eſcape) to the old *Limbus*; and this ſo often, till, at laſt, they know the Way, and can go to Pawn alone by themſelves. Thus they are forced to purchaſe the ſame Cloaths ſeven Times over; and, for Want of a Cheſt to keep them in at Home, it coſts thrice as much as they are worth for their Lodging in his Cuſtody. When they come in, like other Priſoners, they firſt pay Garniſh, the Two-pences for Entrance-money; after this, Six-pence a Month for every twenty Shillings lent, which yet indeed is but nineteen Shillings and Six-pence; that is, according to their Reckoning of thirteen Months to the Year, ſix Shillings and Six-pence Intereſt, for One Pound for a Year; which makes Thirty-three Pounds, ſix Shillings, and Eight-pence in the Hundred, *viz.* One third Part of the Principal, and juſt Twenty ſeven Pounds, ſix Shillings, and Eight-pence more than the Statute allows; beſides Twelve-pence for a Bill of Sale, if the Matter be conſiderable. So that, ſince they never lend half the Value on any Thing that is brought them, if a Pawn-broker lay out a hundred Pounds, he firſt makes near forty Pounds, *per Annum*, Advantage certain, as aforeſaid: And then conſidering how many Thieves, *&c.* (their chief Cuſtomers that bring the lumping Bargains) never intend to redeem, and how many Poor are not able, eſpecially ſince, as ſoon as the Year and Day expire, they preſently diſpoſe their Pawns, or pretend to do ſo; we may reaſonably conclude that theſe Horſe-leeches make *Cent. per Cent.* at leaſt of their Money in a Year: And all this by a Courſe tending only to the Encouragement of Thieves, and Ruin of thoſe that are honeſt, but indigent.

Near of Kin to theſe Caterpillars is the unconſcionable Tally-man, but a little more adventurous, and dealing ſo much in Wood, that it is ſuppoſed his Deſerts may intitle him to die on a leafleſs Tree. He is one that eateth up the Poor, to uſe a ſacred Phraſe, even as Bread, and yet under a charitable Pretence of ſerving and accommodating them: For he lets them have ten Shillings Worth of ſorry Commodities, or ſcarce ſo much, on Security given to pay him twenty Shillings by Twelvepence a Week. Then his wandering *Mephiſtophilus*, with the Bundle of Rattles, whom we may call the Devil's Rent-gatherer, haunts them more diligently, than a revengeful Ghoſt does a Murderer, or a tormenting Conſcience, a Traytor: And, if they happen to fail the firſt or ſecond Week, ſnaps them or their Security, and makes them, forthwith, pay the utmoſt Farthing; alledging, now their former Agreement was void. We have Nothing to do with thoſe, that deal according to Conſcience.

There is yet another Pack of the charitable Vermin, that make it their Buſineſs to lend Money by the Week. This crafty Extortioner commonly keeps a blind Ale-houſe; and you muſt firſt, beſides a World of Compliments, ſpend two or three Shillings at ſeveral Times, before he be at Leiſure, or Money comes in, or that you can perſuade him to like your Security; at leaſt you get but eighteen Shillings, for every twenty Shillings; but muſt give Bond (and him Twelve-pence for making it) to repay full twenty Shillings at two Shillings, *per* Week; who, in Caſe of Failure, takes the firſt Advantage to be as kind to you, as the laſt Gentleman. And ſo by theſe Subtleties, and continual Returns, they likewiſe make much, more than double of their Money, in a Year's Time, as by exact Calculation may appear.

Theſe are the *Nimrods*, the private Hunters, in this vaſt Foreſt of Chimnies, that draw the Poor into their Nets, and pick them to the very Bone. But the Bandogs, that they make Uſe of, are the Bum-bailey and his Setting-Cur: The firſt, a Kind of Excreſcence of the Law, like our Nails, made only to ſcratch and claw; a Sort of Birdlime, where he lays Hold, he hangs; a Raven that pecks not out Men's Eyes, as others do, but all his Spite is at their Shoulders; and you had better have the Night-mare ride you, than this Incubus. He is one of *Deucalion*'s By-blows, begotten of a Stone, and has taken an Oath never to pity Widow or Orphan. His firſt Buſineſs is to bait you for Money for his confounded Civility; next, to call for Drink, as faſt as Men for Buckets of Water in a Conflagration: After which, becoming grave and ſerious, he adviſes you, in Revenge, to arreſt the Plaintiff, and offers to do it, with, or without Cauſe; it is all one to him, if he perceive you have Money. His Follower is an Hanger, that he wears by his Side; a falſe Dye of the ſame Bale, but not the ſame Cut; for it runs ſomewhat higher, inflames the Reckoning, and ſo does more Miſchief. He is a Tumbler that drives in the Conies; but is yet but a Bungler, and knows not how to cut up a Man, without Tearing, unleſs by a Pattern. This is the Hook, that hangs under Water to choak the Fiſh, and his Officer the Quill above, which pops down as ſoon as ever the Bait is ſwallowed. Though, differing in Degree, they are both much of a Complexion, only the Teeth of this latter are more ſharp, and he more hungry, becauſe he does but ſnap, and hath not his full Half-ſhare of the Booty. A main Part of his Office is to ſwear and bluſter at their trembling Priſoners, and cry, ‘Confound us, why do we wait? Let ‘us ſhop him;’ whilſt, the other meekly replies, ‘*Jack*, be patient, it is a civil Gentleman, and I know, will conſider us;’ which Species of Wheedling, in Terms of their Art, is called *Sweeten* and *Pinch*. The Eyes of theſe Wolves are as quick in their Head, as a Cutpurſe's in a Throng; and as nimble are they at their Buſineſs, as an Hangman at an Execution. They will court a broken Pate to heal it with a Plaiſter of Green-wax, and ſuck more Silver out of a Wound, than a Surgeon. Yet, as theſe Eels are generally bred out of the Mud of a Bankrupt, ſo they commonly die with their Guts ripped up, or are decently run through the Lungs; and, as they lived hated, die unpitied. We ſpeak here of thoſe only that abuſe the Intentions of the Law, and act Oppreſſion under the Colour of ſerving common Juſtice.

The Cloud opened *: Or, The *Engliſh* Hero. By a loyal and and impartial Pen.

Quam facile ſit cæcus dux vitæ, & obſcura lux temporum Hiſtoria? Si non amentiæ, rarus eſt qui non ineptiæ litavit, Unicus ſit qui Deo & veritati obtulit.

London, printed, *A. D.* 1670. *Quarto*, containing forty-eight Pages.

ONogyros is an Herb worthy of Aſſes, a Lactuce like their Lips, rough and prickly; yet, if Herbaliſts are to be credited, a Counter-poiſon. Adulation, though ſmooth as Oil, is no Alexipharmick. The tame Beaſt, a Flatterer, is more ſpotted, nor leſs cruel than the Leopard or a Tyger. And with the Gayety of a Serpent, the rich Inamelling of an Adder's Skin hath no unequal Poiſon.

In the late Tyranny, when Reaſon ſeemed the moſt extravagant Freak, and Religion and Loyalty had the Repute of ſuch grand Malignants, as a Plague might be ſuppoſed to harbour leſs of Contagion, a mercenary Trifler would have the Uſurper *Oliver*, an *Olive*; ſure after an happy Revolution, no one can be Maſter of more Senſe than the clenching Panegyriſt, or voluminous, nothing wanted; as much a Stranger to Wit, as to our Nation; his Appetite only ſharpened Invention, and the hungry Gut vented Oracles. Where the Scripture on the Rack was only taught to patroniſe Impiety, by making bloody and blaſphemous Confeſſions; it can be no Wonder, if *Gotham's* Parable was forgot by an Exotick Whiffler, where the Olive could yield no Fatneſs to uſurp, and out of a Bramble only could come the Fire to deſtroy the Cedars of *Lebanon*; ſuch an unhappy Land, as made a Foreſt, was inhabited by wild Beaſts.

In an Age of lying Wonders, where a more than ordinary Antichriſt brought Fire down from Heaven, it could be none of the leaſt of the Miracles, that a Fiſher could, by *Pagan* Worſhip, tranſlate the brazen Image of a Tyrant into Gold, and make it equal an hundred Jacobuſſes or more pure Carolines in Value.

A doubly blind Bard firſt in his own, and, as ſome fancy, ſince by God's Judgment, would have him equalled by a Kingfiſher. But to have had ſuch a King for his Subject, in whoſe Cauſe, Chriſtianity might ſeem engaged, ſure could not need the Temptation of a Bribe, to him who had not renounced the Chriſtian Profeſſion, though pedantically florid, and leſs ſignificant Pens, ſerved but as Foils to his Portraiture and Sufferings; which were only to be taken from his own Writings.

Virtue, which is content with her own Reward, and Loyalty, which expects no Recompence below Heaven, know not how to deſcend to that truckling and ſervile Aſſentation, which has no better Hieroglyphick, than the moſt impure of Creatures, the ſometimes fawning, and at others, ſnarling and biting Cur.

The deceaſed General may merit ſome grateful Epicediums, above ſuch diſmal Ditties as attend upon Executions, which ſeem more mercileſs than the Extremities of the Law; while the Executioner in Metre is more barbarous than the Hangman. The Muſes have little to do with *Mars*; yet they muſt not permit a Praiſe-worthy Perſon to die, if they have any Faith for their Arch-Prieſt the Prince of *Lyricks*. It is a Tribute due to Allegiance, to commend him whom a King would honour. Commands, ſtrong as Muſtard, may ſeem unneceſſary to make the Nation's Eyes water into Elegies for his Loſs, who was the ſuppoſed Reſtorer of their Sight; the bleſſed Inſtrument of returning a King, who may be truly called, *The Light of our Eyes.* Who would not melt by a Compaſſion, if obdurate for leſſer Loſſes, for the Muſes *Helicon*, what the Poets might call, *Showers of Tears*, might ſeem expedient when it is grown ſo muddy, as it cannot furniſh out ſo much clear Wit as can ſprinkle an Hearſe. Fooliſh Verſifiers, like to Schiſmatical Pulpiteers, by racked Hyperbole's and tentered Allegories, make the moſt ſober Truths diſcredited; Folly diſpraiſes thoſe ſhe would commend, and diminiſhes Glory, by ſeeking to multiply it.

---

* This is 212th Number in the Catalogue of Pamphlets in the *Harleian* Library.

Who would not believe that a Fable, which muſt have all the Heathen Gods brought into the Scene for the Delivery? He who ariſeth early, and praiſeth his Friend aloud, it ſhall be reputed to him for a Curſe, if the Wiſeſt of Men is to be believed. That a too early and inconſiderate Commendation can irritate Envy and Contradiction, which might have ſlept, if not awaked by raſh and untimely Bauling, may be eaſily now demonſtrated from the Diſcourſes of Folly.

Whether Deſign or Chance renders more famous, is uncertain. Hiſtory can furniſh us with a Coward, who by the Loſs of his Head, grew victorious; by a Virtue inherent in the Spurs of Honour, the more generous Beaſt, which is intitled to Want of Brains, tranſporting to noble Atchievements. A Defect in the Noddle hath rendered not few ſtrangely ſupereminent, whoſe excelling Diſpoſition, like that of an inraged Horſe, hath qualified or the Ruſhing into a Battle. The *Pſalmiſt* will have an Horſe a vain Thing to ſave a Man; to raiſe one to a fair Mount of Honour, ſome can inſtance *H. B.* who for a Knighthood and Lordſhip would cry God-a-mercy to his Beaſt.

Thomas Anello, is not the only Example of a brutiſh Valour attaining to a Muſhroom Grandeur: Nor was the puny Thief *Du Val* the firſt Robber who lay in State, by pompous Folly to be made more inglorious.

The Aerian ſtalking Nag (on whom the ſubtle Fowlers of Phanaticiſm ſet their Aim to ſhoot at Game Royal) had his Image ordered to be made by the grand Bogglers at Ceremonies, and Decryers of Superſtition; which intended for an Honour, made him to ſuffer in Effigy for a Traitor; while a freak-inſpired Sectary cut off an Head equally ſtupid, with that which he had devoted to the vain Idol of a fooliſh Reformation.

The Protector of Flies, carried in State like to a *Pagan* Deity, might ſeem worſhiped by an Heatheniſh Idolatry; while our *Gentiles*, Schiſm's Fly-blows, having gained Wings by the Warmth of his Bounty, with buzzing Acclamations attended on their *Beelzebub*.

Ziſca would have a Drum made of his Skin; and our glorious *Edward* would have his victorious Corpſe carried for a Terror to his Enemies; but nothing can be more vain than to take a Pleaſure in the Hovering of thoſe dire Vapours above Ground, who might ſeem to have cleft it for Contagion.

Vainly the Dead are embalmed with Spices, whoſe Lives can contribute no Odours in good Works to perfume their Memories.

The Survivors Worſhip of the Dead was the wild Superſtition of Heathen. A Commemoration of Saints and Benefactors deceaſed, has been neither the irreligious nor impolitick Cuſtom of ſober Chriſtians. The Honour given to good Men is a Tribute rendered to God, who will be honoured in his Saints; the Praiſes of the Bad are ſo many Acknowledgments to Satan, who is thus worſhiped in his Images.

The myſterious Riddle of loyal Grandeur, whom ſome will have a Parent to his Mother, and his Father's Father, a Prince the Father of his Country, the ſupererogating Monk, *G.* Duke of *Albemarle*, may worthily challenge that ſurviving Honour, by which he ſeems triumphant over Fate; if not a principal, an adjuvant, or ſuch a Cauſe without which our Felicity could not be effected; if two vaſt Piles of living Honours were ſuperadded Mountains of Wealth, and after Death he is placed among Kings, who ſeemed the Reſtorer of Kingdoms, no wiſe or good Man can repine, but rather congratulate the Felicity of that Age, in which a Servant, eſteemed faithful, found a Maſter truly Royal. Honour was not made diſhonourable in our Generals ſuperadditional Titles; the Atchievements of his Anceſtors, if not ſuperior to moſt, inferior to few Coats of Arms borne by our *Engliſh* Nobility; what might give a Supereminence, and Fools will be always the moſt apt to blazon, the only Blot in the Eſcutcheon. Honour muſt be fair written; even the Fountain of it, a Prince, cannot waſh away the Blemiſhes of his own making.

The generous Heroe, who diſdained to bring in a King fettered like a royal Slave, or ſuch a Beaſt as muſt not be allowed the Uſe of Reaſon, whoſe Crowning is in Relation to the making of him a Sacrifice, by not attending to that rigid Zeal, which, inſeparable from Envy of any Greatneſs, which might exceed her own, would have Kings bound in Chains, and their Nobles in Fetters of Iron; the intolerable Gives of a *Scottiſh* League, by making Princes Parties, can dethrone, not only level with a Peaſant, but equal to a Brute; if giddy Fame was only conſtant to this Report, none could think Honour or Riches miſplaced with our General, except ſuch who can believe Cruelties exceeding theſe of the *Goths*, *Huns*, and *Vandals*, conferred on the Preſerver of his Country, a Recompence worthy of a *Bellizarius*. The Devouring of a Serpent would be thus thought to produce a Dragon. Our *George* might not have ſeemed to conquer a Monſter, but to have introduced one, in Ingratitude equalling that moſt monſtrous Piece of Barbariſm, the Miſchief-brooding Part, which venting nothing but Noiſe and Stench, in the Opinion of Buffoons, could be eſteemed more honourable than the Head.

Him, who reſtored the Fountain of Honour untainted, none can juſtly envy a liberal Benefit of the Streams; or, Who would deny ſome larger Cluſters of Grapes to him, by whoſe Beneficence they ſeem to have the uninterrupted Enjoyments of their Vines?

Neceſſity renders the proudeſt Titles contemptible: When an Emperor became a Soldier to our *Eighth Henry*, it might ſeem a timely Magnificence, which made a Prince's Bounties ſhine in a Tent made with Cloth of Gold. The Prince who undervalues himſelf, or Benefactors, by becoming cheap, his Kingdoms and Armies rarely want Purchaſers.

The Drums muſt beat, Trumpets ſound, and Images of Gold be reared to make the People fall down and worſhip; yet, where worldly Pelf is the only Motive, wiſe Men can rather ſuffer the fiery Furnace of Affliction, than pay a Devotion to ſuch fooliſh Idols.

Speede's Chronicle hath a Remark, That he who thought himſelf a Match for Princes, the *Low-Country* Prince, or truer King of Gypſies, the Arch-canter and chief Idol of the Aerians, who patroniſed holy Hypocrites as ſure Friends to Religion, as he was to the moſt Boſom-friend, whoſe Neck they could, well contented, break, to make Way for the Eſpouſing of a Whimſy, the great Earl of *Leiceſter*, the ſo much celebrated Favourite living, unmaſked by Death, could want a Commendation.

Death only makes true Confeſſions: A little Loſs of Air (or as much Breath as can furniſh out a Bubble vaniſhed) leaves the moſt wind-impoſthumed Bladder ſhrivelled. What equals all Men, lends an impartial View, and unlearns the mannerly Diſtinctions betwixt a Prince and Peaſant. *Homer*, though the Father of Fictions, may gain a ſober Belief, while he will have Hares to inſult over dead Lions; but Envy cannot blaſt juſt Actions, which (as a Minor Poet) *in the Duſt, can ſmell ſweet and bloſſom.*

Who undervalued Life in his Country's Cauſe, Lillies and Roſes may be ſaid to ſpring from the Tomb of a no leſs renowned Hero, who dared to do as much in the Sea, as *Curtius* in the Land, for his Country.

Some will have the firſt Degree of revived Loyalty commenced at the *Three-Tuns*, and can dare publickly to aver, That there is a Knight, who, being inſpired by the ſame Spirit of loyal Sack, will ſwear himſelf the Author of our ſo happy Reſtoration, and that Loyalty or Ruin were the only Choice left to the General.

The Serpent, which gave us the Sting, muſt afford us the Cure. Some will not be perſuaded, that the Juncto, which made him a Cypher in Commiſſion, contributed no Vote to their own Ruin, by putting a Period to his, gave a Date to their own ſupereminent Power; and thus the Cunning were catched in their own Snare: Yet he, who infatuates the Counſel of the worldly Wiſe, hath the leaſt Returns of Honour or Praiſe, where thoſe, forgetting God, can ſuppoſe a Sacrifice due to every fooliſh Net.

The Lord *F.* (anagrammed by *Hei! fax fato Mars*) if not the greateſt, no ſlender Perſuaſion will allow, none of the meaneſt Inſtruments, by riſing on the Back of *Lambert*, and thus to have nobly expiated that brutiſh Folly (not to give it a worſe Name) which ſuffered us to be deprived of the beſt of Princes.

I have been no infrequent, though, for the moſt Part, an incredulous Auditor of a Baronet, who would have the General, at his Enlargement from the *Tower*, crave a Benediction from Biſhop *Wren*, and aſſured him, when Opportunity was propitious, he ſhould not be averſe to the Royal Service: Neither was this a ſingle Tradition which he had received from his loyal Father, but another muſt be attendant on it equally irrefragable, a Promiſe to his loyal Comrades, *viz.* never to bear Arms in *England* againſt his Prince. This not a few will have moſt exactly to be performed, and, hence, by no Action of his Loyalty to be impeached. What he acted in the firſt *Dutch* Engagement, and what was performed in the *Caledonian* War, muſt, by a milder Gloſs, be interpreted a Zeal for his Country, and no Diſaffection to his King; but the more rigid Cenſors will not allow him, who wounds in Hands and Feet, no Enemy, though not equally mortal with him who tranſpierces the Heart.

A ſuperintendent Lord would be a Privado to thoſe Proceedings, which might call the wiſeſt Brains into Queſtion to imagine; but, coming from ſo ſupereminently knowing a Statiſt, and told in Parliament, he may ſeem wanting to all Reaſon, who could be deficient in the Belief of our General's Intention for a Reſtoration. I have heard a Kinſman and Retainer to his Lordſhip aver the Sight of the Letter.

Whether *O. C. L.* &c. have not complimented with vain Hopes ſuch as they never intended ſhould reap any Benefit above that of a deluded Imagination, is the Diſcourſe of no unwary, if none of the wiſeſt Heads.

The Supplement of a Chronicle (which, ſome can think, might want a ſtout *Peter Heylin*, who, blind, might beſt gueſs at dark Intrigues) muſt be incontroulable to evince the Truth of thoſe Intents. A Chronicle's Name paſſes, with ſome graver Noddles, for an Authority equalling that which the vulgar Creed hath for a Ballad, which their Wiſdoms conceive as authentick as the Divineſt Writ.

There are vaſt Diſproportions, if not a Gulf equalling that which ſeparated the rich Man from an *Abraham*'s Boſom, betwixt ſuch who write to give God the Honour, and thoſe who arrogate Divine Honour to their fooliſh Imaginations. The Hero, in the Romance, muſt paſs ſtrange Dangers, encounter Monſters, Magicians, and Giants in Difficulties, and be at a Precipice for Ruin, before Miracles are called in for his Deliverance.

Cæſar, who writ Commentaries on his own Actions, though none of the worſt, might not be the trueſt of Hiſtorians. Opinion puts falſe Spectacles on our Eyes; both Self-intereſt and Self-conceit rarely not diſeaſe our Sights, and make us reſemble Ictericks, who can apprehend no Colour beſide their own.

Some will have it to be numbered among thoſe rarely numerable Infelicities of Loyalty, to be huffed by every Braggart, not only out of the Tributes which ſhould be inſeparable from Virtue, but muſt be ever incapable of worldly Compaſſion, unleſs loſt to that Reaſon which ſhould difference from Brutes. The fooliſh Things of this World, thus, in no Chriſtian Senſe may ſeem to confound the Wiſe; but they, who, with a Grain of Salt, have only a Mite of Charity, may pity, not envy Giddineſs advanced to ſlippery Precipices.

Though a ſober Doctor, in the languiſhing State of the Body Politick, might not be uſeleſs, ſome will not allow the metamorphoſed Apothecary, by the Addition of Honour, loſt to one, while he provided Sauce, with Sippets of his own, to make an harſh Parcel of Chronicle be more eaſily digeſted. A merry tranſformed Surgeon, who pretends an equal Intimacy in Tranſactions about State-ulcers (if Truth is in Wine) might be believed, who would have a Broomſtick, with a Rag at the End of it, to have been of ſufficient Efficacy for the Miracle of a Revolution.

The Fanatick *O.* whoſe Name might imply his Doctrine fit for lighter Grounds, having been baffled about a miſquoted Piece of the *Apocalypſe*, was ſarcaſtically aſked by a Lord, at the General's Table, Whether he was converted out of the *Revelations*? To which he boldly replied to the Grandee, equally through all Times giddy, That it was not the *Revelation*, but the happy *Revolution*, to which they all owed their Converſions.

That Nature ſhould produce nothing more reſerved, than our *Engliſh* Hero, will ſeem not the leaſt of our Nation's Wonders, when ſome can impute that Crime to him, which makes all Things more perlucid than Glaſs; and others will have ſuch not infrequent Perturbations impetuouſly moving in giddy Paſſions, as not to permit the greateſt Secrets inconſpicuous.

The Marrying of a Niece to a Regicide's Son might call Loyalty in Queſtion, did we not live in ſuch an Age of Wonders, where nothing can ſeem ſtrange: Some can caſt away, what others can think a fooliſh Pity, on a Lady born of loyal Parents, who apprehend not the Myſteries of Fleſh and Blood, or rather thoſe tranſcendent ones of the late Times.

It is not the leaſt Piece of Charity (if ſome may be credited) to believe he never intended that Reſtoration, of which he was made an happy Inſtrument. His own priſtine Loyalty, and that of his untainted Brothers (by Conſanguinity, not Alliance) might prediſpoſe the Re-imbibing of ſo long eſtranged Allegiance: But many ſwim with the Stream, who dare not oppoſe an adverſe Torrent.

Report will have the E. of *L.* drolling to have told the *D.* that he could never have heartily curſed him in his Life, except once; and that was, when he beat down the City Gates. To whom he merrily replied, That, while he was doing the Work of his Maſters, they turned him out of Commiſſion; but he conceived himſelf to have been even with them. *Ridentem dicere verum, quid vetat?* Can be the Queſtion of more than a ſingle *Horace.*

A Perſon of great and ſober Honour (who rarely could find a Peer in that unhappy Juncture, either in Eſtate, or loyally engaged Relations) aſſured with Voice and Geſture expreſſing Horror and Indignation, that nothing of Good could be expected from this Man; neither by his Agents in *Scotland*, by home-bred or exotick Intelligence, the leaſt Glimpſe of Hopes could ariſe: But a ſudden Revolution taught a Palinode; he had long expected nothing leſs from ſo worthy a Perſon. The Shepherd, who would be reputed Weather-wiſe, by telling one it would be fair, and another foul, in all Weathers kept his Reputation. Our late Times can ſhew no few ſucceſsful Imitators of this trifling Impoſtor, who to this fooliſh Craft owe the Opinion of their grand Wiſdom.

In the ſo much celebrated March from the North, nigh *Dunſtable*, having an Opportunity of treating ſome of his Commanders, one of them, a Perſon neither unſociable, nor of that rigidly moroſe Humour, which is inſeparable from Faction, informed me he could not ſufficiently admire at the univerſal Kindneſs which they encountered in the March from *Scotland*. If a King was in the Deſign, nothing could be more vain than the People's Imaginations; ſince neither the General, nor his Followers, could think of it without Horror; and, that I might relinquiſh vain and fruitleſs Hopes, thought himſelf obliged in Civility and Conſcience to inform of the Oath taken in *Scotland*, nothing differing from that which, ſince put by Fanaticks, I have peruſed in Print, not without a new Impreſſion of Horror.

Chriſtianity will induce us to believe, that neither the General, nor his Army, were guilty of that atheiſtical Policy, which calls God in for a Witneſs to a Lye. Succeſs inſtils new Thoughts: Men have the Changes of Mind with the Viciſſitudes of Fortune. Factions, like all other Traders, inriched by unexpected Returns, diſdain all Partnerſhip, divide and drive different Intereſts. How eaſily do thoſe Speculations, which ſeemed as high as Heaven, ſtoop to the Lure of every fancied Profit?

Cromwell, though he ſnatched at a Crown in the Comedy, could not expect to gain one by the Tragedies acted over three Nations. The Earl of *Eſſex*, who would ſeem clear from the Suſpicion of Treaſon againſt Queen *Eliſabeth*, would not deny that Succeſs might have made a Traitor.

They, who feared not Man, might ſuppoſe it in vain to conteſt with the Deity. The General and his Army heard, in their Expedition, the Voice of the People, like that of God; they found the Sinews of War were wanting; and, though the Chains, Gates, and Poſts of the City were caſt down, the Spirits of the Citizens were indejected; who had engaged to reſtore a Parliament to Freedom and Honour, it had been Perjury not to have performed it, though ſome will have the Act a high Violation of Faith, deſerted firſt to relinquiſh the patched Piece of Folly with the Appellative.

The Army introduced no King; but, having ſettled a more rationally ſuppoſed Parliament in Freedom, acquieſced in the Determinations of their Superiors: And, thus, the true Soldiers of King and Parliament finiſhed, without their cruel Aid, the War ſo long protracted by Perjury, Rapine, and Blood.

It may ſeem a cruel Piece of Charity to deprive of Chriſtianity, for the better Intitling to Grace and Excellency. Who came, at the laſt Hour in the Goſpel, was allotted a Reward equalling that of the firſt Comers. Such Converts, as are the Joy of Angels, ſhould not be the Envy of Men.

Some will have the *Low-Country* a Nurſery for Soldiers, but the moſt unſucceſsful Academy for Religion and Loyalty; who expoſed their Souls and Bodies Mercenaries, in the Cauſe of a rebellious Commonwealth, were vainly expected good Subjects to a Prince.

Generous Perſons, that are apt to entertain their Title in their Beliefs, can ſuppoſe our General no ignoble Soldier of Fortune, who, fighting long under her Colours, attained the giddy Idol for his conſtant Miſtreſs. He deſerted no Maſters, till they deſerted him; a *Low Country* Religion both obliged him to a Party, and diſobliged; when he wanted an Exchange for Loyalty, he exchanged it; and, when giddy Patriots of the then eſpouſed Cauſe were returned fairly to take away his Commiſſion, he as honourably relinquiſhed the Deſerters of themſelves and him.

It is a Blaſphemy to affirm him a Deity, though we may juſtly allow him an *Hannibal*, a *Fabius*, an *Hercules*, a Worth equalling, if not ſuperexcelling all the antient Heroes: Some fooliſh Sycophants will intitle to more Wiſdom, than God ever intruſted to mere human Nature; yet, while they ſtrive to deify, make him the Fool that ſaid in his Heart, *There is no God.* He who can take Oaths, with an Intention to violate them, it muſt be a ſtrange Exceſs of Charity which can allow him a God in his Creed.

General *Leſly* told *Potter* a Trumpeter, ſent to him by the Royal Martyr, That he would ſerve his Majeſty as faithfully as he had done the Parliament. The *Scot* gained an eaſy Belief, and, in Charity, we may believe intended what he promiſed; he ſerved them for Money, and for Gain (which was his Religion) would have expoſed to Sale his Maſters. But, while a neceſſitated Prince could not go to the Price, a King, not to be equalled by Millions, is paſſed in Exchange for Two-hundred thouſand Pounds.

Nothing is more pleaſant than the junior Story of this bonny *Jocky*, who ran away with blith *Jenny*, ſtealing ſixteen Shillings *Sterling* from an old Miſtreſs at *Edinburgh*, to defray Charges; yet, by Temptation of ſo vaſt a Sum, though much Mowing, and many Bearns, ſhe reaped not Matrimony, till, her Fingers being as light as her Heels, a plundered Portion made up the Match; which was a muckle Day of Joy, as the good Counteſs told the Right Honourable Lady of *Oxford*, when her Huſband from a common Soldier arrived to be a *Scotch* General, and, by heading a Rebellion, became an Earl, to give a Reputation to his future Villainies. Snakes, though warmed in the moſt Royal Boſoms, will requite their Entertainment with a Sting. Though Factions may ſeem to loſe their Heads, which are taken off by Honour, yet they are rarely wanting to freſh Opportunities for Miſchief.

Our generous Champion, when he had eſpouſed Loyalty, and acquired deſerved Honour, by the evil Principle of no mercenary Spirit, made Conſcience a Proſtitute to the Luſts of Faction.

Who would wound our Hero, in the weakeſt Part, find him there moſt impregnable. Honour, Conſcience, and Gratitude appear in his Vindication; and that cruel Neceſſity which can make Batteries on the ſtrongeſt Reſolutions: None will fancy it brutiſh Sottiſhneſs, or that the moſt daring of Men would be affrighted out of Reaſon, by an inconſiderate Huffer; the great Tie of Chriſtianity which enjoins Satisfaction, and the Preſerving of a generous Family, famous through a long Series of Anceſtors, might be no leſſer Inducements to Marriage. If in ſome Things he reſembled an *Alexander the Great*, in others he exceeded the more victorious *Julius Cæſar*, an Huſband for all Men's Wives; excellent above his famed Anceſtor a *Fourth Edward*, or a *Philip*, who, ſirnamed *the Good*, wanted his Virtue. Our Hero was not captivated by that which inſlaves the proudeſt Victors; and made him, whoſe Labours filled all the World, ridiculouſly to truckle to a Diſtaff: In this a more than *Hercules*, who, by an invincible Fortitude, endured a Confinement which might intitle to a quotidian Encountering of Monſters, and not leſs frequent Triumphs over wild Beaſts in Paſſions.

In Requital, if he found a Wife not rich, ſhe made herſelf ſo: Some can fancy the Riches accruing to her Huſband, and Heir, by this frugal Woman's Means, made the proudeſt Dowry in three Nations ſcarce a Parallel for a Match. It was a rare Felicity in Ages, when the Parents Virtue was the Child's Dowry; who neither gain by Inheritance nor Acquiſition, are only reputed contemptibly poor: Where Money anſwers all Things, Riches; where Worth, Virtue may ſeem the beſt Portion, and moſt acquirable of Perfections.

Though *Lycurgus*'s Dogs ſeem to make an infallible Demonſtration, they are too uncharitable in their Cenſures, who can believe that no Temptation either of Gain or Profit could intervene, in which, with the transformed Cat in the Fable, the Humour of Mouſing not returned.

It is reported of *Theophilus*, that he burnt a rich Ship of his Wife's, diſdaining that the covetous Folly of a Woman ſhould exchange the Title of an Emperor to that of a Merchant. Some can hope a more cruel Traffick found no Acceptation from our Induperator; others can fear an Harpy's Talons la den were never an ungrateful Oblation.

He who plucked the Thorns out of the Crown, it is Charity to believe he would plant no new Pricks, or *Canaanites* reſembling them, in his Side, whom he had returned to a Land of Promiſe.

Who moved in ſo high a Sphere of Glory, as our Hero, could not but attract Clouds of Envy, which, by their blacker Interpoſure, might veil that Luſtre which they could not obſcure. Envious Folly, the moſt obnoxious to Miſtakes, rarely makes not more bright what ſhe intends moſt to darken. A ſober Scrutiniſt may find our General the leaſt conſcious of what the Rabble's Idol, Report, the common Lyar, broaches from frothing Hogſheads, either for Advantage or Impairing of Glory. The giddy Strumpet, Fame, which is every Idiot's Proſtitute, makes no Stop betwixt the Extreams of Honour or Infamy; ſhe cheriſhes that which we intend to blaſt by the cold Wind of an envious Diſpleaſure; and, while active as Fire, ſhe would gratify Grandeur, conſumes what ſhe intends only to inliven by a warmer Commendation.

The Selling of a Prince was a fatal Prognoſtick; may the Sale of Loyalty be more propitious. The God of this World did ſo dazzle fooliſh Eyes, that nothing was to be ſeen in the moſt execrable Traitor, beſide unparalleled Excellence: Treaſon was only a ſubtle Reſervedneſs, or a pious Fraud for Royal Advantage. The Mammon of Unrighteouſneſs was not employed to provide heavenly Places, but to promote earthly Intereſts. Some can think the greateſt *Judas*, here, might have found no Cauſe of Deſperation, where ſo many Pieces might have intitled to Honour and Office. *M*'s Caſe may ſerve out of many Centuries of Obſervations, who (a conſtant Servant to his Royal Maſter through all Changes) proved a Setter of *Oliver*'s, pearched high by Mammon, in this laſt and more happy Revolution defaming him for Diſloyalty; to have been ſo grand a Virtuoſo on Record, as might evidence to have received no leſſer Stipends for annual Courſes of Treaſon.

Though he, who makes Haſte to be rich, cannot be innocent; yet who would gueſs the Greatneſs of Guilt, by the Vaſtneſs of a contracted Treaſure, may be miſtaken in their Arithmetick. The General's Offices of Profit, and Places of Honour, none can juſtly deny him, nor a wiſe Man the frugal Improvement; his Retinue was rather beneficial than chargeable, who put neither to the Expences of Wages or Diet.

The Courtiers, and his own Servants, who revenge, by their Tongues, the Loſs which they have ſuſtained by their Teeth, rarely ſpeak well of him, whom they will have the Author of Board-wages at Court, and to have ſaved Half in his own daily Allowance; the Poulterer's Ware, as Sacred, muſt be untouched; if it met no Maim at his Table, was injoined, new-roaſted, to reviſit it next Day in Company: All Exceſſes are equally dangerous; if he obſerved the truly golden Mean to inrich a Family, it could not be diſhonourable. The Story of *Actæon* may ſeem no Fable, where the Blood of Families hath been ſwallowed for their Healths, and the mercileſs Teeth of a fawning Retinue have devoured their Maſters. But, among giddy Reports, none can be more incredible, than the Menacing of an only Child, with Diſinheriting, for expending five Shillings at Supper; in which Sum, a Capon, a Bottle of Wine, Beer, Ale, Rolls, muſt be included; though, perhaps, Wine might lend the only Occaſion to the Paſſion, which he, who allows to Children, adds Fire to Fire, and, by a fond Indulgence, contributes to the Ruin of a Name, when debauched Nature, to quench the preternatural Heat, renders them ſuch Sponges, as, overcharged by Liquor, ſerve only to expunge their own and Anceſtors Glory. The Philoſopher would have cracked his Spleen, to have ſeen vaſt Piles of Muck provided, and the Ground left unmanured, where nothing could be wanting that, well employed, might have rendered it fertile. I knew a Pedant, of ſo ſtrangely ſcrupulous a Conſcience, that he could number it amongſt his Sins, to make a Boy more learned than his Father, which he could ſuppoſe might unlearn him that Duty which hath the Promiſe of long Life. It muſt be a larger Portion of Knowledge, which can edify for Perfection; the Traders, in ſmall Parcels, gain only ſome windy Inflations which can puff up; ſome will not allow it above a windy Diſtemper, which ſo long diſcompoſed our Body Politick, and made that Duty forgot, which is a juſt Tribute to the Parent of a Country.

Not a few think of Learning, what *Machiavel* ſays of Religion, That it is an Impediment to great Actions. Blindneſs begets Boldneſs, and Folly muſt be intitled to Fat and Fortunate, or elſe the plump Schiſmatick could not gain ſo great an Harveſt of fooliſh Ears, which every Blaſt of falſe Doctrine can teach to bow in Compliance to the moſt pernicious Ignorance.

Folly may be pearched high, like the Fabler's Crow, yet not ſecure from a Fox's Craft: Our Schiſmatical Reynards, by provoking Fools to cant, make the Meat in their Mouths a Purchaſe, or fail not thus to gain themſelves Food.

Though the General had a mighty Spirit, as I heard one phraſe it, the Woman was not ſo narrow-ſouled as her Huſband; if of any Religion, ſhe was a Preſbyterian; in the Time of the Plague, ſent five Pounds to a Non-conformiſt Sermon-maker; beſtowed twelve-pence a Piece on fifty poor Widows; cauſed her Son to ſend two Broad-pieces for Plaiſters, to the gouty Verſifier of the Gang, whoſe Feet were more deſervingly nimble for her Lord's Honour in the *Northern* Expedition: They will not allow him a Dram of Charity, who caſt no Mite into the Treaſury of the Saints; but we can hope, though a Soldier, he needed not the Hypocrite's Trumpets, and the Alms, he gave in Secret, will be rewarded openly. However, while there are Churches, Colleges, Hoſpitals, or any publick Monuments of Charity, he will be acknowledged a Benefactor, who ſeemed to reſcue them from the Jaws of that ſacrilegious Wolf, who would have glibly ſwallowed all Things ſacred, under the Pretence of Zeal and Reformation.

He could not be ignorant of the ſix-thouſand Pounds his Wife had, intentionally, devoted to an Alms-houſe, which he made his own Act, by an Approbation; it may be imputed to an improved Religion and Loyalty, if he, grown wiſer by Time, was a leſs zealous Patron of thoſe pernicious Houſe-creepers, who lead ſilly Females captive, to whom a Paradiſe would be diſpleaſing, without the Taſte of prohibited Fruit. If he took no Care of what ſome can call the Houſhold of Faith, none can deny, worſe than an Infidel, by taking no Care of his own Family; what ſome can call Sordidneſs, if equally conſidered, may be found a noble Frugality, which would not leave ſo vaſt a Pudding, contemptible for Want of Suet.

Some will affix to a greater Statiſt than our General the Maxim, on which the *Indians* ground the Neglect of God, and the Worſhiping of the Devil; but evil Counſel is ever worſt to the Counſellor; the Cunning are rarely not catched in their own Snare, and he, who digs a Pit for Loyalty, may fall ſo deeply in, as the moſt Loyal may find no Reſurrection.

There are, who will not allow the greateſt Pretenders to Loyalty, to have had an equally obliging Nature with that of the Pikes, who devour their own Kind laſt: Where the Proverb will have a Dog loved for his Maſter's Sake, he who could but ſnarl and bark in the Cauſe, and knew never how to fawn on his Enemies, to be loſt to all Reſpect, might call the grand Monopoliſers of Loyalty's Truth into Queſtion. Many could have been content to have died, that others might enjoy that Right, to whoſe Enjoyment they owed a cruel Death. It can be no Paradox to aver, That ſincere Loyalty can never want either a Friend or Reward; and yet, what is moſt ſtrange, that contradictory Aſſertion may ſeem equally true, That to no fucated Loyaliſts the moſt wiſhed-for of Reſtorations, by the Extirpation of more loyal Families, hath proved a more fatal Enemy than the War. In a Baptiſmal Vow, we renounced the World, the Fleſh, and the Devil: Engaged in the Royal Cauſe, we might ſeem to fight againſt thoſe three grand Antagoniſts; if the younger Brothers in Loyalty, who had waſted their Patrimonies on the Harlots of Schiſm, and could be content, like the Swine, to be fed with the Huſks of every falſe Doctrine; if the returned Prodigals,

gals are received into Favour, Why ſhould the elder Brothers repine, having the Aſſurance of a Promiſe? No wiſe Man would trifle away Time to gather Cockles on the Shore, when he may ſet Sail to another Country, where are no fickle Joys, Hopes, or Fears, but an *Euge Beate* is made the Prologue to an eternal Felicity.

Nothing is more comical, than to ſee our Apes of loyal Grandeur: How ſtately are the Deportments of fooliſh Mimicks, till the Scrambling for Nuts expoſes ridiculous? *Lucretius* would have it no leſſer Pleaſure, ſecure on the Shore, to contemplate afar off Men toſſed on the Sea. Who will be laden with this World's Merchandiſe, are the Subjects of Winds and Waves, which ſeem to ſing and ſport in their Ruins; they are the Objects of a Fool's Envy, but the wiſe Man's Pity, who expoſe frail Barks to encounter all Storms.

Some can fancy our Hero, the Wheel to which we owe all the Viciſſitudes of giddy Greatneſs, ſay alternately, he was an Enemy to the two ſupereminently loyal Statiſts; and will have a third, with the Loſs of Land, which he ever valued, like to itſelf, Dirt, purchaſe, with a Place, the Deluſion of a pleaſing Dream.

The Gordian-knot, which none could unty, an *Alexander* could cut; it is reported of an angry Lord, E. of *P.* that, being in Office, he made it his Buſineſs to break wiſer Heads than his own. Though ſome praiſe our General's Conduct, to the Making of Hyperbole's modeſt; others will have his Head-piece the worſt Part of his Armour. Who pretend to be moſt knowing in thoſe Affairs, to think that *Oliver* either could fear there, or be ignorant how to remove him from his Command in *Scotland*, is accounted the moſt ridiculous Part in his Story: To *C.* he muſt have been like one of the Centurion's Servants; a mutinous Seaman muſt have found it true, by the Experiment of a loſt Noſe, which, to patch up, coſt him and *Oliver* ten Pieces.

Our Hero never wanted Reſolution, which is the beſt Sword in War. Had his Head been as good as his Heart, the nick-named Protector told C. *Okey*, *England* would have been too little to have contained a *Nol* and a *Jack*; but, Heads and Hearts holding ſo unequal a Correſpondence, the ſecure Tyrant might domineer over three diſtracted Nations. Some, like Chymiſts, by the Advantage of other Men's Heads, may do Miracles, who are uſeleſs with their own; not above Tunnels for Smoke, yet, by Fumes inſpired, pretend to all Things.

Whom not a few have called a delaying *Fabius*, many can think he would have fought with a daring *Hannibal*, upon any Diſadvantage; when neither the Odds of Number, nor a contradictory Commiſſion, could hinder from the diſadvantageous Engagement with the *Dutch*. *Militemus*, was an Emperor's Motto; Let us fight, Boys, our more undaunted Generals; War was his Element, and, out of it, he might ſeem like a Fiſh out of Water.

The Opinion of the Stoicks can animate *Turks* to brave Death in War, and, in Peace, intrepid to converſe with the moſt fatal Contagion. Our Hero, by ſtranger Revolutions, might be eaſily induced to embrace the Doctrine of an inevitable Wheel, who could, dreadleſs, look down on Dangers, fear neither of thoſe Bug-bears to Mankind, a Plague, or War; ſo much a Proſelyte to the Predeſtinarian Principle, as to think it moſt ridiculous to fly that Fate which is unavoidable.

A Knight related to our *G.* dehorted him from the *Belgick* War, as having done already enough for the Immortality of a Name. To whom he replied, He was ſent into the World upon an Errand which muſt be performed; and, whether it might end at the Bottom of the Sea, as it was uncertain, ſo it ſhould not find him concerned. Some will have our Hero, like the Poet's *Ajax*, who diſdained to be vincible by any except himſelf, and will have it ſo near the Finiſhing his Errand in the Sea, as Guns were placed to ſink ſo great a Weight of Glory.

Who conquered the World, could not ſubdue his Paſſions; thoſe mutinying Rebels can domineer over the reputed Invincible. Some will have Thunder and Lightning in our incenſed Hero's Breath; and that he was leaſt, what he perſuaded others to be, in his Journey from the *North*; of a ſedate Temper: Rather than Peace ſhould be with the *Dutch*, he ſaid he would never wear a Sword. A more ſober Stateſman is reported to have replied, He had rather lay aſide his Gown, than that ſo unneceſſary a War ſhould be commenced; informed him of our Want of

Allies Abroad, and Moneys, War's Sinews, which can give Strength to the moſt infeebled Arms, make firm Friends at Home, and as ſure foreign Alliances: The wiſe Man knew, though God and a good Cauſe makes a great Sound, it is the tinkling Noiſe of Coin doth the Soldier's Buſineſs; and, however Juſtice is pretended in all Engagements, it is to Gold, the World's great Idol, Men are content, not only to make the Sacrifice of Fools themſelves, but even their neareſt Relations.

War is not only ſweet to them who never tried it, but to ſuch who have reaped a Benefit by it; a Soldier can love his Harveſt. Some cannot arrive to his Wiſdom, who went out of the World with a *Thou Fool*; with full Barns he ſhould have been contented, his Soul ſhould have took her Eaſe.

We have had the War, by which the Kingdom is ſo many Millions in Debt; our Hero, in Probability, might have loſt his Sword, and, if he had been a *Dutchman*, might have forfeited his Head, which renounced not only Reaſon, but even Loyalty, by raſhly Exceeding of his Commiſſion; yet the Extremity of Law might thus have proved the ſupreme Injury. If it was Treaſon in our General (as in the Caſe of an Earl of *Eſſex*) it was a venial Delinquency; if a Traitor, he was the beſt Meaning; whoſe ſuperabundant or Zeal or Valour concluded of an Engagement, by the miſtaken Propoſition of the accruing Honour and Safety to his Prince and Country, in whoſe Cauſe his noble, though here not beſt informed Spirit, could have been content to have finiſhed an Errand in Waves, the beſt Emblems of inconſtant Greatneſs, and giddy Fortune's Favours. The Method by which he ſeemed to reſtore, he might have ſecured his Country: Here a *Fabius*, he might have effected by Delays, what he could not by Fighting, and have ſeemed a double Reſtorer of this Nation, whoſe Raſhneſs might have intitled the Demoliſher.

It cannot be the leaſt Wiſdom not to think to do always the ſame Things. Empirical, or Valour, or Medicine, not rarely ſucceſsleſs.

Storms ſucceed the cleareſt Sun; which a wiſe Man foreſeeing, like to the victorious *Charles the Fifth*, quits the Stage.

When *Cromwell* had fallen from his Coach, a Confident of his was overheard to complain, that he who had raiſed would ruin them, if a timely Care was not taken to prevent the Expoſure of his wild Freaks. Death was a timely Friend, nigh to the End of his Wits, was near to the End of his Life; and thus finiſhed what *Mazarine* called the moſt fortunate Piece of Folly.

Some will have him who would be content to reſign his Gown, rather than there ſhould have been a War, to be forced to reſign, becauſe it proved ſucceſsleſs.

Men rarely can be pleaſed with his Company, whoſe Looks may upbraid their Miſcarriages. The incenſed Rabble, like to Heathen Idols, muſt have human Blood for a Sacrifice, though the fooliſh Overflowings of their Gall can be pacified by no more grateful Oblation than that, by which they expreſs all Ills, Ingratitude; ſeldom not gratified by his Ruin, who might moſt ſeek their Preſervation.

Though *Strafford* was allowed to be no Precedent, yet ſome will ever propoſe him for an Example; and no Act of Oblivion will make us ſo loſt to our Memories, that the moſt unfortunate Earl will be forgot, who, incomparably loyal, was impeached by ſuch Arch-Rebels, as, by introducing the *Scots*, were guilty of the higheſt Treaſon, and the moſt implacable Enemy of Traytors fell their Sacrifice.

When putrid Members were to be cut off, the Body Politick was deprived of the ſounder Part, which might have ſecured it from incroaching Miſchiefs, while an unparalleled Prince's Clemency, which gave Fears to none, and left not the greateſt Villainies deſtitute of Hopes, adminiſtered, in the grand Stateſman's Ruin, if not a juſt, an unhappy Cauſe of his own untimely Period.

The Gratifying of the weakeſt Heads, with the Loſs of the wiſeſt, as a moſt bloody, ſo is rarely not a moſt ſucceſsleſs Policy.

The *Athenians* might be thought to have a Veneration for an Owl only, who could eſtrange Worth by an Oſtraciſm.

Some will have the greateſt of *Engliſh* Statiſts to have periſhed by their own Weapons. One wiſe Head, like *Galba*'s Wit, not ill placed, may exceed in Value not only many Millions of Money, but Armies of Men.

Good Intelligence, and bold Truth, ſome ſay, could unfix a no undeſerving Relation of the General's, whom nothing, except his Diſpleaſure, unriveted from the greateſt Office of

Truſt; in which the Succeſſor may ſeem not the leaſt of State Riddles; but myſterious Grandeur is ſuch an Abyſs, as Fools will fondly gueſs at the Depth of that which the Plummets of the moſt comprehenſive Reaſons can never fathom.

Some, who are uncapable of the diviner Myſteries, can put themſelves to the troubleſome Admiration how the extemporary Traſh of a canting and long-winded Schiſmatick, in a Chamber, can be preparatory to the more ſober Devotion of the Chapel-Royal? Or how the true loyal and religious Grandees, our incomparable Converts, can keep Chaplains to aſſert with Paper Pellets that Schiſm to which they muſt be greateſt Strangers, if not eſtranged to their Allegiance; and to defile their new Honours have not licked up their old Vomits? The Actors on the World's Theatre, by ſhifting Clokes and Beards, act different Parts, and interchangeably fill up the Play of Life with calamitous Scenes of Miſery, or ridiculous Interludes.

Nothing is more pleaſant in our Revolutions than to hear the grand Enemies of the Prerogative, and the lordly Branches, the moſt confident Aſſertors of the Privileges which the King and Lords may moſt juſtly challenge; and the ſame Perſons formerly could moſt unjuſtly impugn; who deprived the Throne of Supporters will ever ſtand in Need of one to cleave to, and ſecured by the Unicorn can be dreadleſs of the Lion. The leaſt Friends of the loyal Clergy will ever want the Benefit of it in a Pſalm of Mercy. How appoſitely is the Prince's Prerogative pleaded in the Favour of Schiſm by the Protoſticklers of it, which would allow him none in Religion? And yet thus they can hope a Privilege for ſuch as, void both of Tenderneſs and Conſcience to a Prince, could deny him a Liberty they would have indulged to the meaneſt Subjects.

There may be no improbable Conjecture, as well as other Grandees, a confident Ignorance might eaſily impoſe on our Hero. The Intruſting ſo valued a Body with ſuch an illiterate Quack, as ſome would have diſdained to have made the Farrier to a beloved or generous Beaſt, can lend no ſmall Suſpicion; the Patronage of the Stroaker ſome will have a too pregnant Example.

Age, in itſelf an invincible Diſeaſe, might aſſure no eaſy Conqueſt of a concomitant Diſtemper, which might be intitled Old; yet twenty Years of Superannuation, and twelve of Deafneſs, were eſteemed inconſiderable in a nonagerian Woman, when a Wonder-working Hand could appear for the Recovery, the Stroaker *G*, ſent by the General to reſtore her ſo long eſtranged Hearing.

Simon Magus, *Apollonius*, *Peregrinus Philoſophus*, and *Alexander Paphlago*, who appeared with lying Wonders to give a Diſrepute to Primitive Chriſtianity, could not be more confident than this gracious Babe of the Presbyterian Reformation; while the Puritans accuſe the Papiſts for their holy Maid of *Kent*, *Eliſabeth Barton*, they forget *Eliſabeth Crofts*, their Wench in the Wall: As if Stroaking could ſecure the wildeſt Adverſaries, every Party hath been provided by a thus trifling Impoſtor.

Men in Power ſhould not make themſelves conſcious, by ſuch a brutiſh Connivance as calls God's and his Vicegerents Honours into Queſtion.

The bold Folly of Stroakers may ſeem a Mocking of Majeſty, and the Intrenching on that Prerogative, which, conferred by a St. *Edward* the Confeſſor, and a St. *Lewis*, on the Kings of *England* and *France*, to cure by Touch, muſt be reputed Sacred, ſuch a Jewel as cannot be alienated from a Crown.

Miracles need not be called into the Scene, where natural Cauſes can be aſcribed: Stronger Frictions can cure ſome intercutaneous Maladies, ſhould the Balſam of a ſweating Palm be denied conducive by the Effluviums of Wonder-working Atoms.

A Knight, a Relation to the Duke, and Son to the grandeve Patient of the Stroaker, gratifying my Curioſity with the Converſe of the Trifler, I heard him as confidently propoſe *Moſes* an Example for his doing of Miracles, as if he had been to lead the *Jewiſh* Tribes of Pharifaical Presbyterians through a *Red Sea* into a *Land of Promiſe*; and, the Invaſion of *France* being then noiſed, the *Engliſh* by a cunning Man might hope the Recovery of what they had loſt by a wiſe Woman. If the Braggart, or a vouching Comrade, were to be believed, the General was ſo indeared by the Recovery of his Kinſwoman's Eye, that he would not allow him a Night's Abſence to gratify the Importunity of Relations.

Sinking Men will take Hold of Reeds. Stroaking, which could hear abominable Superſtition and jeſuitical Contrivance in the Papiſts, muſt give a Reputation to the declining Cauſe of Presbyterians: The Wonder-working Lieutenant was the moſt affecting Diſcourſe of that Party, which had he been of a different Fancy, for his lying Wonders they would have intitled him an Antichriſt.

Whom ſome would have a Candidate for a Cardinal's Cap, others will have Probationer for a Fool's, while he could countenance a ſtroaking Friar to enter Conteſt with a Prince, and ſhew a Chapel leſs efficacious for Miracles than a Banqueting-houſe.

It not a little perplexed Sir *K. D.* and made not a few merry, that an eminent Churchman, with an honourable Title, and the not diſingenuous Son of a grand Virtuoſo, expoſed an Innocent to Danger, and themſelves to be ridiculous. The ſolemn Pageantry, which attended the ſimple *Iriſh* Prieſt's Stroaking, to wiſer Heads of their own Profeſſion, ſeemed a Diſcretion rivalling theirs, who with Kettles afford their tinkling Charity to the Moon in an Eclipſe.

Who, ſince the Reſtoration, gained to his Right Honourable Title a blue Ribband, and, in ſome Opinions, was intitled to a refined Wit, and grand Politician, the late Times report the Patient and Admirer of a ſtroaking Lunatick, the unhappy Stroaker, whoſe diſturbed Brains for their Recovery might want more Drugs than an *Anticyra* could furniſh, which ſo long deluded the moſt active Endeavours of Medicine, attended by the ſevereſt Diſcipline of *Bedlam.*

Who can wonder if Nature's rude Draught, a Soldier poliſhed by no Art, impoſed on by proud Ignorance and giddy Fame, might give a Stroaker's Folly a *Commendamus*? where the wiſeſt Heads might have their Judgments called in Queſtion by their Hands. Deſert is not only unattended on by a *Mandamus*, but rarely encounters an unbribed Commendation. Empty Heads make the greateſt Sound, and full Purſes the moſt ſignificant Noiſe for Preferment. A Fanatick Trooper, who might be loſt to all Knowledge, if he had not plundered it from Loyalty, whoſe Library was not above a *Barrows Method*, and an Almanack, two Doctors Hands required for the Granting of a Licenſe to practiſe Phyſick, he produced an obſolete *Mandamus* from the grand Protector of Ignorance, *Cromwell*, which, in the worſt of Times, had not the Confidence to viſit *Oxford*, in the beſt durſt encounter the moſt learned Biſhop *Saunderſon*, who in vain could reſiſt it; ten Angels, powerfully appearing to his Chancellor, were ſatisfactory Motives to make by the golden Rule of Practice a true Licentiate.

The Schools can make it diſputable, whether what was intended the greateſt Encourager of Virtue, hath not been the leaſt acquainted with Merit. Learning and Loyalty put beyond all Diſpute, brought to the Teſt, would be rarely found above in the Fees and *Mandamus* of not a few booted Fiſhermen for Degrees (as they call them which are catched by a golden Hook. Loſers may have a prating Licenſe: If a few complain, many have Cauſe to praiſe this golden Age. He muſt be wiſe who is rich, or ſome whoſe mercenary Spirits can give ſo glib a Commendation to the moſt deplorable Pieces of Folly, may be queſtioned for that Wiſdom which makes Fools and themſelves equally fortunate.

Worldly Grandeur, with the not miſbecoming Attributes of Right Honourable and Right Worſhipful, ſometimes can have a too unhappy Reſemblance to Pagan Idols, which, having Eyes and Ears, neither hear nor ſee.

Whoſe Wiſdom lies in another Man's Head (who can be blind and deaf for Intereſt) may make a Comment on that Text, which will have a Man, being in Honour, compared to the Beaſts which periſh without Underſtanding.

Some will have our *Engliſh Solomon* in Pain, to have liſtened to a Woman for a Remedy. There are who gueſs by the Touchſtone of Phyſick, whoſe Ignorance might exceed a Fanatick's Sermon, not the only Empirick who attended our Hero. *France*, *France*, often repeated in the Opinion of a *Francis*, could equal the Titles of an Emperor: To excuſe his Miſtakes, and make a Parallel for all Worthies, we may repeat the *Soldier*, *Soldier*. Some think they honour moſt in making no Soldier, but an uncommiſſioned and peaceable Spectator to the moſt happy of Revolutions.

When the ſtinking Part, offenſive to moſt Noſtrils, had her Preſbyterian Appurtenances adjoined, which, long laid aſide for Sweetening, had not depoſited their Rankneſs to clear Noſes, one of their prime Votes was, That no Man ſhould be capable of Office, who would not ſubſcribe Rebellion lawful; for by a neceſſary Illation it is deducible, if a War againſt

gainſt the King was juſt. I have heard ſome, not of ſo ill-informed Judgments, as to believe the Levelling of a War againſt a Prince not Treaſon, yet ſo looſe-principled in Religion, that they would aſſert all Oaths and Subſcriptions lawful, which might render capable of ſerving the Royal Intereſt; ſuch Tools were as profitable to Loyalty, as the Gnoſticks to Chriſtianity. He, who dares not truſt God, in vain may be credited by Man. *To play the Devil for God's Sake* hath been a common Proverb, but was never entered for an Article in a ſober Belief.

Who could glory in being Confeſſors, and could think to ſuffer, in the Cauſe of God, their King, and Country, Martyrdom, Air, and Dirt, Life and Fortune were contemptible Trifles to them, propoſing white Robes in Confeſſion, and Purple in their Sufferings, which might be Prologues to Crowns and Immortality; but ſuch, who followed deſerted Loyalty, as the People our Saviour into the Wilderneſs for the Miracle of Loaves, ſeeking worldly Advantages, might pawn their Souls for Traſh, and ſin for a Morſel of Bread.

It is an atheiſtical Piece of Folly to diſown Omnipotency, that we may gratify weak Surmiſers.

The Cuſtom of Swearing and Forſwearing hath, in our unhappy Land, took away the Senſe of Perjury; by the no infrequent Uſe of Poiſon, it went into the Opinion of ſuch Nutriment, as might ſeem neceſſary for their Conſtitutions. In a Wilderneſs of Apes and Monkies, none could dread, by an Oath, to take in a Spider.

That Oaths may make a Land mourn, we have Religion to aſſure, and Reaſon to inſtruct us; but, how they can be Inſtruments to our Rejoicing, may be an Article of that Creed only, which could exchange a *Chriſt* for an *Adonis*, and make Religion truckle to every darling Folly.

In ſuch an Apoſtaſy, as might make an unhappy Land ſigh, and wonder at herſelf ſo ſoon turned Leper, ſome believe a thundering Legion to have ſecured our *Theodoſius*; we received a *Charles* by the Grace of God, not Favour of Men. No Quirks nor Intrigues of giddy Politicians, but he alone, who rules the Wheel of human Viciſſitudes, produced this happier Revolution; the beſt of Phyſicians, and no worm-brained Mountebank of State, ſubvened to our Diſtractions; when the Twiſting of Sand by fooliſh Combinations was found a ſucceſsleſs Folly, and the brain-ſick Hopes of fondeſt Royaliſts might paſs for Phrenſy. God derided from Heaven, and, by dividing their Councils, who were Enemies to our *David*, turned the Wiſdom of our *Achitophels* into a Rope.

When the Bricks were doubled, a *Moſes* came; our Taſk-maſters grown intolerable, God raiſed us up Deliverers. The Stars in their Courſes, which fought againſt, fight for us; the moſt inauſpicious Planets, by happier Conjunctions, depoſit their Malevolence, and ſeem to have friendly Aſpects for Loyalty, by a more propitious Revolution. Sure this was the Lord's Doing, and ſhould be marvellous in our Eyes. God ſcattered the Men who took Delight in War, and, by a bloodleſs Victory, gave us Peace; the Prayers and Tears of a poor and diſtreſſed Party, the Weapons of the Church Militant, prevailed over the loud-crying Blaſphemy and Perjuries of their Enemies.

The War begun from *Scotland*, a Nation fatal to Princes; a Region of Darkneſs can give Light; and the North, infamous for Ill, muſt be celebrated for Good, ſince from that Place we received the firſt Part of our Cure, to which we owed the Beginning of Miſchief.

The Lord, who, being a General, gave Way to a Prince's Ruin, without which it could not have been effected; now a private Man opens a Way for a General, which led for a King's Reſtoration, without which it might have been vainly hoped.

The Dragon's Tail, which gave Royalty the fatal Wound, cures it by an Antimonarchical Note; by ſeeking to introduce a Plurality of Generals, brings in one King.

The Members, which an Army ſecluded, an Army reſtores. Now better reſtored to their Senſes, than to believe a King, though intitled to the Name of a *Solomon*, when he called them all Princes, they could not now fancy the Members eternal (who, by the Loſs of that unhappy Head, which, intruſted with Power for its own Ruin, might find themſelves mortal; (they could no longer dream of being omnipotent, when, as a Debt due to Vengeance for Denying the juſt Tribute of Allegiance, they had encountered the Curſe of

Curſes, been Servants of Servants, and, what might be the higheſt Aggravation, enſlaved by their own Vaſſals.

An Anteſignane of Schiſm ſeems a Precurſor of Loyalty : He, who, by Impoſing on factious Ears, had juſtly loſt his own, now might ſeem worthy of the reſerved Head, which, in its lucid Intervals, could be ſo beneficially ſober.

Loyal Reaſon was ſuch a Miracle from the ſelf-contradicting Author, as could produce a ſelf-denying Ordinance, which might be as inſtrumental to a happy Reſtoration, as that was to the utter Extinguiſhing of faint and glimmering Loyalty.

The *Sampſons*, who had been bound and blinded by deceitful *Dalilahs*, falſe Oaths, and fooliſh Engagements, though with their own Diſſolution, can be content to pluck down the Houſe of the *Philiſtines* ſo long devoted to the Idol's Folly.

A ſober Council met; the Heart of the Kingdom votes for an Head, that it might be no longer a ſenſeleſs Nation; by whoſe returned Command a loyal Body is legally ſummoned, which may truly hear Patriots, Reſtorers, an healing Senate, Sanctuaries, not Slaughter-houſes of Innocents; who, by contributing religious and loyal Votes, have expiated there the cruel Follies, where irreligious and diſloyal Suffrages changed an happy Land into a Field of Blood.

The merry Dr. *Collins* deſired his Taking of the Covenant might be deferred till the Day of Judgment, when it would be clearly known what became of Covenanters.

Wiſe Men will ſuſpend raſh Cenſures; while the Curtain is drawn, the beſt of Prophets are but probable Conjecturers.

Nothing of earthly Glory hath been wanting to grace our Hero, even to the *Apotheoſis* of an Emperor.

Our Patron *George* interred, a Solemnity was intended to a tutelar Saint of the Name; which had it been performed, an hot-brained Zealot, who had peruſed a *Tertullian*, or a St. *Cyprian de Spectaculis*, might be more dangerouſly troubleſome, to the Diſcompoſure of weak and ſcrupulous Noddles, than the polypragmatick Lawyer in his leſs ſignificant and more ridiculous Miſquoting of them againſt Stage-plays. That, which is not evil in itſelf, may be ſometimes not well adviſed.

The Order of the Garter may defend itſelf by its Motto, *Evil to him who Evil thinketh.*

Theognis will have *Jupiter* neither with Rain, nor without it, to pleaſe all Men. Neither a cloſe Fiſt, nor an open Hand, can want a Miſconſtruction; what was wanting to neareſt Relations was conferred on the General, without whom all might ſeem unavailable for a Crown,

Wiſe Men can be pleaſed with the moſt excellent Gratitude, and Fools can be gratified with the Gaiety of the Sight.

It was the Cuſtom of Heathens to deſtroy the Living, under Pretence of honouring the Dead; not a few, made cloſe Mourners by a Civil Death, ſeemed to follow the Corpſe of an Uſurper.

Some can fancy, that an *Eſſex*, *Ireton*, and a *Cromwell* lay in their Beds of blaſphemed Honour with more fond State; none are ſuppoſed to have equalled his Funeral-pomp, inferior alone to that of Princes by a Diadem: The Defects of Earth may Heaven ſupply, by changing a fickle Coronet into a never-fading Crown.

Mars, in moſt Opinions, is beſt pictured reeking in Blood; a General rendered inglorious, if not expoſed in the Purple of War; to bring in our Hero with the white Robes of a Confeſſor, and diſengaged from the bloody Camps of a rebellious Schiſm, to make a Soldier of the Church Militant, which can only lead to the truly triumphant Paths of Glory, if an Error is more venial than by intitling to the Craft to beſtow on him the Prey of Foxes; a great, rather than a good Renown, unworthy of a Chriſtian Champion. Let *Mahometans* glory in Praiſes common to Wolves, Bears, and Tygers, who expect in Paradiſe no Pleaſure above that of Goats, by the Enjoyment of brutiſh Senſuality.

Fooliſh Hiſtorians, like fond Heralds, make the moſt ſavage of Beaſts Supporters to the Arms of the higheſt Grandeur; Butcheries and Debaucheries the prime Parts in the Tragedies of their Heroes. What, but named, might turn Chriſtians Blood into a congealed Cake of Ice, is affixed to the Story to make a more horrible *Polyphemus*.

Diſcretion ſhould lay aſide the bloody Shirt. The famed Conqueror of the *Eaſt*, who, inſtead of all the vain Pomp of proud Funerals, would have a Shirt carried aloft in Triumph, to ſhew how ſmall a Portion was left a *Saladine*, after his mighty Acquiſitions, ſurely had a cleanly Shift, and no bloody Emblem expoſed of human Inconſtancy. The cruel Piece of Duty, which ſacrificed a Man to revenge for an injured Father, though ſome can fancy generous, heroick, and a prophetick Action, which firſt made the Soldier, who was to reſtore the common Parent, may it ever be forgot, whilſt the bloodleſs Conqueſt, for a Country's Father, never wants a grateful Commemoration.

May the bloody Atchievements in a *Belgick*, *Iriſh*, *Scottiſh* War be ever ſilenced, and after ſo honourable a Death, be introduced by no puny Hiſtorian, who while he fancies the Erecting of Trophies, by accumulating the dangerouſly acquired Conqueſts of an Hero, expoſes a brutiſh Valour, and baffled Reaſon, for Marks of Honour, by a Miſtake of Objects, affixes indelible Notes of Infamy. While the Lion is forgot, may the Triumphs of the Lamb be celebrated, who unlearned us the fierceneſs of Savages, and by attending to the Voice of Peace, became a *Gratioſo* to a moſt peaceable Prince on Earth, and hath the Promiſe of the Bleſſing which attends upon Peacemakers, and thus may be intitled a Favourite to the King of Kings, who diſdains not the Title of the Prince of Peace.

It was no cruel Victory to which our Hero owed his Honours, and three Nations their Preſervation. God appeared not in the Thunder and Lightning of War, but in the ſoft Whiſperings of Peace, for the moſt happy of Reſtorations.

The General can never want the Encomium of a *Fabius*, will be ever intitled, by Delays, the Reſtorer: To attribute our Reſtoration to the Church's Prayers, though an Heterodox, can be no culpable Opinion, which cannot diſhonour God by aſcribing all to his Mercies, nor the King to have his Cauſe owned by Heaven, nor the General, by being made an Inſtrument in the Hand of the Almighty, when his own Arm was withered by the Loſs of Strength in a Commiſſion.

The *Pſalmiſt*'s Fool ſaid in his Heart there was no God; and he ſaid that all Men were Lyars; may Wars, Plagues, nor Fires, be the cruel Remembrancers to inſtruct that Truth, which we are ſo apt to forget, To God only belongeth Salvation.

Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us but to thy Name be the Glory. Who would rob God of his Glory on Earth, may fall ſhort of being glorified in Heaven.

To God alone, as ever due, be ever Glory, whoſe Fame only can make an Hiſtory everlaſting.

A Letter * to a Perſon of Honour, concerning the King's Diſavowing the having been married to the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Mother. *Quarto*, containing twenty-four Pages.

My Lord,

As you cannot but have ſeen his Majeſty's Declaration, wherein he renounceth the having been married to the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Mother; ſo I believe you will not be diſpleaſed to have an Account of the Senſe of the Thinking-men about the Town concerning it. And this without either diſguiſing, or concealing what is publickly diſcourſed, I ſhall, as becomes your Lordſhip's Servant, addreſs myſelf to give you.

And in the firſt Place, They ſay it is no Surpriſe to them, that ſeeing the Duke of *York* hath gotten the Aſcendant of the King, he ſhould hector him into, or at leaſt extort from him the foreſaid Declaration. For, Can any imagine, that he who for ſome Time renounced his own Wife, and had provided Perſons to ſwear a Familiarity with her, which made her unworthy of being Ducheſs, ſhould ſcruple to importune the King, to do as much by Mrs. *Walters*, though it were never ſo demonſtrable that he was married unto her? The Courſe he practiſed himſelf, he may without any Breach of Charity be thought ready to preſcribe to others. And it may be, he thinks it will be ſome Extenuation of what he did himſelf, if People can be brought to believe that it is a Diſeaſe natural to the Family, and which runs in a Blood. Now we all know, not only with what Aſſeverations the Duke diſclaimed his Marriage with Mrs. *Hyde*, but with what Reflexions upon her Chaſtity he did it. And yet the Proofs of the ſaid Marriage were ſo evident, that he was neceſſitated at laſt to acknowledge it; and to own her for his Wife, after he had by himſelf, and many others, proclaimed her for no better than a common Whore. And I am ſure it left this Impreſſion upon moſt Perſons, that his Faith to Men was not very far to be relied on, ſeeing he made ſo ſlight of that Faith, which he had plighted in an Ordinance of God to a harmleſs Lady.

---

* This is the 63d Number in the Catalogue of Pamphlets in the *Harlian* Library.

Secondly, Moſt Men do obſerve this Difference between the King's Renouncing Mrs. *Waters*, and the Duke's diſclaiming Mrs. *Hyde*; that what the Duke did, was an Act of Inclination and Choice, whereas it is apparent, that what the King hath done, is the Reſult of Dread and Fear. For, to uſe his Majeſty's own Expreſſion not long ago, *He was harraſſed out of his Life, by the Importunity of his Brother*, &c. as he added, *He could rather chuſe to die than live ſo uneaſily as he did, while he withſtood their daily Sollicitations in this Matter.* And as nothing made the Duke honeſt to Mrs. *Hyde*, but the Interpoſition of his Majeſty's Authority, from a Senſe of the Juſtneſs of the Lady's Complaint; ſo they believe the King is only injurious, through the Influence of others, and that when reſcued out of ill Hands, and left to himſelf, he will return to be juſt. For though his Majeſty be a Prince of that Clearneſs of Underſtanding, that they cannot baffle him by falſe Reaſonings, yet he hath ſo much of *James*'s Timidneſs, that they can huff and over-awe him to Things moſt oppoſite to his Judgment, as well as croſs to his Intereſt. And let me upon this Occaſion remind your Lordſhip of a Story, of a *Scots* Nobleman to my Lord *Burleigh*, upon that wiſe Stateſman's Deſiring a Character of King *James*, long before he aſcended the *Engliſh* Throne. If your Lordſhip, ſaith the blunt *Scotſman*, know a Jackanapes, you cannot but underſtand, that if I have him in my Hands, I can make him bite you, whereas, if you get him into your Hands, you may make him bite me.

Thirdly, The whole Town is apprehenſive, that the King, through Endeavouring by this Act to ſecure himſelf in the Grace, at leaſt Forbearance of the Duke, and Popiſh Party, will find in the Iſſue, that inſtead thereof, he hath left himſelf naked and expoſed to their Wrath and Malice. Nor is there any Thing more probable than that what the King calls and intends only, for a Declaration to ſerve his preſent Occaſions, they will transform into his laſt Will and Teſtament, to accommodate theirs. If Queen *Eliſabeth*, when tempted to declare her Succeſſor, declined it with this Saying, That *ſuch an Act would be the Digging her Grave, before ſhe were dead:* Have we not great Cauſe to apprehend that, the King having by this Act digged his own Grave, his Brother, or the Jeſuits, under whoſe Government he is, will find Hands to bring and put him into it, leſt through Delay, ſomething ſhould intervene that would fill it up again? It is a Pity, that none would call to his Majeſty's Memory that Saying of *Tacitus*, *Suſpectus ſemper inviſuſq; Dominanti qui proximus deſtinatur.* Which, by varying a little from the *Latin*, I will *engliſh* thus: *That he ought to be always ſuſpected, and carefully watched againſt by the Ruler, who moſt ardently hopes, and thinks himſelf in Likelihood to ſucceed him.* Stateſmen in old Times reckoned it for a Maxime in Politicks, that, *Ne mentio fieret Hæredis, vivo adhuc Principe: That while the Prince liveth, there ought not to be ſo much as a Mentioning of any whoſe Right it was to come after.* For as ſubtle *Tiberius* upbraided *Macro*, that he forſook the ſetting Sun, to worſhip the riſing; ſo King *Charles* may have, in Time, if he have not already, Cauſe to object the ſame to ſome about him. That crafty Emperor knew more of the Art of Self-preſervation, than crowned Heads in our Days ſeem to do. For though he had adopted *Germanicus*, at the Command of *Auguſtus*, of whom he received the Empire, yet having a Son of his own, namely *Druſus*, he would never declare in Favour of either ſo long as they lived, but judged his own Safety to conſiſt in leaving it doubtful, whoſe Title to the Univerſal Monarchy was beſt. However, ſay moſt of his Majeſty's Subjects, though we have not been able to prevent the King from this unwary Act, by which he hath ſtaked his Life to the Pleaſure of his Enemies, yet we will be kinder to *him* than he hath been to himſelf, and contribute all we can to his Security; and that is by letting the World know, that we will revenge his Death, by ſacrificing the whole Popiſh Party upon his Grave, in Caſe he ſhould come to an untimely End.

Fourthly, This Declaration would be received with leſs Heſitation in the Minds of People, if Kings and Princes were not made of the ſame Mould with other Men, and liable to the like Failures, and Moral Prevarications, that the reſt of the Sons of *Adam* are. And therefore, obſerving how common it is for Perſons upon a lower Ground to renounce their Wives, and moſt ſacredly diſclaim their Marriages; they conceive it is not impoſſible, but that theſe, who move in higher Spheres, may upon ſtrong Temptations do the like. Yea, our own Hiſtory furniſheth us with an Inſtance of a great King, and one who ſwayed the *Engliſh* Scepter, who is tranſmitted to us, with this Blot in his Eſcutcheon. The Perſon I mean is *Edward the Fourth*, who being a ſprightly and amorous Prince, was ſuddenly contracted and married to *Elinor Talbot*, Daughter of the Earl of *Shrewſbury*, and that not only without any Witneſſes, ſave Dr. *Thomas Stillington*, Biſhop of *Bath*, into whoſe Hands the Contract was made, and who officiated at, and celebrated the Marriage, but beſides the poor Doctor was ſtrictly enjoined by the King to conceal it; and you may eaſily ſuppoſe the timorous Prelate would not fail in his Duty to Majeſty, at leaſt ſo long as he knew the King in a Condition to puniſh and avenge the Diſcovery. Now *Edward the Fourth*, finding thereupon Admiſſion into the Embraces of the Lady, and having ſatiated himſelf a While by ſecret Enjoyments, and withal reckoning that none could, or at leaſt durſt detect by what holy Ties he was bound unto her; he did ſome Years after, notwithſtanding the Perſon to whom he was affianced ſtill ſurvived, both deny what was ſo ſolemnly tranſacted in the Preſence of Almighty God between them, and withal married another Woman, namely my Lady *Eliſabeth Gray*. Your Lordſhip may ſee the Story both in *Buck*'s *Life of* Richard the Third, *Pag.* 16, *&c.* and in *Comines*'s Hiſtory of *Lewis the Eleventh*. And without making any Application of it to the preſent Caſe, I ſhall crave Liberty to make theſe Remarks upon it.

1. That it is poſſible for Princes, eſpecially ſuch as have accompanied with many Women, to have weak Memories, and to forget upon what Terms they contracted their firſt Friendſhips with them. For, finding how their Familiarity aroſe with others of that Sex, they may grow, by Degrees, into a Kind of Perſuaſion, that their Intereſt, in all, was eſtabliſhed upon no better Terms. Or, if they ſhould not be ſuppoſed ſo forgetful as this amounts unto, yet the Love of Change may make them ſtifle their Knowledge, eſpecially when the Objects of their freſh Amours cannot be otherwiſe brought to entertain their Flame, but with a Proviſion for their own Honour.

2. That the Denials of Kings are not to be ſubſcribed unto with an implicit Faith; but that we ought to uſe the ſame Diſcretion in believing, or not believing, what they ſay, that we eſteem ourſelves privileged to uſe towards others, in the Credit which they require we ſhould give unto them. For, though Princes be not liable to be impleaded in our Courts, nor be ſubject to Penalties, that tranſgreſſing Subjects are; yet, ſeeing they may be guilty of the ſame Facts, which would both leave a Reproach upon common Men, and make them obnoxious to Puniſhments; it cannot rationally be expected, that their bare Words ſhould reſtrain the Freedom of our Thoughts, or give Law to our Underſtandings, in the Judgment that we are to make of Caſes and Things.

3. I would obſerve, That though the judicial Courts could not, and the Parliaments, during *Edward*'s Reign, would not take Cogniſance of that King's contemning and violating the Ordinance of God, by diſclaiming his lawful Wife; yet the righteous Judge of Heaven and Earth, in a little While after, animadverted ſeverely on the Offence; for not only his two Sons, whom he had by the Lady *Gray*, were murdered by their Uncle, but the Kingdom was tranſlated from his Family, and not only beſtowed upon the chiefeſt Enemy of his Houſe, but upon one, who, among all that, for a long Series before, had been Rivals for the Crown, had the weakeſt Title.

4. It is not unworthy alſo of our Notice, that, notwithſtanding King *Edward*'s Denying his firſt Marriage, and Aſſuming another Lady unto his Conjugal Bed, yet all this could neither prevent the future Inquiry into this Matter, nor the Parliament's Recogniſing the Marriage with *Elinor Talbot*, 1 *Rich.* III. and, beſides the Imputation of a *Bigamiſt*, which is thereby ſtamped upon him to all

Ages, his Children, by the ſecond Venter, were baſtardiſed by Statute, and an Occaſion, from thence taken, to place the Scepter in the Hand of *Richard*.

Fifthly, Nothing, in this Declaration, can preclude the Duke of *Monmouth*, or any other true *Engliſhman*, from enquiring, when Time ſerveth, by legal and due Ways, into the Truth or Falſhood of the King's Marriage with Mrs. *Walters*; for the Duke cannot be denied the ſame Right, which appertains to every Perſon in the Kingdom, namely, the Juſtifying his own Legitimacy in due Courſe and Form. And ſhould he chuſe to ſit down with the Imputation of a Baſtard, with all the other Loſſes which attend it; yet there are thoſe in the Nation, who, preferring their Duty to God, their Country, themſelves, and an injured Gentleman, before a Reverence to one Man, eſpecially acting under the Influence of a Popiſh Brother, will bring that whole Buſineſs into an impartial Examination, before ſuch, where a ſingle Negative will not be allowed as a ſufficient Proof to invalidate affirmative Teſtimonies, providing ſuch can be had. And, ſhould that Marriage hereafter be authentically proved, How ill will they be found to have deſerved both of the King and Kingdom, that have either ſurpriſed, cajoled, or threatened his Majeſty to bring ſuch a Slur upon his Honour and Reputation, as this Declaration will, to all Ages, intail? And, my Lord, is it not ſtrange, if there was never any ſuch Marriage, that Mrs. *Walters* ſhould not only, when in Travel with the ſaid D. but at many other Times, particularly in her laſt Hours, when in the Proſpect of approaching Death, and enſuing Judgment, affirm it with that Poſitiveneſs which ſhe did? And is it not more ſurpriſing, if there had been no ſuch Marriage, that Dr. *Fuller*, late Biſhop of *Lincoln*, ſhould ſo often, and in *Verbo Sacerdotis*, declare to divers worthy Perſons, That he married them. Nay, what ſhould biaſs the Innkeeper at *Liege*, to make it the great Myſtery with which he entertained his *Engliſh* Gueſts, That the Marriage was celebrated and conſummated in his Houſe; and that both he and his Wife were Eye and Ear Witneſſes of it. Moreover, if it were ſuch an idle Story, as the Declaration repreſents it, How came it to paſs, that when ſome Perſons, lately examined about the *Black Box*, declared, That they had heard of ſuch a Thing, as the King's being married to that Gentlewoman, they ſhould be immediately commanded to withdraw, and told, That this was not the Buſineſs they were interrogated about? Beſides, my Lord, as all, who were Abroad with his Majeſty at that Time, knew the Paſſion the King had for that Perſon; ſo ſome of us can remember, how, through immoderate Love to her, being reduced to a Condition that his Life was deſpaired of, and the late Queen, his Mother, receiving Intelligence both of his Diſeaſe and the Cauſe of it, ſhe conſented to his Eſpouſing of her, rather than that he ſhould conſume and periſh in his otherwiſe unquenchable Flames. Moreover, as there were few had better Opportunities of being acquainted with this whole Affair, than my late Lord Chancellor *Hyde*, ſo, I am ſure, the Advantages likely to accrue to his Off-ſpring, by the Secluſion of the Duke of *Monmouth* from all Title to the Crown, may be judged ſufficient Inducements to have prevailed with him, if not to have aſſerted the ſaid Duke's Baſtardy, yet to have been ſilent in the Caſe, and not to have proclaimed the Legitimacy. And yet that very Lord, being in Danger of an Impeachment in Parliament, for Adviſing and Perſuading the King to a Marriage with Queen *Catharine*, excuſed himſelf from all ſiniſtrous Ends in that Affair, by affirming, That his Majeſty had a lawful Son of his own by a former Marriage (ſpecifying by Name the Duke of *Monmouth*) to ſucceed to his Crown and Dignity. Now, though it may be ſuppoſed that a Perſon may ſometimes lye for his Intereſt, yet no Man can be thought to do ſo, in order to the Prejudice, as well of himſelf, as his whole Poſterity: And if we believe Men ſpeaking Falſehoods, in Subſervency to their Honour and Profit, Shall we not give Credit to them, when they ſpeak Truth to their own Damage, and that of all thoſe who are dear unto them? Certainly, the poſitive Confeſſion and Teſtimony of this one Perſon, being againſt the Intereſt of his whole Family, is of more Weight, than the Denials of any Number whatſoever, when merely to promote their Safety and Advantage, or to ſerve the Exaltation of the Papal Cauſe. Theſe are but few of the many Particulars I could acquaint your Lordſhip with, relating to the Confirmation of a Marriage between the King and Mrs. *Walters*: But it is a Piece of neceſſary Wiſdom, at this Juncture, to know what not to ſay, as well as to underſtand what to ſay. And, to tell you plainly, I am more a Servant and a Friend to my Country, than, by pretending to plead the Duke's Cauſe, and to be uſeful to the Nation, to diſcover the Witneſſes which are in Reſerve, or betray the farther Evidences, which are to be produced, when this Matter ſhall come before a competent Judicature.

Sixthly, It is Matter of no ſmall Trouble, to ſuch as truly love his Majeſty, that the King's Integrity and Honour ſhould be brought to Stake, in a Matter, wherein both the preſent Age, and the ſucceeding, may take Occaſion to queſtion, and bring into Examination, his Truth and Sincerity. For though it is not impoſſible, but that Princes, conſidering the Temptations with which they are ſurrounded, may ſometimes, through Inadvertency, and, at other Times, upon State-motives, endeavour to impoſe upon the Credulity, if not abuſe the Faith of their People: Yet, the Veracity of a ſupreme Governor is of that Importance to himſelf, and ſo neceſſary to the Veneration which his People ought to maintain for him, that he is not to bring his Credit to pawn, unleſs it be in ſuch Caſes wherein his People may, if not apologiſe for, yet connive at the Indiſcretion and Weakneſs of their Ruler, ſhould he be found to delude them. Nor hath any Thing obſtructed the Affairs of Princes more, and prevented their People's believing them, when they ſpoke their moſt inward Thoughts, than the Forfeiture of their Credit in Matters wherein their Subjects relied upon the Honour and Truth of their Word. For they who do not mean as they ſpeak, when People are prepared to hear them, muſt not expect that their Words ſhould be much relied upon, when their Tongues are the true Interpreters of their Minds. And let me tell your Lordſhip, that this laſt Declaration hath cauſed Multitudes of his Majeſty's beſt Subjects to reflect upon, and take a View of many of his former Declarations, that from them they may be furniſhed with Reaſons for juſtifying themſelves in the Suſpenſion of their Aſſent to this. And I wiſh there had not been that Cauſe adminiſtered by foregoing ones, which may, with too many, leſſen the Value of the Royal Word, in that bearing Date the Second of *June*.

The firſt of this Kind he ever publiſhed, after he came in View of being reſtored to the Sovereignty over theſe Kingdoms, was that dated at *Breda*, the Fourth of *April*, 1660, wherein he promiſed Liberty to all tender Conſciences; and engaged the ſacred Word of a King, That no Man ſhould be diſquieted, or called in Queſtion, for Differences in Matter of Religion, provided they did not diſturb the Peace of the Kingdom. Now, though I will not diſpute about the Senſe wherein this Declaration was meant, nor concerning the End for which it was calculated and framed, yet this I may be allowed to ſay, that there are a great many of his Majeſty's liege People, who have taſted Dealings directly repugnant unto it, and may juſtly complain of ſome Failure in the Accompliſhment of it.

It is true, his Majeſty is not originally to be blamed, that it had not the hoped-for Effects; but, withal, that Prince, that can be over-ruled to recede from a Promiſe which contributed ſo much to his happy and peaceable Reſtoration, may be ſuppoſed capable of ſuch Impreſſions, from Men of ill Minds, as may make him venture his Royal Word, in other Caſes, beyond the Meaſures of Juſtice. But, ſeeing it were a Buſineſs of too much Fatigue, to call over all the Declarations ſince his Majeſty actually occupied the *Britiſh* Throne, I ſhall therefore remind your Lordſhip only of two more: Whereof, the firſt is that of *January* the Second, 1671, wherein the King, upon Shutting up the *Exchequer*, declares, on the Word of a Prince, That the Reſtraint, put upon Payments out of the Treaſury, ſhould continue no longer than till the laſt of *December*, 1672; and yet the Fulfilling of this is ſtill prorogued, though it be now above nine Years ſince the Royal Word was pledged for making it good.

The other, that I ſhall refreſh your Memory with, is that of the Twentieth of *April*, 1679, wherein his Majeſty, having ſhrived himſelf, and craved Abſolution for all paſt Matters, ſolemnly declareth, that he would, for Time to come, lay aſide the Uſe of any ſingle Miniſtry, or private Advices, or foreign Committees, for the general Direction of his Affairs; and that he would afterwards govern his Kingdoms by the Advice of that Council which he had then choſen, together with the frequent Uſe of his great Council of Parliament, as being the true and antient Conſtitution of this State and Government. Far be it from me to blame his Majeſty for the Diſappointment of thoſe Hopes which the People had ſo univerſally conceived upon that Declaration, which was ſo full of Ingenuity and Candour, and ſo adapted to the Honour, Safety, and Intereſt both of King and Kingdom; but this may be ſaid without the leaſt Umbrage of Irreverence, that the ſame peſtilent Men, who were able to cauſe his Majeſty to violate ſuch a Declaration, wherein he ſpoke the moſt like a wiſe and good Prince that ever he did, may be alſo able by the ſame aſcendant Influence to wreſt an unadviſed and bad one from him. The ſame Councils which prevailed upon him to go againſt both his Royal Word, and all the Maxims of Policy with which he is ſo richly endowed; May they not likewiſe be conceived to have over-ruled him in this, to ſpeak againſt his Knowledge and thoſe Moral Principles of Truth and Juſtice, with which, when left to himſelf, he appears to be imbued? Nor do I doubt, but that, among other Things they had in Proſpect to compaſs by this Declaration, they hoped to ſhut his Majeſty out of the Love of his beſt Proteſtant Subjects, ſo that, when brought to fall by their traitorous Conſpiracies, his Death may be at once unlamented and unrevenged. But let them not flatter themſelves; for, if there be any thing falſe or unjuſt in it, we aſcribe it all to their Rage againſt our Laws and our Religion, and do only complain of the King's Facility in ſuffering himſelf to be ſo openly abuſed.

Seventhly, But whereas there is one Thing in the Declaration by which Men of honeſt and eaſy Minds, being unacquainted with the Practices of the World, are apt to be ſomewhat ſtartled; namely, ‘The King's Calling ‘Almighty God to witneſs, and affirming, ‘upon the Faith of a Chriſtian, that there ‘was never any Marriage, or Contract of ‘Marriage, had or made between him and ‘Mrs. *Walters*;’ I think myſelf obliged to lay before you the Senſe and Apprehenſions which wiſeſt Heads have of that Proteſtation and ſolemn Appeal.

If, ſay they, neither the Eye nor Dread of God, nor the Faith of a Chriſtian, are effectual to reſtrain a Perſon from Adulteries and promiſcuous Scatterings, Can we have any Security that they will prevent ſuch a one from the Guilt of other Crimes? He who neither trembleth, nor bluſheth to proclaim his Uncleanneſſes to all the World, Will he forbear Sins of any Kind or Hue out of Principle, though he may poſſibly omit them by Accident, and in Compliance with Intereſt?

It was a Maxim of an antient Ruler, that, as Children are to be couſened with Nuts, ſo Men are to be deluded with Aſſeverations and Oaths. And upon this Occaſion they call to Mind the Character faſtened upon *Charles the Ninth* of *France*, namely, That the ſureſt Symptoms, by which it was known when he ſpoke falſly, was the Endeavouring to confirm what he ſaid by the moſt dreadful Imprecations, and execrable Oaths. And what our own Hiſtorians leave upon the Memory of his Royal Majeſty's own Grandfather, in this Point, I had rather you ſhould learn from *Wilſon*'s Hiſtory of King *James*, than be told by me. Beſides, ſay others, Who knoweth but that the King, through the like Impreſſion of Fear, under which he lifted up his Hand to the moſt high God at *Scone*, when crowned in *Scotland*, may have been influenced and over-awed to make this late Appeal and Proteſtation?

He who hath done one ſuch Thing, and eſpecially with that Solemnity and Profeſſion of Sincerity wherewith he took the Covenant; Can it be otherwiſe apprehended but that he may do the like again, if there be ſufficient Cauſe for the ſame Paſſion which biaſſed him againſt Knowledge and Conſcience then? Nay, the utmoſt Inducement that ſwayed and determined him, contrary to his Judgment and Light, to ſwear by the great God, in Terms ſo auguſt and awful in *Scotland*, was merely an Apprehenſion of being otherwiſe ſecluded from his Right over that Kingdom; but it is more than probable, that no leſs than a Dread of loſing his Life, as well as three Kingdoms, hath neceſſitated him to this which he hath now done. Now it is but Conſidering the Seaſons when the ſeveral Declarations pronounced in Council, and at laſt publiſhed to the World, were made; and you will be ſoon convinced that they were extorted from him, partly by the Neceſſity of his Affairs, and partly by the frightful Aſcendancy which his Brother hath obtained over him. For the *Firſt*, which we are here in the Print told of, was that made the Sixth of *January*, 1678, when the Condition and Poſture, wherein Things then ſtood, made it indiſpenſably needful that the King ſhould oblige his Brother to withdraw, and which the Duke of *York*, (though he knew that his Stay here, at that Time, would have, in all Likelihood, involved his Majeſty under inextricable Difficulties) refuſed to comply with, till he had wreſted that Declaration from him.

And for the *Second*, which was made alſo in Council, *March* 3, 1678, it is obvious to every conſidering Man, and demonſtrable to all the World, that it was the Effect of that Neceſſity which his Majeſty's Affairs had reduced him unto. For the Parliament being to meet the Sixth of that Month, and it appearing by the ſeveral Returns of the Perſons elected to ſit, that we were like to have a Houſe of true *Engliſh* Gentlemen, who would not only inſpect the late Popiſh Plot, but enquire into the *Miſcarriages* of publick Miniſters: Hereupon, as the Duke threatened to return, unleſs the King would make ſome freſh Declaration, whereby, being pronounced and repreſented as next Heir, he might be ſcreened from the angry but juſt Reſentments of the Nation; ſo divers Perſons at Home, who knew themſelves unpardonably criminal, applied their Thoughts to find out a Method, by which a Miſunderſtanding might, in a ſhort Time, ariſe between the King and his Parliament. And apprehending that the Duke of *York* could not poſſibly eſcape the Animadverſion of the Houſe, all the Treaſons and Crimes, whereof others were only guilty in their reſpective Parts and Proportions, meeting in him as ſo many Lines in their Center; they accordingly by threatening to make their own Compoſitions, and to lay open all thoſe Matters which they conceived his Majeſty to be moſt ſollicitous to have concealed, brought the King to make that Declaration. Whereby having in Effect ſignified the Duke of *York* to be the next in Right to ſucceed, they reckoned they had wrought him to ſuch an Eſpouſal of his Brother, as muſt needs break all Meaſures of fair Correſpondency with his Parliament. And, as this was the principal Thing they aimed at, ſo by denouncing ſtill to provide for their own Security, in detecting whatſoever they knew, they kept him to an Adheſion to the Declaration which he had made, and thereby not only embarraſſed all his Affairs, but ſo embroiled him with the Houſe of Commons, as that in a few Weeks they compaſſed the Diſſolution of the Parliament.

Having thus briefly repreſented unto your Lordſhip, under what Influence of Neceſſity and Fear, theſe Declarations were at firſt made in Council, I need not tell you through what Impreſſions by the inceſſant Importunity, and daily Hectoring of his Majeſty by the Duke, now at *Windſor*, they come at laſt to be printed and proclaimed to the World. The King, poor Gentleman, is willing to buy his Peace at any Rates, and hath here ſtaked his Honour, not to ſay his Conſcience, for it? But as you know that neither Conceſſions, Declarations, nor Alienations made by a Perſon in Dureſs, or under Threatenings, or ſwayed by Apprehenſions of the Hazard of his Life, can oblige others, tho' they be ſuch as are wrapped up in or concluded by him, in all Caſes where he is ſuppoſed free; ſo, in plain *Engliſh*, the Generality of the People, and thoſe of the beſt Senſe, hold themſelves no ways affected or preſcribed unto by theſe Declarations. For we, who knew the Tenor of them when they lay concealed in the Council-Books, and yet thought ourſelves at Liberty to believe as our Judgments conducted us, are not likely to have our Minds altered by the bare Printing of them. But, how far the Conſcience of the King is concerned or defiled, I leave to thoſe of the *Theologick Faculty* to reſolve; only I judge, that the ſame *Caſuiſtical* Divinity whereby they ſalved the Conſcience and vindicated the Honour of the King in the Caſe of the Covenant, and withal diſcharged him from the Obligation which it was ſuppoſed to have put upon him, may, whenſoever he thinks meet, ſtand him in good Stead, and afford him the ſame Relief in the Caſe of the late Declarations.

Eighthly, There is one Thing farther that muſt not be omitted, becauſe it gives us Amazement, and yet affords us pleaſant Diverſion; namely, the Motive they have brought his Majeſty to alledge for his making and publiſhing this Declaration. I confeſs I could not read it without Surprize and wonderful Emotion. And I dare ſay, when you think ſeriouſly of it, you will find Pity ſtir in your Heart to your abuſed Prince, and your Blood ſwell in your Veins through Indignation at ſome about him. For, after the Care they have ſuffered him to take for Preſerving our Religion, Lives and Liberties, from the Deſigns of the Papiſts, by diſſolving two Parliaments, and ſo often proroguing a third, they bring him now to publiſh this Declaration to relieve the Minds of his loving Subjects from their Fears, and to prevent the ill Conſequences, which a Belief of his having been married to the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Mother may have in future Times upon the Peace of theſe Kingdoms. A moſt proper Way to extinguiſh our Fears, by doing all that he can, to ſubject us hereafter to one who is the profeſſed Enemy of our eſtabliſhed Religion and legal Government. But that your Lordſhip may the better comprehend how highly we are obliged to his Majeſty for his Love and Tenderneſs to his People in all that they judge dear and valuable, by deſigning ſo hopeful a Succeſſor over them; I ſhall recount ſome of thoſe many Particulars from which we eſteem ourſelves capable of judging what a gracious and deſirable Prince this dear and beloved Brother is like to prove.

1. He is a Gentleman that hath renounced the Religion wherein he was not only educated, and which theſe Nations profeſs, but which he had conſigned unto him ſealed with the Blood of his Father, and entailed upon him and the whole Line by no leſs than his Grandfather's Curſe, in caſe any of old *James*'s Offspring ſhould depart from it.

2. He hath made it his Buſineſs to ſeduce his Majeſty's Subjects to the Papal Faith, and to enſlave them to a foreign Juriſdiction. And, by his Addreſſes, Sollicitations, and Preferments, wherewith he is able to reward ſuch mercenary Souls, as are ready to make Sale of their Religion, he hath made more Converts to the Church of *Rome*, than all the *Engliſh* Miſſionaries have been able to do.

3. Thro' the Power which he hath obtained over the King, he hath procured the chiefeſt Places of Strength, in the Nation, and ſome of the greateſt Truſts, as well Civil and Religious, as Military, to be conferred upon known Papiſts, and ſworn Enemies to the Proteſtant Cauſe, and *Engliſh* Liberties.

4. He hath been the principal Promoter of arbitrary Government, and of making the King's Intereſt both diſtinct from, and oppoſite to, that of his People. And this he hath done in Purſuance of Papal Advice, and in Subſerviency to the *Romiſh* Intereſt. For where the Monarch is abſolute, and the Lives and Fortunes of whole Nations are enſlaved to the Will and Pleaſure of one Perſon; the mere Wheedling of a luſtful, weak, or inconſiderate Prince will go a great Length in the gaining vaſt Multitudes to adore the Triple Crown. And, for ſuch as ſhall prove ſtubborn and refractory, it is but meritorious to kill them, and then convert their Lands to the Uſe of the Holy See.

5. It was this Darling and beloved One, that authoriſed the Burning of *London*; and not only made his own Palace a Sanctuary to the Villains, who were ſuſpected as Inſtruments of that dreadful Conflagration, but reſcued and diſcharged divers who were apprehended in the very Fact. And this he did partly in Revenge, foraſmuch as *London* had been both the Magazine of Strength and Treaſure, during the War with the late King; and partly to gratify his Popiſh Friends, by deſtroying the Bulwark of the Proteſtant Religion, and the chief Receptacle of the Hereticks.

6. It was this preſumptive Heir, that all along obliged his Majeſty to neglect the concerning himſelf in favour of the Proteſtants Abroad; and did ſo order it, through his Power over the King, that never any foreign Alliance was made, but was abuſed to the Betraying of them. And here let me call over a Story, and perhaps a more tragical one, and accompanied with baſer Treachery, than any Hiſtory is able to acquaint you with. One Monſieur *Rohux*, a *French* Gentleman, coming into *England*, to treat with the King concerning an Alliance between his Majeſty and foreign Proteſtants, merely for the Preſervation of their Religion; and having acquainted the Duke of *York* with his Errand, after he had, in a private Conference or two, tranſacted with the King about it: This Royal Prince, out of his wonted Kindneſs to the Proteſtants, and the Reformed Religion, cauſed *Rouveny* (Lieger Ambaſſador from *France* at this Court) to ſtand behind the Hangings at St. *James*'s, while he made this innocent Gentleman diſcourſe over the whole Buſineſs. Upon which, Monſ. *Rouveny* being obliged to acquaint his Maſter with it, Monſ. *Rohux*, who (upon ſome Intimation that the Duke had betrayed him) had withdrawn hence to *Switzerland*, was there ſeized by a Party of *French* Horſe, and brought to the *Baſtile*; whence, after ſome Time's Impriſonment, he was carried to the Place of Execution, and broken upon the Wheel.

7. It was through the Duke of *York*'s Means, that both the firſt and ſecond Wars were commenced;

menced againſt the *Dutch*; and that in order, not only to weaken the Proteſtants, by their mutual Deſtroying of each other, but in Hopes to have turned the victorious Arms of the King upon the Hereticks at Home, and the Patrons of *Engliſh* Liberty.

8. It was this zealous Prince, for the Honour and Safety of *Britain*, that adviſed the Breaking of the Triple League, which was the wiſeſt Conjunction, and moſt for the Glory of the King's Reign, and the Preſervation of his Dominions, that ever he entered into. And this he did, not only to gratify *France*, whoſe Penſioner, as well as whoſe Confederate he hath been, but to leave the Proteſtants here naked to the Attempts of the Papiſts. For he knew, that, while that League continued firm, the King of *Sweden*, and the States of *Holland*, would have conſtrued all Deſigns upon the Proteſtants in *England*, as done againſt thoſe of the ſame Religion with themſelves, and in Favour of whoſe Profeſſion they had entered into that Alliance.

9. He hath not only maintained Correſpondence with foreign Princes, to the Betraying the King's Counſels, but hath confederated with them for the Extirpation of our Religion, and overthrowing our legal Government. And beſides many other Evidences of this, which it is not convenient to mention at preſent: The Depoſitions, which arrived with the Committee of Secrecy during the Seſſion of the late Parliament, together with *Coleman's* Letters, and that which he wrote in the Duke's Name, and indeed by his Command, do uncontroulably demonſtrate it.

10. He was conſenting to, and hath co-operated in the whole Popiſh Plot, for both his Confeſſor and his Secretary did, with his Knowledge and Approbation, ſeal the Reſolves for the King's Death.

11. It was the Duke, who, when the King had revealed the firſt Diſcovery of the helliſh *Romiſh* Plot to him, immediately communicated it to Father *Bedingfield*, that ſo the Conſpirators might know how to ſecure their Papers, and abſcond themſelves.

12. It was he, who, through his Command over the Poſt-Office, prevented the Intercepting the Letters from St. *Omers*, and other foreign Seminaries, whereby that whole damnable Conſpiracy would have been more fully detected.

13. He employed his own Ducheſs to tranſport ſeveral of the Traytors to *Holland*, that ſo they might eſcape the Search that was made for them, and the Puniſhment they had deſerved.

14. It was he who ſuborned, encouraged, and rewarded the vileſt Miſcreants to frame and ſwear a Plot againſt the Proteſtants; and this he did to beget a Diſbelief of the Popiſh Conſpiracy, and in order to deſtroy ſuch of the Nobility and Gentry, as were the chief Aſſertors of the Reformed Religion, and *Engliſh* Liberty.

15. It was he, who adviſed the ſeveral Prorogations and Diſſolutions of Parliaments, whenſoever they were either conſidering the bleeding Condition of the Proteſtant Intereſt Abroad, or ſupplicating the King to an Alliance with Proteſtant Princes for its Protection and Preſervation.

16. It was he, in whoſe Favour the Diſſolution of the laſt Parliament was procured, and who hath prevented the Sitting of this, after eight ſeveral Times appointed for their Meeting. And all to hinder the Trial of the traitorous Lords in the *Tower*, and to obſtruct the further Search into the many helliſh Plots, wherein himſelf and the reſt of the Papiſts are engaged, for the Subverſion of our Religion and Laws, and the Deſtruction of the Lives of his Majeſty and People. And how much he hath leſſened his Majeſty's Intereſt in the Hearts of his Subjects, and weakened their Confidence in his Royal Word, by obliging him to treat this Parliament as he hath done, ſeeing, in his Speech to both Houſes, *March* 6, 1678, he had ſo ſolemnly declared his Reſolution to meet his People frequently in Parliaments; and into what Straits and Wants they have thereby alſo reduced him, I ſhall rather leave your Lordſhip ſilently to conſider, than take upon me at this Time to unfold.

17. It was he, who, after he had for ſo many Years promoted the Aiding and Succouring of *France* with *Engliſh* Forces, 'till that aſpiring Prince was aſcending to a Power and Greatneſs, not to be in any Probability withſtood or controuled, did at laſt engage his Majeſty in making the general Peace, which is a Thing ſo highly prejudicial to all *Europe*, in the unavoidable Conſequences of it.

18. It was he who countenanced and enlivened the late traitorous Combination of Apprentices and Ruffians, and who, together with the Lords in the *Tower*, iſſued out the Money, both for the Expences of their Entertainments, and for the Providing them with Arms, to diſturb the Peace of the City and Kingdom, and aſſault the Houſes and Lives of his Majeſty's liege People.

19. It is he who hath inrolled and ſecretly muſtered Men in all Counties of *England*, and who, beſides the *Engliſh* Papiſts, whom, at this Time, he hath called from all Parts of the Nation to *London*, is alſo provided of a great Number of *Iriſh*, who formerly waſhed their Hands in the Blood of Proteſtants, or are the genuine Off-ſpring of thoſe that did. Now, being thus furniſhed and invironed, he is reſolved (unleſs God in his Providence miraculouſly interpoſe) to put all to a Venture, and play over the ſame Game in *England*, that was, heretofore, acted in *Ireland*.

20. It is he who cheriſheth in his Boſom, and exalteth to the higheſt Truſts, ſuch as Colonel *Worden*, who betrayed his Majeſty's Secrets to the uſurping Powers, particularly to Mr. *Scot*. Nay, himſelf may be charged with many Things, in thoſe Times, whereby we may apparently diſcover both his Treachery to his Majeſty, and his Ambition to have uſurped the Crown from him. For, when a loyal Party of the *Engliſh* Fleet had eſpouſed his Majeſty's Right and Title, againſt the Enemies of his Crown and Perſon, the Duke, who being then Aboard, ſhould have encouraged, and ventured his Life in Conjunction with them, did, inſtead thereof, by a moſt ſhameful and diſloyal Deſerting of them, both diſcourage them in their Fidelity, and, ſo far as in him lay, oblige them to compound for themſelves, with a Secluſion of his Majeſty's Intereſt. Yea, beſides this, when the *Scots* were treating with the King at *Breda*, in order to the Eſtabliſhing him in the Throne of that Kingdom, the Duke of *York* was, at that very Time, tranſacting with ſuch as remained faithful to the King's Title here, that they would renounce his elder Brother, and chuſe him for their Sovereign. Nor do I believe, that his Majeſty can forget the Occaſion and Deſign upon which the Duke forſook him at *Bruges*, and withdrew to *Holland*; ſo that the King was neceſſitated not only to command him, upon his Allegiance, to return, but was forced to ſend the Duke of *Ormond*, and ſome other Perſons of Quality, to threaten, as well as perſuade him, before he would go back.

21. It is he, who, not thinking the Declaration enough to facilitate his Aſcenſion to the Throne, or to ſecure him from Reſiſtance in the Attempts he purpoſeth upon our Lives and Liberties, hath been, and ſtill is endeavouring to be admitted, and let further into the Government, and, accordingly, hath accoſted the King, by my Lord *Duraſs*, in that Matter. This is the more ſurpriſing, foraſmuch as one would think, that it is not poſſible he ſhould be further let into the Government, having *Berwick*, *Hull*, *Langer-point*, *Sheerneſs*, *Portſmouth*, and the Magazine of the *Tower* (*Legg* being now Maſter of the Ordnance) in the Hands of his ſworn Vaſſals and Creatures; and having alſo the Superintendency of all Civil Affairs in him, unleſs, by taking the Scepter actually into his Hand, he ſhould confine the King to a Country Houſe, and an Annual Penſion. And his Partiſans about the Town talk of no leſs, than the having the Duke crowned, during the King's Life, as *Henry the Second*, though upon far different Reaſons, was crowned, in Conjunction with King *Stephen*. And I wiſh that what the Brother of the King of *Portugal* hath, of late Years, effected againſt his Prince, did not awaken our Jealouſy to fear that the ſame may be attempted, by a Diſpenſation from the infallible Chair elſewhere. However, they have taken Care, ſhould they accompliſh this Deſign, that they may not be obliged to entertain our *Catharine*, as they, in *Portugal*, did the *French* Madam, married to *Alphonſo*; foraſmuch as the beſt Part of the Portion with our Princeſs, namely *Tangier*, is, through the Courage and Conduct of my Lord *Inchequine*, one of the Duke's greateſt Confidents, as good as diſpoſed of. But, ſhould they proceed in this Deſign againſt his Majeſty, it becomes all his Majeſty's good Subjects to endeavour, as one Man, the Reſcuing him from under their Power, ſeeing the very Deſignment of ſuch a Thing is a Treaſon of ſo high a Nature againſt the King, that we ſhould be wanting in our Allegiance, ſhould we not apply ourſelves in the Uſe of all poſſible Ways and Means to puniſh and avenge, as well as prevent the Execution of it. Now, my Lord, theſe are but few of the many Particulars, by which we are ſufficiently enlightened concerning the Duke of *York*; and we may abundantly learn from theſe, how much we are indebted to his Majeſty for his Grace, Favour, and Care, in appointing ſuch a one after him to ſucceed over us: Do not all our Fears hereupon immediately vaniſh and die; and Hope, Joy, and Gladneſs revive in our Hearts, on this Proſpect, which the King hath

given us of ſo good an Heir? But, poor Prince, we at once compaſſionate and forgive him, knowing that this proceeds not from his Inclination, but that he hath been hurried and forced to it. Nor do we need any further Aſſurance of the inward Propenſions of his Majeſty's Heart, and the Diſlike his Breaſt is filled with for what he hath done, but the Endeavours which he uſed, under daily and manifold Importunities to the Contrary, to have avoided it, and the Sadneſs which appears in his Countenance, ſince over-awed to publiſh this Declaration. And as for the Duke of *York*, let him not deceive himſelf; for as he may perceive by this, that we fully underſtand him, and know the Kindneſs he entertains for us; ſo we are prepared for him, and reſolved to return unto him, and his, in the Kind they intend to bring. For, having both Divine and Human Laws on our Side, we are reſolved neither to be Papiſts nor Slaves, and, conſequently, not to be Subjects to him, who hath vowed either utterly to extirpate us, or to reduce and compel us to be both the one and the other.

Laſtly, For the Iſſuing of all this Controverſy, concerning whoſe Right it is to ſucceed next after his Majeſty, Men, here about the Town, accuſtomed to Diſcourſe, think that there need but two Propoſals, and thoſe very rational ones, to be made. The *firſt* is, That, the Parliament being admitted to ſit, they may examine this Affair, whereof they alone are competent Judges. Whatſoever Declarations may otherwiſe ſignify, yet it is a Principle which can never be obliterated out of the Minds of *Engliſhmen*, That they are neither binding Laws, nor can alienate or extinguiſh the Rights of any. Shall the Son of a common Perſon be allowed the Liberty to juſtify his Legitimacy, in Caſe his Father prove ſo forgetful, or ſo unnatural, as to diſclaim him? And ſhall the Duke of *Monmouth*, merely by being the Son of a King, forfeit this juſt and univerſal Privilege? If his Majeſty was indeed married to that diſcountenanced Gentleman's Mother, he is, by our Laws, the Son of the Kingdom, as well as the Son of King *Charles*. And therefore it is neceſſary, as well as fit, that the People ſhould, in all due and legal Ways, underſtand whether they have any Intereſt or not in him, before they be commanded to renounce him, or reſign it. All therefore we deſire is, that this Matter may be impartially and fairly heard; and that before thoſe, who alone have Right to be Judges of it; and, as no other Courſe but this can ſatisfy the Minds of People, ſo it cannot be expected that, upon the Authority of a Declaration, eſpecially gotten as this was, they ſhould ſacrifice the Share, which, for any Thing yet appears, they have in him, as their apparent Prince and next Heir to the Throne. And, unleſs this be obtained, the People will, undoubtedly, think their own Rights invaded, whatſoever the ſaid Duke judgeth of his.

The *ſecond* Thing we would humbly beg, as well as propoſe, is, That, the Parliament being called to ſit, the Duke of *York* may be legally tried for his manifold Treaſons and Conſpiracies againſt the King and Kingdom. For, if he be innocent, and that the Right of Succeſſion be his, all Men will quietly acquieſce under him; but, if he ſhould prove guilty, as we no wiſe queſtion but that he will, Shall his Treaſons, when a Subject, qualify him to be a King, and pave the Way for his Riſing to the Throne? According to all Equity, as well as Law, he ought firſt to juſtify himſelf from all traitorous Attempts and Acts againſt the King and People, before he be allowed to have his Claim heard, concerning any Title that, in Time to come, he may have to rule over theſe Nations. I ſhall ſubjoin no more at preſent, ſave that I am,

My Lord,

London, June the 10th, 1681.

Your moſt obedient Servant.

A moſt learned, conſcientious, and devout Exerciſe, or Sermon, held forth, the laſt *Lord's-day* of *April*, in the Year 1649, at Sir *P. T.*'s Houſe in *Lincoln*'s-*Inn-Fields*, by Lieutenant-General *Oliver Cromwell*; as it was faithfully taken in Characters by *Aaron Guerdon*. *London*, printed in the Year 1680. *Quarto*, containing ſeventeen Pages.

ROM. xiii. 1.

Let every Soul be ſubject unto the higher Powers; *for there is no* Power, *but of God*; *the* Powers, *that be, are ordained of God.*

DEARLY beloved Brethren and Siſters, it is true, this Text is a malignant one; the Wicked and Ungodly have abuſed it very frequently, but (Thanks be to God) it was to their own Ruin; yet their Abuſe ſhall not hinder us from making a right Uſe of it. Every Thing is ſubject to be abuſed, be it never ſo holy or good; the Men of God, the Creatures of God, all are ſubject to Injuries and Abuſe; the Council of State, the Parliament, the Army, the General have been, and daily are abuſed; nay, even myſelf have not eſcaped the Violence of thoſe Seducers, whoſe Tongues are ſharper than a two-edged Sword: My very Face and Noſe are weekly maligned and ſcandaliſed by thoſe ſcribbling Mercuries, *Elencticus* and *Pragmaticus*; inſomuch that, were it poſſible, they would raiſe a Faction in my Forehead, and make Mutinies amongſt my very Teeth. It is true, I have a hot Liver, and that is the Cauſe my Face and Noſe are red; for my Valour lies in my Liver, not in my Heart, as other Men's; never any Man could ſay my Heart was ſtout; indeed the General's lies there, and that is the Reaſon his Face is pale. You all know, I never was a Drunkard, although, when I was at the Loweſt, I had Beer enough; for you know I had near Relation to a Beer-brewer; and I had always Money to buy Wine with, if I pleaſed, ſo that I might have been a Drunkard, if I would; yet, you know, I am a temperate ſober Man, elſe I had never been ſo good a Soldier. But, What is it the Malignants will not abuſe, who let not to abuſe themſelves? I will warrant you, they would abuſe our very Wives too, if they durſt; and I fear ſome of them do —— you know what I mean; —— but no more of that, at preſent.

My Text, you ſee, is Scripture, and Scripture muſt be believed, next to our diviner Revelations, be it what it will; but the Malignants, they would interpret it one Way, and we, the Saints, interpret it another. Now let any Body judge, whether they, or we, are to be believed; whether, *I ſay*, thoſe ungodly Cavaliers, that ſought to uphold Tyranny and Antichriſt, or we, that, in the Uprightneſs of our Hearts, fought for Liberty and Freedom, and for Eſtabliſhing the Kingdom of King *Jeſus*. Surely, Beloved, it is we that are in the Right of it; I think none of you will deny it.

But now, that I ſpoke of Kings, the main Queſtion is, Whether, by *higher Powers*, are meant Kings, or the Commoners? Truly, Beloved, it is a very great Queſtion amongſt thoſe that ſay they are learned; but, I think verily, they make more Stir about it, than needs; for, May not every Body, that can read, obſerve, that *Paul* ſpeaks in the plural Number, the *higher Powers*? Now, had he meant Subjection to a King, he would have ſaid, *Let every Soul be ſubject to the higher Power*; that is, if he had meant one Man; but, by this, you ſee, he intended more than one; for he bids us *be ſubject to the higher Powers*, that is, the Council of State, the Houſe of Commons, and the Army. I hope I have cleared this Point; ſo now then I will come cloſer to the Words themſelves, and

ſhe

ſhew you truly and plainly, without any gaudy Rhetorick, what they ſignify unto us, that you be not deceived; and I tell you, this is not to be done by every Spirit, but only by ſuch, who are more than ordinarily endowed with the Spirit of Diſcerning. I confeſs, there are many good Men and Women amongſt you, that intend well, and ſpeak well, and underſtand well, but yet cannot apprehend well all Things that lurk in Scripture-language, for Lack of a ſufficient Meaſure of the Spirit: They muſt be inwardly called thereunto, or elſe they are ſubject to Errors and Miſconſtructions.

Well then, you ſee who are fitteſt to interpret, and, I preſume, you believe God hath abundantly ſupplied me; I do not boaſt of it, but I ſpeak it to his Glory, that hath vouchſafed to take up his Lodging in ſo vile, contemptible, unſwept, unwaſhed, ungarniſhed a Room, as is this unworthy Cottage of mine: But it was his Will, and I am thankful for it.

Now the Words offer themſelves very naturally; they are plain, not difficult, but proſtrate their Senſe in a moſt perſpicuous Manner.

For, *Firſt*, Beloved, by theſe Words, *Let every Soul*, &c. we may underſtand, that every one of us have Souls; whence I raiſe this Doctrine: That it is an ungodly, irreligious, profane, and idle Tenent amongſt the Wicked, to think, or ſay, That Women have no Souls. Mark, my Beloved, to think, or ſay, *&c.* for there are many now-a-days, that think, and will not ſpeak what they think; and others, that ſpeak, and will not think what they ſpeak: But we are none ſuch —— Dear Siſters, it is a great Abuſe to your honourable Sex.———And now, truly, I will turn to you only; for you have been our daily and nightly Comforters; indeed, la, ye have! You have raiſed our drooping Spirits, though never ſo much dejected; you have got us Stomachs, when we had none, and furniſhed us with Fleſh, on all Occaſions; we never found you unwilling, or unready to help us, when we were the fartheſt from Home. Believe it: When I lay before *Pembroke*-Caſtle, my Landlady, where I quartered, who had once been a Malignant, and then but newly crept into the State of Grace; ſhe, I ſay, had a good Soul within her; ſhe was brim-full of the Spirit, and yet ſhe was very handſome; which is ſtrange; for ſeldom we find a Perfection without an Imperfection: Commonly, Women, that are fair without, are either falſe, or foul, within; but to me ſhe was neither: And yet I do not ſpeak this to condemn Beauty, for it is of a ſingular Comfort and good Uſe, and thoſe, that be fair, may be true and good: But this is *ſecundum majus & minus*, as the Logicians cant; ſome are better than other ſome; that is the *Engliſh* of the *Latin*; and, indeed I have found great Difference in Women. Then again, when I came into *Yorkſhire*, I met with Mrs. *Lambert*, the Eſpouſed of that honourable and valiant Saint, Mr. *G. Lambert*: She, I ſay, is a Woman, not very fair, I confeſs, but of as large a Soul, and as full of the Spirit, as any I ever yet met with: I profeſs, I never knew a Woman more endowed with thoſe heavenly Bleſſings of Love, Meekneſs, Gentleneſs, Patience, and Long-ſuffering; nay, even with all Things that may ſpeak her every Way deſerving the Name of a Saint; and yet, I ſay, ſhe was not very beauteous, or comely, for ſhe is ſomething foggy and ſun-burnt, which is ſtrange in that cold Country. But, what Nature had denied her of Ornament without, I found ſhe had within her a Soul, a devout, ſweet Soul; and, God knows, I loved her for it.

Thus we find then both by Scripture and Experience, that all of us have Souls, Men and Women. But then again, Beloved, ſome have good Souls, and ſome have bad; Mrs. *Lambert* hath a good Soul, and no Doubt, nay, I know, many of you, that be here, are, and have, good Souls within you. The Cavaliers and their Queans are the bad Souls; they ſerve, and are ſubject to bad and ungodly Men, Men did I call them, nay Devils that would devour us, and drink themſelves drunk with the Blood of the Saints.

By this then it is evident who have, and who are the good Souls: Whence I raiſe this Doctrine, or rather Point of Faith, That we are not to believe, or account any to have, or to be Souls, but thoſe that are of the Family of Saints. (I would have ſaid *Love*, but that it is a particular Sect, ſomething differing from ours.)

Come on then: *Let every Soul be ſubject*, &c. Whereby we ſee all Souls, good and bad, are bound to be ſubject. *All-Souls* College in *Oxford* muſt be ſubject to the Viſitors; *All-Souls* Day, tho' a ſuperſtitious Holy-day, and ſtrictly kept by the Papiſts, muſt be ſubject to Labour and Toil: Your Souls, Brethren and Siſters, muſt be ſubject to Perſuaſion, to Love, Familiarity, and Friendſhip, to all Things that may increaſe or elevate the Spirit; to kindle and take Fire, like Tinder, upon every Spark and Glance of our Affections. O my dear Brethren and Siſters, Love, it is the Fulfilling of the Law; what need we more then? It covers a Multitude of Sins; lo you there! It hides all our Infirmities. Had one of us loved another, theſe Differences and Blood-ſhed had never happened. But ſome will object, and ſay, There is a Luſt, as well as Love; and ſometimes Luſt is falſly termed Love. I tell you, Beloved, theſe nice and critical Diſtinctions are Things, that once had like to have undone us. Luſt is nothing but a Deſire of any Thing; and if, my Beloved, we deſire to enjoy one another, God forbid but we ſhould help and comfort each other, and lay out ourſelves, as far and freely as may be, to aſſiſt each other, in the Embraces of the Spirit: The Laws of Reaſon and Nature require it of us.

But let us look yet a little further: *Let every Soul be ſubject to the higher Powers*, &c. What thoſe higher Powers are, I have told you before, they are the Council of State, the Houſe of Commons, and the Army; and God forbid but all Men ſhould obey them; that is, that the People be ſubject to the Council of State, the Council of State to the Houſe of Commons, they to the Army, the Army to the General, and the General to me: To me, I ſay, who have plotted, adviſed, counſelled, and fought for both you and them theſe ſeven Years; and now at laſt purchaſed your Freedom and Liberty. Dear Brethren and Siſters, I ſpeak it not in Oſtentation, but with Thankfulneſs, and Glory to him who made me ſo uſeful an Inſtrument in this bleſſed Work of Reformation: For, Beloved, it was I that juggled the late King into the Iſle of *Wight*: It was I diſſolved the Treaty: It was I that ſeized upon, and hurried him to *Hurſt* Caſtle: It was I that ſet Petitions a-foot throughout the Kingdom, againſt the Perſonal Treaty, and for bringing the King and other capital Offenders to Juſtice: It was I that contrived, with the Help of my Son *Ireton*, the large Remonſtrance of the Army: It was I that preſcribed the Erecting of the high Court of Juſtice, and which brought the King to his Trial: In a Word, it was I that cut off his Head, and with it all the Shackles and Fetters of the *Norman* Slavery and Bondage: It was I that cut off the Heads of *Hamilton*, *Capel*, and *Holland*: It was I that ſurpriſed the Levellers at *Burford*, and in *Northamptonſhire*: It was I that broke their Deſign, deſtroyed *Thompſon*, &c. diſperſed and appeaſed the reſt, and which have healed the late Diſtempers of the Army, whereby the Land is now reſtored to this bleſſed Peace, Tranquillity, and Plenty: And therefore, I ſay, I may juſtly, and without Ambition, ſtile myſelf the Author of all the Kingdom's preſent and future Happineſs.

It is true, Beloved, the General is a ſtout and valiant Man, and he hath great Appearance of God in him; but fitter far to be paſſive than active in the Affairs of State; he is fitter for a Charge than a Council; and the Truth is, as I may tell you under the Roſe, he wants Brains to do any Thing of Moment. But indeed, this I may ſay for him, he is a Man doth not ſeek himſelf; I never found him wilful, but willing always to ſubmit to better Judgments than his own: For when *Sedgwick*, that faſt and looſe Prieſt, of *Covent-garden*, upon the King's Trial had writ to his Lady to adviſe him to remit the Execution of that Sentence, and to waſh his Hands of his Death; he, honeſt Man, preſently acquainted me with the Buſineſs, and ſhewed me the Arguments, given to perſuade him againſt it; and freely referred all to my Judgment. And the Twenty-eighth of *January*, being the Lord's-day, at Night I went to him in *Queen-ſtreet*, attended with two Troops of my own Regiment, to remove the Scruples he made upon that raſcally Prieſt's Letter, or to ſecure him by Force, in Caſe he had contracted more, and would not be ſatisfied: But he, good Man, gave me Thanks for my Pains, and told me I had fully reſolved him. All this, Beloved, I ſpeak in Honour of the Man; but truly he is too great, to be ſo good as we muſt have a General, for you know he is a Lord, and unleſs he be a Lord, and no Gentleman, as I fear he will not acknowledge himſelf, he is not for our Turns; the rather, for that he is eaſily ſeduced, I have Experience of him, and led away by every Wind of Doctrine, by mere Appearances and Shadows of Reaſon. Truly, Beloved, I think myſelf and my Son *Ireton* may prove of greater Uſe to the Republick, than any other; and if we be but once the acknowledged Governors thereof by the People, we believe we ſhall anſwer their Expectations to a Hair's-breadth; which if ever we be, then Beloved, it is I and my Son who are the higher Powers meant in my Text, to whom Subjection is commanded. For, as I told you before, it cannot be to one ſingle Man, muſt be to two or more; and truly, if the People ſhall think us, as we think ourſelves, worthy of that Truſt, we ſhall diſcharge it faithfully, and ſtudy to merit it at their Hands. But miſtake me not, I do not mean by Merit as the Papiſts do, that is, to deſerve it at their Hands, for the good Works we have done; no, no, we will acknowledge it to be merely out of the free Grace and Mercy of the People; for when we have done all we can for them, we confeſs we are but unprofitable Servants.

I thank them, they have made me General for *Ireland*; and you know I am upon the Point of going thither, in great Hopes of reducing thoſe rebellious Traytors to our Obedience. But then, Beloved, ſo many of you, as go along with me, muſt be mindful of my Text; that is, you muſt be ſubject to me, and my Lieutenant-General. Whenſoever we bid you go, you muſt run; when we bid you ſtorm, you muſt do it, though it be againſt nothing but Stone-walls: You owe us your Lives and your Limbs, and all that you have; whenſoever we demand them, you ought to ſurrender, and that freely, not grumbling; for you muſt ſubmit to the higher Powers, *&c.*

The Verity is, this Expedition againſt *Ireland* is like to prove a very hard Taſk, unleſs I can in Policy engage *Owen Roe*, if not to join with *Jones*, *Monk*, and *Coot*, yet to keep off at a Diſtance with *Ormond.* I am, Beloved, about it; and I ſhall do my Endeavour too, to ſet *Inchequeen* and him at Variance; and yet at that very Inſtant will I loſe no Opportunity to re-oblige him to the Parliament; for you all know what *Inchequeen* is——I have him —— I will not ſay how——But it is very probable an Act of Indemnity, tied in the Strings of a Five-thouſand Pounds Bag, may work a Miracle: For he, good Man, is but miſguided; he ſtands not upon ſuch Punctilioes of Honour as *Ormond* doth —— In Truth, Beloved, this *Ormond* is a ſhrewd Fellow, and, were he not one of the Wicked, a Man highly deſerving; not ſo much for his Knowledge and Experience in Military Affairs, which yet may challenge ſome Proportion of Honour, as for his Diligence and Faithfulneſs in the Truſt committed to him: Valour I will not allow him any; it is only Deſperateneſs, and that he wants not; but, Remember we not how politickly he carried himſelf in the Buſineſs of *Dublin*, after we had ſubdued the common Enemy here the firſt Time? How dexterouſly he avoided the Meſſages and Commands of the late King, which we extorted from him, for the Surrender of that City? How ſhamefully he baffled our Commiſſioners which were ſent to treat with him about it, at what Diſtance he kept them, ſtill urging the Captivity of the King to excuſe his Diſobedience; and how often, and on what ſleeveleſs Errands, he ſent them back to re-inforce their Inſtructions; whilſt all the While he was underhand endeavouring to know the King's Pleaſure, by the Hands of his own Meſſenger? And when he was ſatiſfied with the Reality of the King's Deſires and Condition, How notably he trucked with us, for his own Security and Satisfaction?—— Nay more, when he ſtood upon the Receipt of ſome Thouſands, before he would ſurrender, you ſhall hear how he there ſerved us:—— For notwithſtanding that I cauſed the Parliament, by their Letters, voluntarily to aſſure him the full Double of the Sum he demanded, upon Condition he would quit the King's, and declare for our Intereſt; and that hereunto he had returned a fine Silver-tongued Reſponſe in Anſwer to the Parliament, and had thereupon returned him the Authority of the Parliament, to indemnify him and his Followers, for all Things ſaid or done in Relation to the *Engliſh* or *Iriſh* Wars, and Four-thouſand Pounds in Recompenſe for his Loſſes; with this additional Aſſurance, that he ſhould, ſoon after the Surrender, be re-inveſted with full Power and Government of *Dublin*, by Commiſſion from the Parliament: Yet no ſooner was *Dublin* delivered to us, upon the King's Letters, and his Paſſport ſent him, but in Contempt of all our fair and civil Proffers, he tranſports himſelf for *France*, abruptly waving both our Proffers and Protection.—— This, Beloved, I inſtance not to juſtify him in his rebellious Courſes againſt the Nation, thoſe I will uſe my utmoſt to deſtroy him for, but, to let you ſee how glorioſly even a wicked and ungodly Man, as this *Ormond* is, appears in the Eyes of the World, who but approves himſelf true to his Truſt, that ſcorns to be corrupted with Gold, and continues ſo to the laſt; whereunto, Beloved, you are all of you enjoined by the Words of my Text: —— *Be ſubject to the Powers*, &c.

Nor will I let to acknowledge him leſs formidable than faithful; for doubtleſs he hath gone very near to pacify all Intereſts, and picked out of them a numerous Army; over whom, he hath placed good Officers: Good, ſaid I? I do not mean, Beloved, godly Officers, for they are all of them *Prelatical* or *Popiſhly* affected, but tried Soldiers; ſuch as will not eaſily turn their Backs on an Enemy.—— I muſt ingenuouſly confeſs too, they have a great Strength by Sea, and a Number of wilful Fellows for Mariners; who are in great Heart, by Reaſon of the many and great Prizes they have taken from us, and ſo forth. But, What of all this? Shall we therefore be diſcouraged? God forbid! The more numerous the Enemy is, the greater ſhall be the Victory over them; the more difficult the Work is, the more our Honour; the fuller their Pockets are, the worſe they will fight. You know by Experience, the Plunder of *Leiceſter* gave us the Victory at *Naſeby*; there you ſaw the *Cavaliers* chuſe rather to leave their King to his Shifts, than ſhift from behind them their Cloke-bags.— Believe it, Brethren, we ſhall meet with many Advantages againſt them —— *R.* himſelf, I know, will do us ſome Good, though it be but in Croſſing of Proverbs: And hear I but once that *Culpepper* or *Hyde* is there,———— doubt it not, all is our own.—— I cannot recount a Tithe of them. But this I am ſure, the honeſt Citizens have feaſted us to good Purpoſe; for, upon that Occaſion, we had their Promiſe to advance Monies a-freſh for *Ireland*.——— *San Nombre ou Menſure*: That is *French*, Beloved; the *Engliſh* whereof is, *Without Weight or Meaſure*.——Verily they are, of a ſtiff-necked Generation, become very tractable and obedient Servants; of a turbulent and mutinous, an exceeding meek and humble People.

And indeed, my Beloved, it was no ſmall Work we had, to ſubdue thoſe Malignant Spirits of the City, conſidering, how audaciouſly they once withſtood our Authority, and deſpiſed our Government; how peremptorily they petitioned for a Perſonal Treaty with the King, and ſent their Servants into *Colcheſter*, *Surry*, and *Kent*, to force us thereunto; how bitterly they inveighed and railed againſt the honourable Proceedings of the Parliament and Army; how largely they contributed to bring in a Foreign Nation to invade us, whilſt, yet, they denied us the Payment of our Arrears, or to continue the neceſſary Taxes, or Exciſe, for our future Maintenance, who had preſerved them and their Families, from the Rapine and Cruelty of a barbarous Enemy. But, beloved Brethren, I m[illegible] not to rip up all old Matters: Let it ſuffice, that, being thus warned by their Miſhap, you fall not into the like Sin of Diſobedience to higher Powers; there being no Powers but of God, the Powers that be being ordained of God.

Object. But it may be, ſome here may object, and ſay, How ſhall we be ſecured, in your Abſence, from the malicious Plots and Contrivances of the Preſbyterians, Malignants, and Levellers; ſince we cannot but expect, they will be complotting our Ruin, eſpecially *Lilburn*, and the reſt with *him in Durance*, whoſe Spirits can never be quelled, but by a *Cromwell*, they being ſo implacable and deſperate?

Anſw. Truly, Beloved, you that do, do very well to make theſe Doubts; I like theſe doubting Chriſtians above all Chriſtians, provided they be not jealous: And yet, my Beloved, a Man or Woman may be jealous without Cauſe as that Holy Man of God, Major-General *Lambert*, is of his Wife; which truly proceeds, not ſo much out of any Corruption of Judgment, as Manners; yet the Man was well bred, though not educated ſo well, as we are in the South. But, as to this Point, you ſhall hear how careful I have been to provide for your Safety, and the Peace of the Nation, in my Abſence: For ſuppoſing that *Lilburn* and his Faction, and the reſt of our Enemies, as God knows we have too many, will ſtrive to alienate the Hearts of the People from me, and to uſurp the Rule and Dominion to themſelves, if a convenient Strength, and ſome one or other were not left, fitted with Policy and Courage to reſtrain them; I have taken Care, that my Son *Ireton* ſhall ſtay amongſt you, and that, my Corrival, noble *Lambert*, ſhall go in his Stead, as my Lieutenant-General, into *Ireland*: And my Son, you all know, wants no Spirit; if he did, he ſhould never have married my Daughter, that you may well think: As for his Policy, I ſuppoſe you have as little Reaſon to doubt of it, as I have of his Fidelity;

lity: The large Remonſtrance renders him, as I take it, very clean-handed and ſubtle; and, with him, I will ſee a ſufficient Strength both of Horſe and Foot be left; which, together with the City Forces which we have engaged, and are aſcertained, will ſtick to us; the General, ſo popular and valiant a Man, ſtaying here alſo to overſee them, ſhall, I warrant you, ſuppreſs all Inſurrections and Tumults whatſoever. However, I have given ſuch Order to my Son *Ireton*, concerning *Lilburn* and the reſt, if ever, hereafter he obſerve him, or them, to ſtir up the People to Sedition, or ſcribble any Thing, as formerly, againſt our lawful Proceedings, that, forthwith, he ſhall execute Juſtice upon them: And I think, dear Brethren, you will judge it but neceſſary, ſince neither our Mercy, nor the Senſe they have of the Uprightneſs of our Cauſe, will invite them to forbear Beſpattering the innocent Robes of this infant State.

And now, Beloved, as we muſt not conceal any Thing from one another, I ſhall make bold to requite your Ingenuity by the Inſtancing one other Doubt, with a Danger, at the End of it; which although it may ſtartle you at firſt Sight, yet be of good Courage, be faithful and ſtrong; it admits of an eaſy Solution: And that is the Accord of the *Scots* with their new King.—— Truly, I muſt confeſs my Deſigns were never, till now, ſo diverted and confounded; for I muſt tell you, I have reverenced that ſhort, but pithy Precept of my Father *Machiavel (Divide & impera.)* So long as I could keep them at odds amongſt themſelves, I feared not but to order them, as I pleaſed. But now it is too true, that both the Parliament and Prieſts of that Kingdom have attainted *Argyle* of High-Treaſon; that is, for holding the Hands of the *Scots*, until we executed that exemplary Piece of Juſtice on the King. And that therefore they intend to cut his Head off; which if they do, then, Beloved, they deſtroy our only Friend in that Kingdom, and the Differences, on Foot there, muſt needs expire with his Breath: Which being once done, they will have Nothing left to do, but vie Authority with us, and threaten a ſecond Invaſion. For you muſt underſtand, the *Scots* are a warlike People, and that there is Nothing will make them ſooner rebel, than Idleneſs and Peace; ſo that, if this be ſo, we ſhall be ſure to have them amongſt us. Now, Beloved, to preſerve ourſelves againſt them, in this great Gariſon of our *Engliſh* Commonwealth; It is for our Safety, that we quit thoſe Out-houſes of *Ireland*; and, if they were burnt, it matters not; ſo we preſerve but what we have already in Poſſeſſion. To which End I have reſolved, if they cut off the Head of *Argyle*, or otherwiſe diſable him to proſecute our Intereſt there, that then I will wave the War of *Ireland*, and, keeping the Fore-door of this Nation cloſe ſhut, bend all Powers to defend the Back-door againſt that perfidious Nation. And this I conceive to be the ſureſt Way, provided I can but make Choice of able and truſty Men to ſecure the Ports, Towns, and inland Gariſons, without Revolts or Treachery.—— And this will be eaſily done, conſidering the Men and Monies we have at our Pleaſure.— I tell you, Brethren, our Thouſand ſhall ſlay their ten Thouſands, and, in a ſhort Space, make them a miſerable little People; and, at length, root them out from off the Face of the Earth, and poſſeſs us of their Lands, for an Inheritance to us and our Generations, for ever.

But I have ſtrayed too far from my Text; I will now come to the remaining Words thereof, and ſo conclude:—— *For there are no Powers but of God*, &c. The Council of State, the Houſe of Commons, the Council of War, and the High Court of Juſtice, when it was, were all Powers of God; and the following Words of my Text give you the Reaſon: *For the Powers, that be, are ordained of God.* Be they juſt or unjuſt, they are all of God; God ordained them; and ſo he did that Tyrannical Power of the late King, and thoſe Belly-gods the Biſhops, to puniſh us for our Infirmities. But, now that he hath graciouſly removed thoſe Powers, he hath ordained ours, to preſerve, cheriſh, elevate, comfort, and delight the Saints, and to rule and govern the Land in Sincerity and in Truth; to diſtribute Juſtice, equally and impartially according to his Will.—— But the Time is ſpent, and I muſt be marching.—— I deſire therefore, my dear Brethren and Siſters, that you daily pour out your Prayers and Supplications, for us, and for our Succeſs againſt the Wicked and Ungodly that are riſen up againſt us; and, that you ceaſe not to comfort one another, with mutual Embraces and ſpiritual Kiſſes, to delight and ſweeten your Paſſage through this Vale of Miſery: And that you take eſpecial Care to ſtrengthen and corroborate yourſelves, with Capon and Cock-broth, that I may find Oil in your Lamps, at my Return.

Some Reaſons for an Annual Parliament, as the beſt Security for *Engliſh* Rights. Together with the Qualifications required in a good Member of Parliament. Offered to the Conſideration of all Electors of Parliament-Men. *Quarto*, containing eight Pages.

S I R,

I Suppoſe nobody has forgot, that, at the Beginning of the Revolution, in the Act which was made for declaring the Rights of the Subject, after the Grievances reckoned up, it ſays, That for Redreſs of all Grievances, and for the amending, ſtrengthening, and preſerving of the Law, Parliaments ought to be held frequently, which muſt mean frequent Parliaments, and not frequent Seſſions of the ſame Parliament, or our Conſtitution is but little amended by that Act. Our Anceſtors underſtood the Neceſſity and Wiſdom of having frequent Parliaments. *Alfred*, as you may ſee in the *Mirrour of Juſtice*, Chap. i. Sect. 3. ordained, That the Parliament ſhould meet every Year twice, or oftener, if Need were. There are many Statutes in *Edward the Third*'s Time, that a Parliament ſhould be held once a Year, and oftener, if Need be. That Act is no leſs than three Times reiterated in his Reign. Acts of the ſame Import are made in *Richard the Second*'s; and theſe Acts were made when Prorogations, and long Continuances of the ſame Parliaments, were not in Uſe. *Henry the Sixth*'s Reign was the firſt in which Prorogations began at all to be made for any Time, and they were but very little uſed 'till *Henry the Eighth*'s Time. But the uſual Way formerly was to call a Parliament, at leaſt once a Year, and, as ſoon as their Buſineſs was done, to diſſolve them. They adjourned themſelves for ſome ſhort Time, but the King did not prorogue at Pleaſure. That this was the conſtant Practice, I appeal to the Parliament Rolls; but I do not ſo much doat upon Antiquity, as to deſire to revive that Practice, unleſs I can prove it reaſonable and advantageous. I think it is very much ſo in the preſent Juncture. It cannot be unknown to K. *W.* how much he has been libelled, becauſe ſo many of his Officers were in the Houſe. Thoſe, that wiſh him ill, have hit the Blot: But it has diſgraced him with thoſe that wiſh him well. It is fit the King ſhould chuſe whomſoever he thinks fit to ſerve him in his Employments; but it will be a Matter of Scandal, if the People think their Repreſentatives are bought off, whether by Places, or Penſions. But, if they are choſen annually, it will not eaſily be believed, that an unfair Bargain can be ſtruck with them. Our Taxes will be leſs heavy, whilſt we think our Repreſentative Aſſeſſors pay their Proportion. How juſt the Clamours and Suſpicions of Mankind are, I do not determine, but I know they are great, and by every Body, and every where believed, and that by this Courſe they would be avoided. If the Accuſations are well grounded, if Votes are purchaſed by Places, or moſt of the Members ſhould be more than ten Times reimburſed their own Shares of the publick Payments; then indeed the Safety, and very Being, of our Conſtitution would be ſtruck at, our Fundamentals would be debauched, our Houſe of Commons would become a Parliament of *Paris*, to do as the Court would have them, and nothing but what they direct; *Scotch* Lords of the Articles would be, as it were, introduced by a Court-Cabal; and Memberſhip would become a Preferment for Life, *&c.* But whatever the Malicious ſay, I am not willing to believe theſe Things have of late, or will be attempted. I am only deſirous that it ſhould be made apparent for the Future, in every Parliament that ſits, That there is no Likelihood that it is debauched, and that will be made apparent by annual Parliaments. But, to lay aſide the Peculiarity of our preſent Caſe, let me treat of it under a general Conſideration. And I will endeavour to ſhew the Expediency of annual Parliaments; and that I ſhall endeavour to make good by the Nature of Parliaments, and of their Delegations; by which it appears, that the Members are delegated by their Electors, to ſupply their Places, in adviſing, treating, conſulting, and determining upon the great and important Affairs of the Nation, which appear, and are upon the Stage, in that Juncture wherein the Parliament is ſummoned. When ſuch a Parliament is continued longer than anſwers the preſent Occaſion for which they were ſummoned, great Inconveniences may, and are likely to follow. A Man may be fit to repreſent me in one Juncture, whom I might very reaſonably judge unfit todo it in another. A Man may be qualified to adviſe, conſult, and determine about the Improvement of Trade, and the Manufactures of the Nation; and yet may be unfit to offer Advice in the great Affairs of of Peace and War. A Man may have Knowledge enough to act in ſuch Matters, who may want Integrity, faithfully to repreſent, and procure Redreſs for Grievances, which will be ſpringing up in any Government. When Parliaments are annually choſen, we can chuſe our Repreſentatives, with an Eye to the preſent Circumſtances of Affairs, and the preſent Exigencies of the Nation: But, when the ſame Parliaments are continued upon us, we are put upon the unreaſonable Task, of prophetically chuſing Men fit to repreſent us amidſt the unforeſeen and unexpected Accidents and Affairs which may fall in, ſo long as the Prince and his Miniſters think fit to continue the Parliament then ſummoned. Beſides, when the Buſineſs of the Nation has been, as it were, monopoliſed for many Years, then, whenſoever we have the Opportunity of Electing a new Parliament, we are put upon the ſame Neceſſi- of chuſing a Knave ſkilful in the Rules of the Houſe and Parliamentary Laws, as we are ſometimes in private Matters of chuſing one that is expert in Pleadings, and the Methods of [illegible]he Common Law, though we are not ſatisfied [illegible] his moral Honeſty; whereas, if every Body had their Turn, in a little Time, all the principal Freeholders would be inſtructed, and directed in the Intereſt of their Country.

Again: Delegation imports, in its own Nature, a Power in the Perſon, or Perſons, who delegate, to revoke it at his, or their Pleaſure, and can be continued no longer than during the Time, and particular Occaſions for which it is granted; and is underſtood to be no longer in Being, than the Conſtituents think fit to continue it. And Delegates are always upon their good Behaviour. When Parliaments are not annually choſen, but continued during the Prince's Pleaſure, longer than the preſent Exigency for which they are called, the Nature of a Delegation, and the undoubted Privileges of thoſe that chuſe them, are quite altered and overturned, and the Delegation is perpetuated; though it ſhould appear that the Delegates are unfit for it, or unfaithful under it. From Delegates, whom we ourſelves have impowered, they become abſolute Maſters; or, if Delegates ſtill, they are transformed from being the People's Delegates and Repreſentatives, into the Prince's Delegates and Creatures. By every repeated Prorogation the People's Commiſſion is cancelled, and their new Being is derived from the Prince's Will and Pleaſure, and meaſured out, and continued, according to their humble Compliance with what is demanded from them.

Again: Annual Parliaments are beſt ſuited to a limited Monarchy (which I hope all *Engliſhmen* think the beſt) annual Parliaments contribute moſt to the Eaſe, Safety, and Glory of the Prince, as well as to the Security and Happineſs of the Subject: By annual Parliaments, a Confidence is begotten betwixt the Prince and the People; the Prince can ſcarce demand that, which the People will refuſe, when the People have a Confidence in him, and Nothing contributes ſo much towards that Confidence as annual Parliaments. I again ſay, they remove all the Jealouſies which People retain of having their Repreſentatives debauched, which will be ſuſpected when Parliaments are continued; they are a Curb upon deſigning Miniſters, who, for ſelfiſh and ſiniſter Ends, may be for endeavouring to embroil the King and his People, and many Times have proved very uneaſy and ruinous to Princes. They remove Grievances before they get to ſuch an Height as to pinch the People ſo hard, as to occaſion ſuch loud and unmannerly Complaints, as have many Times obliged Princes, from a miſtaken

Point of Honour, to refuſe their Redreſs, and ſo have engaged them in unneceſſary Diſputes with the People, which have leſſened the Figure, Glory and Power of ſome of our Princes, both here at Home, and amongſt their Neighbours, more than any other Thing in the World. Whereas, when a King of *England* does meet his People in Parliaments annually choſen, he may reaſonably expect to find them fraughted with freſh Deſires to unite him cloſer with his People, to aſſure him of their Confidence and Affection, and to give him Earneſt of it, and fix him in the Heighth of Power, Reputation, and Glory. For a King of *England*, encircled with a confiding Parliament, is then in his Imperial Luſtre, more glorious than any Monarch of the *Eaſt*; then he infallibly becomes the Terror of his Foes, the Stay and Support of his Friends, and the Joy, Comfort, and Darling of his People.

As to the People, the Continuing of the ſame Parliament is a more fatal, and likely to be a more ſucceſsful Way to blow up all our Liberties, than either *Quo Warranto*'s, Regulations, or any other Methods practiſed in the two laſt Reigns, of which we complained ſo loudly, and with ſo much Juſtice. A Prince may more certainly bribe, than Quo Warranto, or regulate Parliaments. The Nation will be awakened at thoſe irregular Steps: But a King may ſeem to proceed according to Form, when he continues that Parliament which he has made Penſioners. King *Charles the Second* was his Arts-Maſter in this Point: He was no Enemy to a Long Parliament, whilſt he had a long Liſt of many of their Names, of whom a certain Great Man can give a good Account.

It will add Weight to what I ſaid, if we find it the Practice of the greateſt, wiſeſt, and moſt renowned Nations, to make Proviſion for the Frequency and Rotation of their Dyets and Parliaments. And that the moſt glorious and victorious Princes of thoſe Nations have met moſt frequently with their People in Parliament. I ſhall not inſtance from our own Hiſtory; I ſuppoſe no *Engliſhman* ignorant how frequently our *Edwards* and *Henries* put a Stop to the Courſe of their Victories to meet their People in Parliament. Have not the People of *Spain* made moſt careful Proviſions for the frequent Meeting of their States, with Securities and Cautions peculiar to themſelves, and much more exact than what other Nations can pretend to? And have not the greateſt and moſt victorious of their Kings been the readieſt to enlarge their Privileges, and moſt exact in obſerving them? Their *Sanchoes*, their *Henries*, their *Ferdinands*, and their *Charles*'s were as careful of meeting their People in their Dyets, as of ſubduing and conquering their Enemies: And it is obſervable, that King *Charles*, who was moſt exact in meeting his People frequently, raiſed the Monarchy of *Spain* to its higheſt Pitch of Strength and Glory; and his Son *Philip*, who offered at a Deſpotick Power, and abhorred the Meeting of his People, did firſt eclipſe the Glory of that Monarchy, and threw it into that Decay and Conſumption, under which it laboureth to this Day. Did not the *French* Nation, upon their Conqueſt of, and Settlement in *Gaul*, now *France*, eſtabliſh the frequent Meeting of their *States*? And the moſt Victorious of their Princes have been moſt exact in Meeting of their People, oftener than Annually, as may be inſtanced in their *Clovis*, their *Pepin*, *Charlemagne*, and the Succeſſors of *Hugh Capet* for ſeveral Ages. And though *Lewis the Eleventh*, and moſt of his Succeſſors, have endeavoured to ſuppreſs the States, and rendered that Monarchy Deſpotick, yet it has furniſhed Ground for ſo many Commotions, Tumults, Leagues, and Rebellions, as have not only frequently put a Stop to the Courſe of their Victories, but unravelled all their Succeſſes; and the Subjects have many Times returned with Intereſt the Incroachment of their Princes upon their Liberties, and reduced that Monarchy to the laſt Gaſp; and the Struggles of the People of *France*, and Parliament of *Paris*, during the Minority of this preſent King, to recover their loſt Liberties, joined with many other Inſtances which their Hiſtory affords, do plainly demonſtrate the tottering and dangerous Condition of all Deſpotick Governments. Again: What Miſeries, and unſpeakable Calamities, was *Germany* expoſed to; full of Civil Wars and Diſcords within, by the Competition of Princes for the Empire; harraſſed and depopulated from without by the *Hungarians*, *Sclavonians*, *Vandals*, and *Danes*; To all which no Remedy could be found, but by the eſtabliſhing of frequent and annual Dyets, by the *Golden Ball* in *Charles the Fourth*'s Time? wherein the abſent Princes, Imperial Cities, and *Hans Towns*, who ſend their Deputies, take eſpecial Care of changing the Deputies every Dyet, leſt they ſhould be bribed, and gained by the Imperial Miniſters. By this wiſe Proviſion for frequent Dyets, Peace was ſettled at Home, Competition of Titles for the Imperial Dignity was extinguiſhed, foreign Invaſions repreſſed, and the whole Body preſerved in Health and Vigour: In a Word, their annual Dyets were an invincible Barrier againſt the Inundation of the *Turks* on the one Side, and the Incroachments of the *French* on the other. And it is that only which has preſerved them from being ſwallowed up betwixt theſe two troubleſome Neighbours. I do omit to inſtance from *Holland*, *Switzerland*, and *Poland*, which have hitherto been preſerved invincible, by the frequent Aſſemblies of their States.

Now I have briefly delivered my Thoughts for annual Parliaments; give me Leave to ſet down what I think the great and indiſpenſable Character or Qualifications of a Parliament-Man; and they are theſe, Senſe, Courage, and Integrity.

Senſe has divers Acceptations; but that Senſe, that is required to capacitate a Man for ſerving uſefully within thoſe Walls, is not the Learning of Univerſities, but the Knowledge of *England.* A Senſe of Liberty, of what is meant by our Rights and Properties: A Senſe of our Laws and Intereſt, of the Nature of our Government, of our Trade, of our natural Strength and Welfare. It cannot be denied, but that the Comparing of the Hiſtories of other Nations, the Reading over the Syſtems of Policy, and the Lives of the great and exemplary Patriots of Liberty in all Countries, mightily enlarge their Underſtandings, and adorn the great Speakers in that Aſſembly; but, if a Man has not reduced all that to the Uſe of this Iſland, he has not the Senſe requiſite for this Poſt. If his Head is never ſo full of the Idea's of foreign Conſtitutions, if he is not wiſe as to our home Matters, if he has travelled never ſo far for Experience; if he is a Stranger to the Iſle of *Britain*; he may make a loquacious Politician, a florid Orator, a Stateſman in Speculation, but he will never make a venerable Member of our Parliament. A Man that underſtands but well our *Engliſh* Manufactory, the natural Products of our Country, the Balance of Merchandizing, what Importations and Exportations are to be prohibited or encouraged, what are the Grievances the People complain of, which of them are reaſonable to be redreſſed, and what are the proper Methods of doing it; he that knows how much we can give, what is fit to be given, and can examine how what we have given is laid out, is more fitly qualified for our Senate-houſe, than if he could diſcourſe of Government, better than all thoſe learned Men, who pretend ſo nicely to underſtand and diſtinguiſh the ſeveral Sorts? If the Countries and Corporations have any thing particular, in Relation to their Counties and Corporations to be repreſented, they ought to chuſe one that underſtands the Nature of what they would have repreſented, or that is at leaſt capable of being throughly inſtructed in that Matter. But at the ſame Time that they chuſe one for their particular Purpoſe, they ought to conſider that he votes for the whole Commonwealth, and therefore they muſt not chuſe any Man that is addicted only to their Intereſt, but ſhould always deliberate whether he is of a publick and univerſal Spirit, as well as a proper Advocate for them. But this will come in more properly, when I ſpeak concerning Integrity.

The next Qualification is Courage: Although the Word *Parliament* ſignifies to ſpeak freely the Mind, and though Liberty of Speech is always granted to all Parliaments, yet Courage is neceſſary upon many Accounts; it is often neceſſary to withſtand the Frowns of a Prince, it is neceſſary to bear a Man above popular Clamour, it is neceſſary when Peace and War is debated. There has ſcarce been any Reign wherein the Princes have not hectored ſome of the Members: There is ſcarce any Seſſions, but Arts are uſed to ſtir up the People againſt their own Intereſt; and, if a Parliament Houſe, upon the Noiſe of a War, ſhould be ſeized with a panick Fear, the whole Nation would ſoon be diſpirited; ſo that it is neceſſary to have Courage to preſerve his own Integrity, and to uphold the Hearts of thoſe that he repreſents.

Again, whoever would diſcharge the Office of a good Senator, muſt have Integrity that is Proof againſt Gain, againſt Fear and Sollicitation. If he can be affrighted, or bribed, or over-ruled out of his own Senſe of Things, he is not fit for that Place. Preferments may be added to, but muſt not change the Man: Threats muſt make him more watchful and reſolute, and he muſt be ſure to diſtinguiſh between Inſinuation and Argument. He muſt conſider himſelf as a publick Man; he muſt not know his own Intereſt, or the Intereſt of the Place from whence he comes; when the general Good of *England* comes in Competition, he muſt conſider himſelf as well, and more the Repreſentative of *England* than of that County or Town for which he ſerves: But, when he has conſidered the National Intereſt, then in Gratitude and Duty he is to conſider the Intereſt of the Body of the Electors, more than his own private Advantage; he is to ſtrip himſelf of all Relation, and to be a kin to the Commonwealth: His Soul muſt ſoar up into the exalted Height of an heroical Virtue, and he is to believe that it is a pleaſureable and noble Enjoyment even to ſacrifice himſelf and all private Conſiderations for his Country; he is to lay aſide all private Capacities, and, as it were, to tranſmigrate into a publick Alliance and Affinity, *Cum calculis ſuffragiorum ſumeret magnanimitatem Reipublicæ*, as *Demoſthenes* uſed to adviſe the People of *Athens* in great Cauſes of Eſtate: He uſed to adviſe, that, when they took into their Hands the Balls, whereby to give their Voices (according to the Manner then in Practice at *Athens*) they ſhould raiſe their Thoughts, and lay aſide thoſe Conſiderations, which their private Vocations and Degrees might miniſter and repreſent unto them; and ſhould take upon them Cogitations and Minds agreeable to the Dignity of the State: And there is good Reaſon for this Advice; for, certainly, if a Man ſhall be only or chiefly ſenſible of thoſe Reſpects which his particular Vocation or Degree, or the State of the County or Town which ſends him, ſhall ſuggeſt and infuſe into him, and not enter into true and worthy Conſiderations of Eſtate, he ſhall never be able aright to give or take Counſel in Parliamentary Affairs, in the Buſineſs of the Senate-houſe.

The Notion of Integrity has been too much miſtaken of late; the being of a particular Church or Party has chriſtened Men honeſt, and in this laſt Parliament Pretending to be for King *William*, has gained thoſe that Epithet, who never underſtood a King as the Father of his Country, who make his Political Capacity above the Laws of Men, if I may not ſay the Laws of God too. Integrity, in the Monarchy of *England*, implies more of a National than ſlaviſh Spirit, more of common Care than perſonal Adoration; and it is ſad to think, that any Knave can redintegrate his Reputation, only by being a *Williamite*, without being converted to an *Engliſhman*. Thoſe cannot be thought (let them be as much *Williamites* as they will) to preſerve the Integrity of a Parliament-Man, who change or ſtifle their Principles for a Place; nor can thoſe be thought fit Members for that Houſe, who, either for their Pleaſure, or private Buſineſs, neglect Coming up to Town, no more than thoſe who have ſo many Offices, that they can ſcarce peep within thoſe Doors, or who are ſo lazy and loitering, that they come not till it is too late to hinder them, and ſo ſuffer the Nation to be circumvented by the Artifices and Tricks of the Court, who always ſet them on Foot, when the Houſe is empty. I would have my Countrymen beware (if ever they chuſe again) of theſe ſelf-intereſted and careleſs Men. They ought, now their All is at Stake, to examine how their Members have behaved themſelves, whether they have been tender of the Liberty of our Perſons, frugal of our Fortunes, bold againſt Male Adminiſtration, Proſecutors of Crimes, and not Perſecutors of Men. Senſe, Courage, and Integrity are neceſſary to make a Man behave himſelf as he ought, in theſe important Points. Let them chuſe no MAN that has not Senſe, Courage, and Integrity, or that will not receive their Inſtructions. There are no Counties, and few Towns, wherein they do not underſtand the Intereſt of their Country enough to give general Inſtructions. Let me recommend thoſe to them I have hinted at in this Paper; order them to bring in Bills to regulate the Militia, to encourage the Uſe of Firelocks amongſt the Populace, to increaſe our Navy, to reduce all our Part of the War to that Navy; to ſettle ſuch Salaries upon the Judges as may make them impartial: And, above all Things, order them to bring in a Bill to ſecure annual Parliaments, and the Elections of Members for the Future. Adviſe them to ranſack all our own Records, and to conſult all the ſeveral Governments upon that Head. Chuſe but once wiſe and honeſt brave Men, and they will find Expedients to avoid the Diſputes, and baffle the Arts which have rendered Elections precarious and illegal. They will find Methods to be too hard for Court-Tricks and Spend-Thrift Competitors. Chuſe no Man that is not willing to be inſtructed, you have a Right to inſtruct them: It was the Cuſtom formerly to inſtruct all the Members; and the Nature of the Deputation ſhews, that that Cuſtom was well grounded.

To Conclude. Thus have I given my Thoughts freely, as to two material Points; *viz.* The old *Engliſh* Right of annual Parliaments (for a more ample Account of which, I muſt refer my Reader to Mr. *Johnſon*'s Eſſay on that Subject) and the Qualifications requiſite in ſuch as repreſent the good People of *England* in the Lower Houſe; which I have done, without Regard to any Party or Intereſt but that of my Country. If what I have ſaid ſhall have any Influence on my Fellow Subjects, in the preſent Elections; and on thoſe that repreſent them when they come together, in order to obtain an Act for the Chuſing of Parliaments yearly, I ſhall obtain my utmoſt Aim.

The Cenſure * of the *Rota* upon Mr. *Milton*'s Book, intitled, *The ready and eaſy Way to eſtabliſh a free Commonwealth.*

Die Lunæ 26, Martii, 1660.

Ordered by the Rota, *that Mr.* Harrington *be deſired to draw up a Narrative of this Day's Proceeding upon Mr.* Milton's *Book, called,* The ready and eaſy Way, *&c. And to cauſe the ſame to be forthwith printed and publiſhed, and a Copy thereof to be ſent to Mr.* Milton.

Trundle Wheeler, *Clerk to the* Rota.

Printed at *London* by *Paul Giddy*, Printer to the *Rota*, at the Sign of the *Windmill* in *Turn-again Lane*, 1660. *Quarto*, containing ſixteen Pages.

S I R,

I Am commanded, by this ingenious Convention of the *Rota*, to give you an Account of ſome Reflections that they have lately made upon a Treatiſe of yours, which you call, *The ready and eaſy Way to eſtabliſh a free Commonwealth*; in which I muſt firſt beſpeak your Pardon, for being forced to ſay ſomething, not only againſt my own Senſe, but the Intereſt, which both you and I carry on; for it is enjoined me to acquaint you with all that was ſaid, although I take as little Pleaſure to repeat it, as you will do to hear it. For whereas it is our uſual Cuſtom to diſpute every Thing, how plain or obſcure ſoever, by knocking Argument againſt Argument, and tilting at one another with our Heads, as Rams fight, until we are out of Breath, and then refer it to our wooden Oracle, the Box; and ſeldom any Thing, how ſlight ſoever, hath appeared, without ſome Patron or other to defend it: I muſt confeſs, I never ſaw Bowling-ſtones run ſo unluckily againſt any Boy, when his Hand has been out, as the Ballots did againſt you, when any Thing was put to the Queſtion, from the Beginning of your Book to the End; for it was no ſooner read over, but a Gentleman of your Acquaintance ſaid, he wiſhed, for your own Sake, as well as the Cauſe you contend for, that you had given your Book no Name, like an Anabaptiſt's Child, until it had come to Years of Diſcretion, or elſe that you had got ſome Friend to be Goſſip, that has a luckier Hand at Giving Titles to Books than you have: For it is obſerved, you have always been very unfortunate that Way, as if it were fatal to you, to prefix Bulls and Nonſenſe to the very Fronts of your learned Works, as when you call *Salmaſius*, *Claudius Anonymus*, in the very Title of that admired Piece, which you writ to confute his Wife and his Maid. As alſo in that other learned Labour of yours, which you ſtile *Tetrachordon*, that is to ſay, *a Fiddle with four Strings*; but, as you render it a four-fold Cord, with which you undertake (worſe than Captain *Ottor*, and *Cuthbert* the Barber) not to bind, but, moſt ridiculouſly, to unty Matrimony. But in this Book, he ſaid, you were more inſufferable; for you do not only ſtile your Declamation, *The ready and eaſy Way*, as if it were the beſt or only Way, to the Diſparagement of this moſt ingenious Aſſembly, who are confident, they have propoſed others much more conſiderable; but do very indiſcreetly profeſs, in the ſame Place, to compare the Excellencies of a Commonwealth with the Inconveniencies and Dangers of Kingſhip; this, he ſaid, was foul Play, and worſe Logick: For, as all Conveniencies, in this World, carry their Inconveniencies with them, to compare the Beſt of one Thing with the Worſt of another is a very unequal Way of Compariſon. He had obſerved, that Compariſons were commonly made on the wrong Side, and ſo was this of yours, by your own Confeſſion. To this another added, He wondered you did not give over Writing, ſince you have always done it to little or no Purpoſe; for, though you have ſcribbled your Eyes out, your Works have never been printed, but for the Company of Chandlers and Tobacco-men, who are your Stationers, and the only Men that vend your Labours. He ſaid, That he himſelf reprieved the whole Defence of the People of *England* for a Groat, that was ſentenced to vile *Mundungus*, and had ſuffered inevitably, but for him, though it coſt you much Oil and Labour; and the *Rump* three-hundred Pounds a Year, to whoſe Service it was more properly intended; although, in the Cloſe, you pronounce them to be as very Raſcals as *Salmaſius*, and all the Chriſtian World calls them, if ever they ſuffered any of their Fellow-members to invade the Government, as *Oliver Cromwell* and others have ſince done, and confeſs yourſelf fooled and miſtaken, and all you have written to be falſe, howſoever you give yourſelf the ſecond Lye in writing for them again. After this, a grave Gentleman of the long Robe ſaid, You had broken the Heads of all the Sages of the Law, and plaid falſe in the very firſt Word of your Treatiſe: For the Parliament of *England*, as you call the *Rump*, never conſiſted of a packed Party of one Houſe, that, by Fraud and Covin, had diſſeized the major Part of their Fellows, and forfeited their own Right, by abetting the Ejectment of the whole Houſe of Peers, and the greater Part of their own, which was always underſtood to be the whole Houſe, with whom they had but a joint Right. That they had been ſeveral Times juſtly diſſolved by the Army, from whom they really derived their Authority; and the general Voices of the People, in whom they had declared the ſupreme Power to reſide; and their own Confeſſion, upon Record in their Journal-book. But this, he ſaid, you ſtole from Patriot *Whitlock*, who began his Declaration for a free State with the ſame Words; and he wondered you would filch and pilfer Nonſenſe and Fallacies, that have ſuch plentiful Store of your own Growth. Yet this was as true as that which follows, That a great Number of the faithfulleſt of the People aſſiſted them in throwing off Kingſhip; for they were a very ſlight Number, in Reſpect of the Whole, and none of the faithfulleſt that forſwore themſelves, to maintain and defend that which they judged dangerous, and reſolved to aboliſh: And, therefore, they turned Regal Bondage, as you word it, into a free Commonwealth, no more juſtly and magnanimouſly, than other Knights of the Poſt do their Feats, by plain down-right Perjury. And the Nation had little Reaſon to truſt ſuch Men with their Liberty or Property, that had no Right to their own Ears, but, among the reſt of their Cheats, had defrauded the very Pillory of its Due. This, being put to the Ballot, was immediately carried on in the Affirmative, without a diſſenting Pellet. When preſently a Gentleman, that hath been ſome Years Beyond-ſeas, ſaid, He wondered you would ſay any Thing ſo falſe and ridiculous, as that this Commonwealth was the Terror and Admiration of *France* itſelf; for, if that were true, the Cardinal and Council were very imprudent to become the chief Promoters of it, and ſtrive, by all Means to uphold that, which they judged to be dangerous to themſelves, and for the Intereſt of a Nation, which they hate and fear ſo much as they do us; for, if this free State be ſo terrible to them, they have been very unwiſe, in aſſiſting it to keep out the King all this While, eſpecially if they ſaw the People of *Paris* and *Bourdeaux* diſpoſed, as you ſay, to imitate us, which appears very ſtrange; for, by their Hiſtory, any Man would judge, we had catched the Diſeaſe of them. As for our Actions Abroad, which you brag of, he ſaid, He never heard of any where he was, until *Oliver Cromwell* reduced us to an abſolute Monarchy, under the Name of a free State; and then we beat the potent and flouriſhing Republick of the *United Provinces*. But, for our Actions at Home, he had heard Abroad, that they favoured much of *Goth* and *Vandal* Barbariſm, if Pulling down of Churches, and Demoliſhing the nobleſt Monuments in the Land, both publick and private, beſide Religion and all Laws, human and divine, may amount to ſo much. And yet, he ſaid, he granted what you affirm, That they were not unbecoming the Riſing of a glorious Commonwealth, for ſuch are uſually founded in Faction, Sedition, Rebellion, Rapine, and Murder. And how much ſoever you admire the *Romans*, -----*ab infami gentem deducis Aſylo*, if you remember, they were, at firſt, but a Refuge for Thieves and Murderers. In all *Aſia*, *Africa*, and the *New World*, there is no ſuch Thing as a Republick, nor ever was, but only that of *Carthage*, and ſome paltry *Greek* Colonies upon the Skirts of *Aſia Minor*; and, for one Commonwealth, there have been an hundred Kingdoms in the World; which argues, they ſhould be the more agreeable to Mankind. He added, Commonly Republicks ariſe from unworthy Cauſes, not fit to be mentioned in Hiſtory; and that he had heard many Perſons of Honour, in *Flanders*, affirm, That it was not the Tyranny of *Spain*, nor the Cruelty of Duke *D' Alva*, nor the Blood of their Nobility, nor Religion, nor Liberty, that made the *Dutch* caſt off their Obedience to their Prince, but One-penny Exciſe laid upon a Pound of Butter, that made them implacably declare for a Commonwealth. That the *Venetians* were baniſhed into a free State by *Atyla*, and their glorious Liberty was, at firſt, no other, than he may be ſaid to have that is turned out of his Houſe. That the *Romans* were cuckolded into their Freedom, and the *Piſans* trapanned into theirs, by *Charles the Eighth*. That, as Commonwealths ſprung from baſe Originals, ſo they have ruined upon as ſlight Occaſions. That the ſame *Piſans*, after they had ſpent all they had upon a Freak of Liberty, were ſold, like Cattle, by *Lewis the Twelfth*. The *Venetians* hectored, and almoſt ruined, by *Maximilian the Firſt*, a poor Prince, for Refuſing to lend him Money, as they were not long before, by *Franceſco Sforza*, about a Baſtard. The *Florentines* utterly enſlaved, for Spoiling an Ambaſſador's Speech, and Diſparaging *Pedro de Medici*'s fine Liveries. The *Genoeſe* —— But, as he was going on, he was interrupted by a Gentleman that came in, and told us, That Sir *Arthur Hazlerig*, the *Brutus* of our Republick, was in danger to be torn to Pieces, like a *Shrovetueſday* Bawd, by the Boys in *Weſtminſter-Hall*; and, if he had not ſhewn himſelf as able a Footman as he that cudgelled him, he had gone the Way of Dr. *Lamb* infallibly. This ſet all the Company a Laughing, and made the Traveller forget what he was ſaying. After a little Pauſe, a learned Gentleman of this Society ſtood up, and ſaid, He could not but take Notice of one Abſurdity in your Diſcourſe, and that is, where you ſpeak of Liberty glorioully fought for, and kingly Thraldom abjured by the People, *&c.* for, if by Liberty you mean Commonwealth, as you do, there was never any ſuch Thing, as either the one or the other; unleſs you will ſtate the Quarrel at the End of the War, which is very ſenſeleſs, and directly contrary to all Oaths and Engagements; or can prove that Hanging, Drawing, and Quartering of ſome of the People, and Selling others as Slaves, for Taking up Arms, in all

---

* This is the 26th Number in the Catalogue of Pamphlets in the *Harleian* Library.

Parts of the Nation, for the King, are Abjurations of his Authority: And he wondered you could be ſo weak, or impudent, to play foul in Matters of Fact, of which there are ſo many thouſand Witneſſes to diſprove you. But he was of Opinion, that you did not believe yourſelf, nor thoſe Reaſons you give, in Defence of Commonwealth; but that you are ſwayed by ſomething elſe, as either by a Stork-like Fate (as a modern Protector-poet calls it, becauſe that Fowl is obſerved to live no where but in Commonwealths) or, becauſe you have unadviſedly ſcribbled yourſelf obnoxious, or elſe you fear, ſuch admirable Eloquence, as yours, would be thrown away under a Monarchy, as it would be, though of admirable Uſe in a popular Government, where Orators carry all the Rabble before them: For who knows to how cheap a Rate this goodly Eloquence of yours, if well managed, might bring the Price of Sprats; as no wiſer Orators than yourſelf have done heretofore, in the petty Factions, *Greek* Republicks, whom you chiefly imitate; for all your Politicks are derived from the Works of Declaimers, with which Sort of Writers, the ancient Commonwealths had the Fortune to abound, who left many Things behind them, in Favour or Flattery of the Governments they lived under, and Diſparagement of others, to whom they were in Oppoſition, of whom we can affirm nothing certain, but that they were partial, and never meant to give a true Account of Things, but to make them finer or worſe than they really are; of which Men, one of their own Commonwealth Poets gives a juſt Character, by ſorting them amongſt the Worſt of Men:

—— Ἱερόσυλοι ῥήτορες,
Καὶ συκοφάνται, καὶ πονηροὶ ——

All which you have outgone (according to your Talent) in their ſeveral Ways, for you have done your feeble Endeavour to rob the Church, of the little which the Rapine of the moſt ſacrilegious Perſons hath left, in your learned Work againſt Tithes; you have ſlandered the Dead, worſe than Envy itſelf, and thrown your dirty Outrage, on the Memory of a murdered Prince, as if the Hangman were but your Uſher. Theſe have been the Attempts of your ſtiff, formal Eloquence, which you arm accordingly, with any Thing that lies in your Way, right or wrong, not only begging, but ſtealing Queſtions, and taking every Thing for granted, that will ſerve your Turn; for you are not aſhamed to rob *Oliver Cromwell* himſelf, and make Uſe of his Canting, with ſignal Aſſiſtances from Heaven, and anſwering Condeſcenſions; the moſt impious *Mahometan* Doctrine, that ever was invented among *Chriſtians*, and ſuch as will ſerve as well to juſtify any proſperous Villainy amongſt Men. He ſaid, when God puniſhes a Nation for Sin, the Executioners of his Judgments are commonly but Malefactors reprieved, as they are uſually among Men; for when he puniſhed the *Iſraelites* for Idolatry, he made Uſe of greater Idolaters then themſelves: And when he afflicts a People for their Diſobedience to a juſt Government, and fantaſtick Longing after imaginary Liberty, it is with infallible Slavery, for their Deliverers always prove their Tyrants. This the *Romans* found true, for they had no ſooner baniſhed their Kings, but they were, in few Years, glad to baniſh themſelves, from the Tyranny and Oppreſſion of their Patriots, the Aſſertors of their Liberty; and that very Conteſt furniſhed their free State with Sedition, and Civil War, for 500 Years, and never ended, until they were reduced to an abſolute Tyranny, under the Power of that Faction, that took upon it to vindicate their Liberty: He added, that he could not but ſmile at one Thing you ſaid, and that is, That King and Biſhops will incroach upon our Conſciences, until we are forced to ſpend over again all that we have ſpent, and fight over again all that we have fought, *&c.* For if you did not look very like a cunning Man, no Body would believe you, nor truſt your Predictions of the future, that give ſo ill an Account of Things paſt. But he held you very unwiſe to blab any ſuch Thing; for that Party you call *We* have gained ſo abundantly much more than they have ſpent, that they deſire nothing more, than to fight over the ſame Fights again, at the ſame Rate; and if you could but make your Words good, he would undertake they ſhould be the firſt Men that ſhould ſet Biſhops about your Conſciences: For how vile ſoever you make the Blood of faithful *Engliſhmen*, they have made ſuch good Markets of it, that they would be glad at any Time to broach the whole Nation at the ſame Price, and afford the Treaſure of miraculous Deliverances, as you call it, into the Bargain. This, he added, was eaſier to be underſtood, than your Brand of *Gentiliſm*, upon Kingſhip, for which you wreſt Scripture moſt unmercifully, to prove, that though Chriſt ſaid, *His Kingdom was not of this World*; yet his Commonwealth is. For if the Text which you quote, *The Kings of the Gentiles exerciſe Lordſhip over them, and they that exerciſe Authority over them, are called Benefactors: But it ſhall not be ſo among you*, &c. be to be underſtood of Civil Government (and to infer Commonwealth, as you will have it right or wrong) and not to be meant of his ſpiritual Reign, of which he was then ſpeaking, and expreſsly calls ſo; you muſt prove that he erected a Republick of his Apoſtles, and that, notwithſtanding the Scripture every where calls his Government, *The Kingdom of Heaven*, it ought to be corrected, and rendered, *The Commonwealth of Heaven*, or rather, *The Commonwealth of this World*; and yet the Text does as well prove *Benefactors* Heatheniſh as Kings; for if our Saviour had meant to brand Kingſhip with any evil Character, he would never have ſtiled himſelf *King of the Jews*, *King of Heaven*, *King of Righteouſneſs*, &c. as he frequently does; but no where a Stateholder or Keeper of the Liberties.

To this, a young Gentlemen made Anſwer, That your Writings are beſt interpreted by themſelves; and that he remembered in that Book, wherein you fight with the King's Picture, you call Sir *Philip Sidney*'s Princeſs *Pamela* (who was born and bred of Chriſtian Parents in *England*) a Heathen Woman; and, therefore, he thought that by *Heatheniſh*, you meant *Engliſh*; and that in calling Kingſhip, *Heatheniſh*, you inferred, it was the only proper and natural Government of the *Engliſh* Nation, as it hath been proved in all Ages. To which another objected, that ſuch a Senſe was quite contrary to your Purpoſe; to which he immediately replied, That it was no new Thing with you to write that, which is as well againſt as for your Purpoſe. After much Debate, they agreed to put it to the Ballot, and the young Gentleman carried it without any Contradiction. That done, a Gentleman of good Credit here, taking Occaſion from the former Diſcourſe, ſaid, you had ſhewn yourſelf as able a Divine, as a Stateſman; for you had made as politick Proviſion for Spiritual, as Civil Liberty, in thoſe pious and orthodox (though ſeemingly abſurd and contradictory) Grounds you have laid down, in order thereunto, which being rightly interpreted, do ſay, or by Conſequence, infer thus much: That the Church of Chriſt ought to have no Head upon Earth, but the Monſter of many Heads, the Multitude, who are the only ſupreme Judges of all Matters that concern him; a Privilege they claimed, when he was upon Earth, when they took upon them to condemn him, and cried, Crucify: That all Chriſtian Laws and Ordinances have a coercive Power, to ſee themſelves put in Execution, and yet they ought to be ſubject to every Man's Will and Humour (which you call his beſt Light) and no Man to them but in his own Senſe. That the Scripture only ought to interpret itſelf (juſt as it can read itſelf) and every Man is to take the Interpretation in ſuch a Senſe, as beſt ſuits with his own Capacity, or his Occaſions: That every Man may do what he pleaſes in Matters of Religion, but only thoſe that are in Authority, who ought not to meddle in ſuch Matters, as being of ſo different a Nature from their Cogniſance (or any other) that if it be their Will to command the only true Religion to be obſerved, it preſently becomes unchriſtian, inhuman, and barbarous. That no Man can ſerve God, nor ſave his own Soul, but in a Commonwealth, in this Certainty, you go after your own Invention, for no Man ever heard it before: But if it ſhould be true, it is a ſad Thing to think, what is become of the Apoſtles themſelves, and all the Saints in the primitive Times, when there was never a Chriſtian Commonwealth in the World? That any Man may turn away his Wife, and take another as often as he pleaſes, as you have moſt learnedly proved upon the Fiddle, and practiſed in your Life and Converſation, for which you have atchieved the Honour to be ſtiled the *Founder of a Sect*. All this you call Liberty of Conſcience, and Chriſtian Liberty, which you conclude no Government is more inclinable, not only to favour, but protect, than a free Commonwealth. In this, he ſaid, you ſay right; for it is notorious enough, that ſince we have been but called a Commonwealth, ſuch pious Doctrines, as theſe, have been ſo wonderfully propagated, that *England* does now abound with new Chriſtians, no leſs than *Spain* did of late Years, and of the ſame mungrel Breed; all which agree in nothing, but the Extirpation of Chriſtian Religion, and Subverſion of Government, to which your Diſcipline does naturally conduce.

For certainly, the moſt ready and eaſy Way to root out Religion, is to render it contemptible and ridiculous; which cannot be ſooner done, than by giving Licence and Encouragement to all Manner of Frenzies, that pretend to new Diſcoveries in Matters of Faith; theſe will quickly make it become a Sport and Mockery to the People, until it be utterly extinct; and this, ſome of the Church of *Rome* found true, who gave a greater Check to the Growth of Reformation, by Cloathing ſome of the new Profeſſors in Fools Coats, and expoſing them to the Deriſion of the Multitude, than by perſecuting, and putting Thouſands to Death. And this is the Way you go, which will never fail you, as long as there are Fools and Mad-men to carry on the Work. And with this, if you could but introduce the wholſome Canons of the Council of *Munſter*, it would make an admirable Model for the Eccleſiaſtical Part of the Republick, if it were not for one unlucky Circumſtance, and that is, that *Knipper Dolling* proclaimed *John* of *Leyden* King, and not State-holder. This, he ſaid, was an unhappy Miſtake, and no leſs out of your Way, than that of the *Fifth Monarchy* Men, who would have been admirable for your Purpoſe, if they had but dreamed of a fifth free State.

By this Time, they began to grow weary of your perpetual Falſhoods and Miſtakes, and a worthy Knight of this Aſſembly ſtood up and ſaid, that, If we meant to examine all the particular Fallacies and Flaws in your Writing, we ſhould never have done; he would therefore, with Leave, deliver his Judgment upon the Whole, which, in Brief, was thus: That it is all windy Foppery, from the Beginning to the End, written to the Elevation of that Rabble, and meant to cheat the Ignorant. That you fight always with the Flat of your Hand, like a Rhetorician, and never contract the Logical Fiſt. That you trade altogether in Univerſals, the Region of Deceits and Fallacy, but never come ſo near Particulars, as to let us know which, among divers Things of the ſame Kind, you would be at. For you admire Commonwealths in General, and cry down Kingſhip as much at large, without any Regard to the particular Conſtitutions, which only make either the one or the other good or bad, vainly ſuppoſing all Slavery to be in the Government of a ſingle Perſon, and nothing but Liberty in that of many; which is ſo falſe, that ſome Kingdoms have had the moſt perfect Form of Commonwealths, as ours had, and ſome Republicks have proved the greateſt Tyrannies, as all have done at one Time or other. For many, if they combine, have more Latitude to abuſe Power, than a ſingle Perſon, and leſs Senſe of Shame, Conſcience, or Honour to reſtrain them, for what is wickedly done by many, is owned by none, where no Man knows upon whom in particular to fix it. And this we have found true by Experience in your *Patriots* and *Aſſertors* (as you call them) for no one Perſon could ever have done Half the Miſchief they have done, nor outlived the Infamy they have ſuffered, without any Senſe of Shame. Beſide this, as all your Politicks reach but the Outſide and Circumſtances of Things, and never touch at Realities, ſo you are very ſollicitous about Words, as if they were Charms, or had more in them than what they ſignify. For no Conjurer's Devil is more concerned in a Spell, than you are in a mere Word, but never regard the Things which it ſerves to expreſs. For you believe Liberty is ſafer under an arbitrary unlimited Power, by Vertue of the Name Commonwealth, than under any other Government, how juſt or reſtrained ſoever, if it be but called Kingſhip. And therefore, very prudently you would have the Name Parliament aboliſhed, becauſe it ſignifies a Parly of our Commons with their *Norman* Kings. But in this you are too ſevere a *Draco*, to puniſh one Word, for holding Correſpondence with another, when all the Liberty, you talk ſo much of, conſiſts in nothing elſe but mere Words. For though you brag much of the People's managing their own Affairs, you allow them no more Share of that in your *Utopia*, as you have ordered it, than only to ſet up their Throats and baul, inſtead of every three Years, which they might have done before, once in an Age, or oftener, as an old Member drops away, and a new one is to ſucceed, not for his Merit or Knowledge in State Affairs, but becauſe he is able to bring the greateſt and moſt deep-mouthed Pack of the Rabble into the Field; a more wiſe and equal Way, in your Opinion, of chuſing Counſellors, than any King is capable of. But he added, you had done worſt of all, where you are moſt like yourſelf, and that is in that falſe and malicious Aſperſion of *Popiſh* and *Spaniſh* Counſels which you caſt on the preſent King.

For it is well known to all the World, he hath preferred his Conſcience before three Crowns, and patiently endured to live ſo many Years in Exile, rather than change his Religion; which if he would have done, or been moved with ſuch Counſels, he might long ſince have procured all the Forces of the Catholick World upon us; whereas it cannot be denied of his greateſt Oppoſers, That they are ſo jealous of their ill-gotten Purchaſes bought with their Crimes, that rather than be in Danger of loſing a Pig, they would, with the *Gergeſenes*, deſire Chriſt to depart out of their Coaſts. After this ſaid, he moved the Aſſembly that I might be deſired to deliver my Judgment upon the Book, as he and others had done, which being immediately paſt, I knew not, though unwilling, how to avoid it; and therefore, I told them as briefly as I could, that that which I diſliked moſt in your Treatiſe was, that there is not one Word of the Balance of Propriety, nor the *Agrarian*, nor *Rotation* in it, from the Beginning to the End; without which, together with a Lord *Archon*, I thought I had ſufficiently demonſtrated, not only in my Writings but publick Exercifes in that Coffee-houſe, that there is no poſſible Foundation of a free Commonwealth. To the *Firſt* and *Second* of theſe, that is, the Balance and the *Agrarian*, you made no Objection, and therefore, I ſhould not need to make any Anſwer. But for the *Third*, I mean *Rotation*, which you implicitly reject in your Deſign to perpetuate the preſent Members, I ſhall only add this to what I have already ſaid and written on this Subject, that a Commonwealth is like a great Top, that muſt be kept up by being whipped round, and held in perpetual Circulation, for if you diſcontinue the *Rotation*, and ſuffer the Senate to ſettle, and ſtand ſtill, down it falls immediately. And if you had ſtudied this Point as carefully as I have done, you could not but know, there is no ſuch Way under Heaven of diſpoſing the Viciſſitudes of Command and Obedience, and of diſtributing equal Right and Liberty among all Men, as this of Wheeling, by which, as *Chaucer* writes, a ſingle Fart hath been equally divided among a whole Convent of Friars, and every one hath had his juſt Share of the Savour. I told them, I could not but be ſorry to find ſo learned a Man ſo ignorant, in the Nature of Government, as to make diſproportionate Parallels of Councils as you do, where you compare the Senate of *Rome*, with the grand Council of *Venice*, between which there is no Analogy at all; for the Senate of *Rome* was never the ſupreme Power of the People, as the grand Council of *Venice* is, but merely a Council of State. But I wondered moſt of all, at what politick Crack in any Man's Scull, the Imagination could enter of ſecuring Liberty under an Oligarchy, ſeized of the Government for Term of Life, which was never yet ſeen in the World. The *Metropolitan* of all Commonwealths, the *Roman*, did but once adventure to truſt its whole Power and Authority, in the Hands of one Council, and that but for two Years, and yet they had like to have loſt their Liberty for ever; whereas they had frequently in all Ages left it wholly in the Power of a ſingle Perſon, and found it ſo far from Danger or Inconvenience, that the only Refuge they had in their greateſt Extremity was, to create a Dictator. But I could not but laugh, as they all had done, at the Pleaſantneſs of your Fancy, who ſuppoſe our noble Patriots, when they are inveſted for Term of Life, will ſerve their Country at their own Charge: This, I ſaid, was very improbable, unleſs you meant as they do, that all we have is their own, and that to prey and devour is to ſerve; in which they have appeared ſo able and induſtrious, as if they had been made to no other Purpoſe, but, like Lobſters, were all Claws and Belly. For though many laugh at me for accounting 300,000 Pounds in wooden Ware, towards the Erecting of a Free-State, in my *Oceana*, but a Trifle to the whole Nation; becauſe I am moſt certain that theſe little Pills the Ballots are the only Phyſick that can keep the Body Politick ſoluble, and not ſuffer the Humour to ſettle, I will undertake, that if the preſent Members had but a Leaſe of the Government during Life, notwithſtanding whatſoever Impeachment of Waſte, they would raiſe more out of it to themſelves in one Year, than that amounts to; beſide the Charge we muſt be at in maintaining of Guards to keep the Boys off them, and before Half the Term be expired, they would have it untenantable. To conclude, I told them, you had made good your Title in a contrary Senſe; for you have really propoſed the moſt ready and eaſy Way to eſtabliſh downright Slavery upon the Nation that can poſſibly be contrived, which will clearly appear to any Man that does but underſtand this plain Truth, that whereſoever the Power of Propoſing and Debating, together with the Power of ratifying and enacting Laws, is intruſted in the Hands of any one Perſon, or any one Council, as you would have it, that Government is inevitably Arbitrary and Tyrannical, becauſe they may make whatſoever they pleaſe lawfull or unlawful. And that Tyranny hath the Advantage of all others that hath Law and Liberty among the Inſtruments of Servitude.

J. H.

Experimented Propoſals * how the King may have Money to pay and maintain his Fleets, with Eaſe to his People; *London* may be rebuilt, and all Proprietors ſatisfied; Money to be lent at Six *per Cent.* on Pawns; and the Fiſhing-Trade ſet up, which alone is able and ſure to inrich us all. And all this without Altering, Straining, or Thwarting any of our Laws or Cuſtoms now in Uſe. By Sir *Edward Forde.* Licenſed, *November* 2, 1666. *Roger L'Eſtrange.* *London,* printed by *William Godbid,* 1666. *Quarto,* containing one Sheet.

1. THE End of our Money is to adjuſt Contracts and Accounts between ourſelves; for it is not coined to be melted or tranſported.

2. Theſe, and all Tokens of Account, are valued according to their Portableneſs, which prefers Gold before Silver, Jewels before Gold, Bills and Bonds before all.

3. Theſe Bills, Bonds, Book Accounts, and even verbal Promiſes, we transfer from one to the other, which our Law approves of and corroborates.

4. Satisfying Security therefore clearly ſupplies and contents us as well as Money, for who would not rather have a Straw, or a Piece of Paper, than an hundred Pounds, if he were ſure it would at all Times yield him as much as he took it for? Our Practice evinceth this, for we purchaſe Bills of Exchange at Two or more *per Cent.* The Money-Maſter parts with his Coin for a Sheet of Paper or Parchment. Nay, it gets our Money into our Enemies, eſteemed, but, in Truth, failable Money Banks, though they give but Three *per Cent.* Uſe, and we Six, nay, *Ireland* Ten and more *per Cent.* For it is ſatisfactory Security, not great Uſe, that attracts Money.

5. Land Security is evidently, of all, the ſureſt and moſt ſatisfying, where the Title is clear, and no Danger of Counterfeits or foreign Conqueſt.

6. No Money can be ſurer than Taxes by Act of Parliament, though Ten or more Years Day of Payment were allowed the People, which this Way may be done; and yet the King, by making current Bills thereon, may have it all preſently, without any Deductions. And, by the People's yearly and eaſy Payments, theſe Bills may be certainly paid and taken in.

7. By ſuch-like diſtinct Bills, *London* may be rebuilt, and all Proprietors ſatisfied for enlarging the Streets, the Fines and Rents of all ſo built being engaged to ſatisfy and take in all theſe Bills.

8. The like may be done for Banks of Loan upon Pawns, truly called Mounts of Piety, where, the Stock thus coming *gratis,* the Poor (who now pay above Forty, Fifty, nay Sixty *per Cent.* Uſe, to their Ruin, and caſting them and theirs on their Pariſhes Charge) may have

---

* This is the 164th Number in the Catalogue of Pamphlets in the *Harleian* Library.

Money at Six *per Cent.* The Clothiers on their Cloth the like, till the Merchant or Draper can take it off, and the Clothier, mean Time, have Money to go on with his Trade, and keep his Workmen ſtill employed. The landed Man at Four *per Cent.* Uſe, whereby he may improve his Land, or lend his Money to ſuch as can well pay him Six *per Cent.* and gain enough. Half this Uſe will ſoon pay and take in theſe Bills, the other Half will defray all Charges, and augment this Mount to a vaſt Advantage of all.

9. By the like Way, the Herring Trade may be eſtabliſhed, to the Breeding up and Maintaining Plenty of Mariners, enough for the King, Merchant, and Fiſhery; and employ our Poor from their Childhood, and the Profit hereof will ſoon pay and take in theſe Bills alſo; for *John Keymor's* Books clearly ſhew, how the *Dutch*, and Foreigners, by our Fiſh, make more Money in one Year, than the King of *Spain* doth in four Years of his *Indies*; and how theſe *Dutch* hereby will certainly eat us out of all Trade, and be clear Maſters of the Sea, to the Terror of all Kings and States.

10. Credit thus raiſed is honeſt, becauſe all Bills are ſure to be paid. It prejudiceth no Man, becauſe he hath as much Uſe of this Bill Money, as if he had the Silver; and it compaſſeth all theſe Particulars, to the Good of us all. Nor is the Way hazardous or untrodden, but ſuch as hath been long, and is ſtill uſed by our Neighbours, to the Advancing their little Country (not ſo big nor fruitful as one *Engliſh* County) from Poor Diſtreſſed States, to be *Hogans Mogans*, and all by a real Cheat; for no conſiderate Man can believe that they have ſo much Money in their Banks, as they give out Bills for. What then do they get? But loſe the Uſe they pay, and their Charge in guarding and keeping Accounts.

11. Theſe leſſen not, but increaſe both Bullion and Coin, where they are uſed; for what Monarch can ſpare ſuch Sums as little *Genoa* lends to the King of *Spain*, that great Maſter and Merchant of Gold and Silver? And what People generally fuller of Money, and freer from Beggars than the *Dutch*, by theſe propoſed Courſes?

If all, or any of theſe, be thought worthy Debating, the Propoſer is confident he can anſwer all Objections, and ſhew the Way how there ſhall not be any Danger of Cheat or Abuſe in any Part thereof.

The great and famous Battle of *Lutzen*, fought between the renowned King of *Sweden* and *Walſtein.* Wherein were left dead upon the Place between Five and Six-thouſand of the *Swediſh* Party, and between Ten and Twelve-thouſand of the Imperialiſts, where the King himſelf was unfortunately ſlain, whoſe Death counterpoiſed all the other. *Pappenheim*, *Merode*, *Iſolani*, and divers other great Commanders were offered up like ſo many Sacrifices on the *Swediſh* Altar, to the Memory of their King. Here is alſo inſerted an Abridgment of the King's Life, and a Relation of the King of *Bohemia's* Death, Faithfully tranſlated out of the *French* Copy. Printed 1633, *Quarto*, containing Forty-five Pages.

To the Reader.

WE ſee that, in the greater Maps, Things are expreſſed more plainly, than they can be in the ſmaller, though they be drawn all by one Skill: So Virtue in Princes is more perſpicuous, than in Plebeians; *in the former ſhe is drawn at Length, with all her Dimenſions; in the latter ſhe is limned in little, being inviſible, unleſs you approach very near her. And indeed, this is conſonant to Nature's own Wiſdom, who ſuffers the vital Spirits in the Body to go to the leaſt Member, yea to the very Finger's End; yet doth ſhe moſt plentifully beſtow them, where ſhe hath the greateſt Employment for them: So on the Vulgar ſhe confers Gifts ſuitable to ſo low a Calling: But, in Princes and Monarchs, ſhe centuples and irradiates her Ornaments, becauſe by them ſhe ſpeaks, and gives Laws to Humanity. Yet is not this Rule ſo general, that it often ſuffers not an Exception: For, as Nature diſtinguiſheth between the Subject and the Prince by Sovereignty, ſo doth ſhe between Prince and Prince, by Virtue and Ability. That this is true, this our dear Tragical Subject will ſerve for a lively and clear Demonſtration, whom neither this Age, nor any of the former, could parallel, in the Management both of the Scepter, and the Sword. In his whole Reign, his Prudence at Home hath not deſerved more Admiration than his Proweſs Abroad: For indeed, from his Youth upwards,* Mars *hath been the Sphere, wherein he hath moved, into which violated Juſtice firſt hauled him, and out of which Nothing but ſhe appeaſed, or Death could remove him. He was a General before a Man, and with a yet unreaped Chin mowed down his Enemies before him. With many Kingdoms, at once, he waged War, from all which, he forced Conditions advantageous to him and his. This was not without the Amazement of all Men, to ſee a Point oppoſe and conquer ſo vaſt a Circumference. In his Wars I will only obſerve three Things: His Way to Victory, his Behaviour in it, his Carriage after it. For the* Firſt, *he did animate his Soldiers rather by Fighting, than Exhorting; nor did he challenge to himſelf any Advantage above the meaneſt of them, but Honour and Command. He knew that it is in Empire, as in the Body, where the moſt dangerous Diſeaſes flow from the Head: Wherefore he worked on their Manners by his own, the only firm Cement of a General and his Army. He well underſtood that Faith and Loyalty are not to be expected, where we impoſe Thraldom and Servitude, and therefore at Times he would be familiar, as well with the common Soldier, as the Commander. His Invention and Execution of all Military Stratagems were ever Twins; for in all his Conqueſts he owed as much to his Celerity, as Valour. When his Foes were in their Tents ſecurely diſcourſing of him, as a-far off, he, like the Wolf, broke into their Fable, to their irrecoverable Aſtoniſhment. They could not withſtand the Force of his Fame, much leſs that of his Arms. One Feather more I muſt add, without which his Victories had not been fully plumed, nor could have ſoared ſo high, and that was this: He never perſuaded any Man to an Enterpriſe, in which he would not himſelf make one. He taught them as well by Hand, as Tongue. I may add, that neither Antiquity can, nor Poſterity ever ſhall produce a Prince ſo patient of all Military Wants, as of Meat, Drink, Warmth, Sleep,* &c. *all which are neceſſary to the Maintenance of Life. In divers Sufferings of his, he recalls to my Mind the moſt accompliſhed of the* Romans, Cato, *who, leading his Troops through the contagious and poiſonous Deſarts, was ever the laſt of his Army that drank, ſave once, when he began to them all in Water taken from a Spring ſuſpected to be invenomed.*

Thus much of his Way to Victory, now let us come to his Deportment in it. After all his Conqueſts, ſuch a Calm immediately enſued, that the paſſed Storm was ſoon forgotten, *and*

and the Enemy appeared rather like one ſuddenly wakened, than frighted. There was not any of his Victories that waſhed not her Hands of all cold and innocent Blood. He was ſo ſevere a Juſticer, that he often revenged the Violating of his merciful Decrees even upon the Place, and ſometimes on Men of Quality, whom he affected. The Laws of Retaliation he knew ſo well, that he gave to all Men punctual Satisfaction for all Offences received from his Party, according to the Nature of the Wrong done. For this Cauſe, his Tribunal (like the Roman*) ſtood ever open. All his great Atchievements were ever attended by Devotion within, and Circumſpection without. He firſt praiſed God, and then provided for Man, at once having an Eye on his Enemies next Deſigns, and his Soldiers preſent Neceſſities. The greateſt of his Glories, purchaſed with Blood and Sweat, could neither change the Eſtate of his Mind, or Copy of his Countenance. The true Greatneſs of his Spirit was ſuch, that in all his Actions he placed Oſtentation behind, and Conſcience before him, and ſought not the Reward of a good Deed from Fame, but from the Deed itſelf. I conclude this Point with this Aſſertion, that Honeſty had as ſtrict and great a Command over him, as Neceſſity over Mankind. He was a Prince of ſo great and clear a Fame, that Envy herſelf bluſhed to oppoſe it, and therefore was forced to aſſume the Maſk of Religion, under which ſhe might ſecurely diſplay her Invectives. Religion, Religion, it is thou that ſhouldeſt unite, but doſt eſtrange Hearts, and makeſt us ſeek to take away even thoſe Lives that gave us ours. Let a Man have in Eminency all the Cardinal and Theological Virtues, he of a contrary Sect looks on all theſe through a Miſt raiſed by his Malice, which makes him either not ſee them at all, or not as they are. O* Jeſus, Jeſus, *in thy beſt bleſſed Time, gather thy ſtrayed Flock into one Fold, and let Truth and Peace kiſs each other. This Teſtimony the Perfections of this Prince drew from me, who was abſtemious and continent in every Thing, ſave in the Search of Glory and Virtue.*

It now remains that, I ſay ſomething of the enſuing Treatiſe, in which is contained the laſt and greateſt Battle of this King, his deplored Death, and other weighty Circumſtances. The Original is French, *written by one of the ableſt Pens of that Nation. He begins at the King's Coming down into* Germany, *and extends his Story to his Death. Of all the Modern Hiſtories, I dare make it the Chorus; for it is written in a Stile ſo* Attick, *and ſo judicial, that it may well be called, The* French Tacitus. *What hath been before delivered, in other Diſcourſes concerning this Subject, is to this Nought elſe but a Foil. The full and perfect Tranſlation of this rare Piece I here promiſe the courteous Reader; and, in the mean Time, intreat him to wear, as a Favour, this Branch, by which he may judge the whole Body.*

Dixi.

THE King, having muſtered his Troops, and thoſe of Duke *Bernard* of *Saxon-Weimar* about *Erfurt*, the Army received Command to advance towards *Naumburg*.

The King came thither in Perſon on St. *Martin*'s Day, and cut in Pieces two Regiments of *Merode*, that oppoſed him by the Way. He was no ſooner arrived at *Naumburg*, but he received Intelligence, that the Enemy's Forces lay incamped at *Leipſick*, and *Noerſpurg*, and ſtretched thence in Length, as far as *Weiſſenfels*, and that they were intrenched in a Place advantageous. Which Proceeding of theirs obliged the King to do the like, at *Naumburg*, and to ſeek the Means to join his Army with the Electoral, which then lay about *Torgau*, conſiſting of Fifteen-thouſand Men, and reinforced with Two-thouſand Horſe belonging to the Duke of *Lunenburg*. He ſent divers Poſts to inform them of his Coming, and of the Courſes were to be taken for their Uniting. *Walſtein* and *Pappenheim*, being lodged between them, had an Eye on them both, and made it their only Study to hinder their Conjunction. On the Fourteenth of *November*, the Scouts of the King brought him Word, the Enemy had ſacked and abandoned the City, and Caſtle of *Weiſſenfels*, laid plain his Trenches, and retired himſelf towards *Lutzen*, two *German* Miles from *Leipſick*. The King, hearing this News, reſolved no longer to delay the Fight, his Courage not permitting him to temporiſe any further, nor to attend the Return of his Poſts ſent to the Elector.

That, which confirmed him in this his Reſolution, was the Aſſurance of certain Priſoners brought him by *Relinguen*, that *Pappenheim* was gone to *Hall*, with ſix Regiments. Wherefore his Army had Order to march towards the Enemy, the Fifteenth, three Hours before Day, and to dare him to a Battle. The Diligence of the Van was ſuch, that it reached the Enemy by the ſecond Hour after Noon, and began the Aſſault. The *Imperialiſts* failed not to make Head, and a ſtrong Reſiſtance. Many Charges were given, with Advantage, and Loſs equal, the Victory inclining now to this Side, then to that, till at length the *Swedes* gave Fire to their ſmall Field-pieces, which pierced and broke ſundry Imperial Companies and forced them to a Retreat. The *Swedes* became Maſters of the Field, and brought to the King a Standard taken from the Enemy, with this Device, *La Fortune, & l'Aigle Romain*, Fortune, and the *Roman* Eagle. Hence ſome drew this Prognoſtick, that the Enemy ſhould, before long, part with the one and the other. A thick Miſt and the Night coming upon them, the *Swedes* were hindered in the Purſuit of the Enemy, and the Victory.

The King remained in the Field, and ſtood in Order of Battle all Night; having no other Shelter than his Caroach, reſolved to follow cloſe his Deſign, and engage the Enemy to a general Combate. He communicated his Intention to the Dukes of *Saxon-Weimar*, and other remarkable Commanders, who paſſed away that Night near his Caroach, having nothing over their Heads, but the heavenly Arch, nor any Thing under them, but Truſſes of Straw laid upon the Earth. Their Field-furniture they left behind, believing they ſhould return to lodge in *Naumburg*: But the Patience of their General made them with Eaſe paſs over theſe Inconveniencies. Some of the principal Officers endeavoured to diſſuade the King from giving Battle, alledging, that the Forces of the Enemy were great, his Seats advantageous; their own Army feeble and wearied with continual Marches; and that it was far ſafer to wait for the Arrival of the *Saxon*, and make ſo ſtrong an Union, as may promiſe Succeſs in the Equality of their Armies. Their Reaſons were not received, but croſſed by the King with many more ſolid, derived from the Experience of the Times paſt, and the preſent Aſtoniſhment of the Enemy; from the Courage of his Soldiers, and his Advantages obtained; from the Juſtice of his Arms, from the Benediction from above, from the Abſence of *Pappenheim*, and the Diſcommodities he ſhould be ſubject to, in that Seaſon now waxing bitter, in Caſe he ſhould ſuffer the Enemy to perfect his Trenches, which he had already begun in many Places: To which he added his Reputation, and how important it was to haſten the Combate, ſaying aloud: 'That he could not ſuffer *Walſtein* to beard him, without calling him to an Account, and letting him ſee, by Proof, that he was not to be faulted, that before this he had not ſeen him with his Sword in his Hand; that he deſired to make Trial of his Ability in the Field, and ferret him out of his Burrows.'

The Commanders, perceiving by the Language and Tone of the King, that his Decree to fight was inevitable, and their Oppoſition fruitleſs, conformed their Wills by an humble Obedience to his, not without reiterated Proteſtations to ſubſcribe themſelves his in their own Blood, and ſeal it with the Loſs of their Lives: Whereat the King rejoiced extremely; nor could he contain his Joy from appearing in his Face, but, by his chearful Looks, expreſſed his inward Content, and forthwith called for a new Sute of Chammois, which he preſently put on. Then they preſented to him his Arms, and the Duke *Bernard*, of *Saxon-Weimar*, and ſundry other Princes and Officers conjured him, by all Things dear and holy, to wear his Helmet and Cuiraſs; but they could not win him to it, he objecting the Incumbrance, and laying his Hand on the Muſquet-bullet ſtill remaining in his Shoulder, which, to him, made the leaſt Weight unſupportable.

The King's Deſign was to begin the Combate by the Peep of Day; but ſo thick and dark a Miſt aroſe, that it confined the Eye to a ſmall Diſtance, and rendered any Enterpriſe not only difficult, but dangerous; wherefore the King was conſtrained to expect till the Sun had chaced it away, which, till then, had deprived him of all Sight of the Enemy. The Interim, according to his Cuſtom, he employed in his Devotions, and in making the Round of his Army, to mark the Diſpoſition and Countenance of his Soldiers, and encourage them to fight manfully. Coming to the Quarter of the *Swedes* and *Finlanders*, he put them in Battle Array; and, with a Voice and Countenance alike chearful, he thus beſpoke them :

‘ My Friends and Camerades [*], this is the Day that invites you to demonſtrate what you are; ſhew yourſelves Men of Valour, keep your Ranks, and fight courageouſly for yourſelves and your King. If this Day the Bravery of your Spirits ſhine forth, you ſhall find the heavenly Benediction perched on the Points of your Swords, Honour, and a Recompence of your Valour: On the Contrary, if you turn back, and baſely and fooliſhly commit the armed Band to the Protection of the unarmed Foot, you ſhall find Infamy, my Diſgrace, and your own Ruin; and I proteſt to you, on the Word of a King, that not the leaſt Piece of you, or of your Bones, ſhall return again into *Swedeland*.’

This Exhortation, delivered in a high and piercing Tone, won from the *Swedes* and *Finlanders* only theſe general Acclamations : ‘ That they would approve themſelves Men of Honour; that they had Lives only for him, which they were ambitious to preſerve in the Obtaining of Victory and his good Graces.’

The *Swedes* being placed in Rank and File, the King embattles the *Alman* Regiments, and thus, in few Words, exhorts them :

‘ My Friends, Officers, and Soldiers, I conjure you, by your Love to Heaven and me, this Day to manifeſt whoſe you are: You ſhall fight not only under me, but with me; my Blood and Life ſhall mark you out the Way to Honour; break not your Ranks, but ſecond me with Courage: If you perform this, Victory is ours with all her Glories, you and your Poſterity ſhall enjoy it; if you give back, your Lives and Liberties have one Period.’

This Speech was anſwered with an univerſal Shout, and Vows reciprocal : ‘ That they would make it appear they knew the Way to Victory, or to Death : That the King ſhould receive all Satisfaction in their Service, and the Enemy ſhould acknowledge he had to do with Men of Honour.’

Walſtein and his principal Officers diſcovered quickly, by his Scouts, the Reſolution of the King, and the Countenance of his, and thereupon grounded this Reſolution, ‘ That they muſt needs come to Blows.’ *Walſtein* was infinitely deſirous to avoid the Combate; but he was wiſely admoniſhed, by ſome about him, that every Step his Men made in a Retreat would take from their Courage, and give it to the Enemy, and bring upon his Army a panick Fear and an utter Confuſion. He ſpent that whole Night in Digging and Intrenching, in embattling his Army, and planting his Artillery in divers Places advantageous, the better to ſuſtain the Shock of the Enemy. *Pappenheim* was ſent for back in Poſt-haſte, who was gone to *Hall*, being very deſirous to inveſt it, not believing that the King would give, or accept of Battle, before the Forces of *Saxony* were arrived. In the mean Time, the utmoſt Endeavours of *Walſtein* were not wanting to hearten his Men; and he laid before them Honour, Reward, their Advantages, their Forces, the Juſtice of their Cauſe, which God, the Catholick Church, the Emperor, and the whole Empire juſtified againſt the Violence and Uſurpation of a Stranger: And all this, and more, he uttered in his Litter, which his Gout would not permit him to forſake.

This was ſubject to divers Interpretations; ſome believing, that indeed he felt ſome Symptoms of that Sickneſs very familiar to him; others maintained this Poſture to have no good Grace on a Day of Battle, and judged, that *Walſtein* was very willing to preſerve himſelf ſafe and ſound, that he might hereafter ſerve his Maſter and his Party : Others averred he was much indebted to his Gout, which did warrant his Retreat without his Reproach, Neceſſity commanding the ſtouteſt Courage to yield to ſuch an Enemy.

---

[*] *Camerades* is, in *Engliſh*, Chamber-fellows.

On the other Side, the King being ready at all Points, and his Army embattled, he would take no Refection, becauſe he would be an Example to his Men, and loſe no Time. Being placed in the Head of *Steinsbock*'s Regiment, he thus ſpoke with a Voice audible: *Now, now is the Time, Comrades, we muſt go on undaunted; let us charge, let us charge in the Name of God:* Jeſus, Jeſus, Jeſus, *aid me in fighting this Day, and favour my Right.*

Theſe Words were no ſooner pronounced, but he gave Spurs to his Horſe, and, with his Head inclined, gave a Charge to a Battalion of twenty-four Companies of Cuiraſſiers, which were eſteemed the Flower of the Imperial Army. Two *Swediſh* Regiments had Order to ſecond him. The Artillery of the King was advanced, and five Cannon-ſhot diſcharged upon the Enemy, who anſwered them with Two-hundred, which went off with a horrid Noiſe, and Lightning, but with ſmall Loſs to the *Swedes*, the Cannoneers of *Walſtein* not having well taken their Aim. But the firſt Shock was fatal to the King, and all the Army; for though the Squadrons, led by ſo brave a Chief, with an unheard of Reſolution, gave on, like Thunder, on the Enemy, and made him recoil; yet one Shot, from a Piſtol, gave him new Courage, which pierced the King's Arm, and broke the Bone. When thoſe, next the King, ſaw him bleed, they were amazed, and cried out, *The King is wounded.* Which Words the King heard with much Diſtaſte and Repining, fearing it would abate the Valour of his Men; wherefore, diſſembling his Grief, with a joyful and undaunted Look, he ſought to qualify the Fear of his Soldiers, with theſe maſculine Words: 'The Hurt is ſlight, Comrades, take Courage, let us make Uſe of our Odds, and return to the Charge.' The Commanders that were about him, with Hands lifted up, earneſtly beſought him to retire; but the Apprehenſion of frighting his Men, and his Ambition to overcome, prevailed.

The Aſſault being re-begun with Vigour and Fervour, and the King fighting again in the Head of his Troops, once more to break thoſe Ranks, that were again made up, the Loſs of Blood, and the Grief which he felt in the Agitation of his Body, enfeebled much his Spirits and Voice, which cauſed him to whiſper theſe Words in the Ear of the Duke of *Saxon Lavenburgh*: 'Convey me hence, for I am dangerouſly wounded.' He had ſcarcely ended his Speech, and turned Head to retire, when a Cuiraſſier, marking this Retreat, advanced, upon the Gallop, from the Battalion of the Enemy, and diſcharged his Carabine full in the Shoulder of the King, with this inſulting Speech: 'And art thou there then? Long it is that I have ſought thee.' Some imagined, that it was *Pappenheim* that gave the Blow, by Reaſon he had often vaunted, that an ancient Prediction was found amongſt the Records of his Family, That a ſtranger King ſhould die by the Hand of a *Pappenheim*, with divers Scars in his Body, and mounted on a white Horſe. And, for this Cauſe (having many Scars in his Face, and divers other Parts of his Body ſtitched up) he reflected on himſelf, and believed the Prophecy ſhould be accompliſhed by his Hand. But this needs no other Confutation, than the Abſence of *Pappenheim*, and the Time when the King received his Hurt, which was in the very Beginning of the Aſſault, before *Pappenheim* could make one of the adverſe Party. I may add, that the Diſcretion of this worthy Count would not have ſuffered him to run into an Error ſo uncivil, as to ſpeak ſo undecently to a Prince of that Eminency.

When the King had received this mortal Wound, which pierced him through and through, he fell from his Horſe, and gave up the Ghoſt, with nothing but *My God* in his Mouth. He that made this accurſed Shot was beaten down with a Storm of Harquebuſado's, and ſacrificed to the Indignation of the *Swedes*. But, while the Groom of the King's Chamber, and divers others, lighted to raiſe the Body, the Charge began again, more furiouſly than ever; the Enemy having taken Notice of this Blow, and concluding that all was now finiſhed, and that he ſhould have *Swedes* good cheap. This hindered the King's Servants from bearing of his Body, and ſummoned every Man to regain the Stirrup, and withſtand the Foe; ſo that the King could not be defended from receiving another Piſtol-ſhot in the Head, and being twice run through with a Sword. The *Imperialiſts* fearing him, even after Death, and cowardly ſuſpecting his ſpeedy Reſurrection: The poor Groom of his Chamber never forſook him, but breathed his laſt upon his Maſter's Carcaſe, after the Receipt of an Infinity of Wounds.

But neither the King's Death, nor the great Odds that the Enemy had, being ſtrongly intrenched in divers Places, could let the *Swedes*, madded with their ineſtimable Loſs, from aſſaulting the *Imperialiſts* with an unſpeakable Fury; inſomuch that they compelled the Battalion of Cuiraſſiers, which made the left Wing, to retire into their Trenches, whom they diſlodged about Noon, and gained ſeven of their Cannon, together with many Colours and Cornets.

Lieutenant Colonel *Relinguen* received Command to advance, and, with three-hundred Horſe, to charge four Regiments of Crabbats, commanded by *Iſolani*, which made the right Wing of the Enemy; which he performed with ſo much Bravery and Courage, that he twice pierced through them, and brought back three Standards, leaving behind one of his own. All his Officers were wounded, and he himſelf, in the ſecond Onſet, had his Arm ſhot through with a Piſtol-bullet, which forced him to retire. *Iſolani*, General of the Crabbats, loſt his Life, with a great Number of his Men. Eighteen of his Companies charged ſome *German* Regiments that guarded the Baggage; but they were ſtoutly oppoſed, the Combate fierce, the Aſſaults reiterated, the Earth died Crimſon, and burdened with Carcaſes; the Crabbats driven back, though not without ſome Diſorder of the *German* Horſe, recoiled amongſt the Carts; but this Diſadvantage the Enemy could not eſpy, by Reaſon of a thick Cloud which then aroſe, and gave the *Germans* Opportunity to rank themſelves.

The *Imperial* Commanders, *Galas*, *Merode*, and *Holok*, longing to recover their Seat, and Cannon loſt, took ſelected Bands, fired the four Corners of *Lutzen*, to blind the *Swedes*, and keep them from piercing that Side, to the Succour of their Friends. This Eſſay was followed by Succeſs, the Trench forced by the *Imperialiſts*, the ſeven Pieces of Cannon loſt regained, and ſome *Swediſh* Regiments diſordered.

The Duke *Bernard* of *Saxon Weimar* ſeeing the Confuſion of his Men, and being advertiſed, by *Kinphauſen*, of the King's Death, was extremely incenſed, and proteſting he had not ſo baſe a Wiſh as to ſurvive him, he ran, with his Head couched, on the Enemy, ſeconded by the Regiments of the Prince of *Anhalt* and Count *Lewenſtein*. Then the Fight became obſtinate on both Sides, the Charges redoubled, the Carcaſes piled up, the Pikes broken, and the Difference came to be decided by Dint of Sword. The Eye of Man, nor that Greater of the World, ever beheld a Jouſt more furious. The *Imperialiſts* ſtrove to hold their Advantage recovered, and the *Swedes* to diſpoſſeſs them of it. The Duke *Bernard* did Wonders that Day; thrice, like Lightning, ſhot he through the Forces of the Enemy, nor could a Wound, received on the left Arm, cauſe him to leave the Field, before he had conſtrained the Enemy to abandon the Cannon and his Poſt.

The Winning of this opened him the Way to the Conqueſt of another; for this valiant Prince preſſed the *Imperialiſts* ſo hard, that he again diſranked them, and compelled them to quit another Poſt, guarded with thirteen Cannon. His Dexterity in the Drilling of his Men, in the Opening and Shutting of his Ranks, was ſuch, that they received little or no Hurt from the Enemy's Cannon. The Duke, undaunted, pierced through the Clouds of Smoke, diſplaced the Enemy, and made himſelf Maſter likewiſe of this Place, and of the Cannon, and drove the Enemy to a confuſed Retreat. The Slaughter was great, and the *Swedes*, well blooded, made good Uſe of their Advantage, and the Diſorder of their Foes, paſſing over their Bellies, killing all that came in their Way, and ſtopping their Ears againſt all Motives for Quarter.

The Duke, poſſeſſed of this Place, and Maſter of the Field, between Two and Three in the Afternoon, thinking there was but one Poſt to force, ſeated by a Windmill, and guarded by three *Imperial* Regiments, endeavoured to remove them, ſending, in the mean Time, ſundry Squadrons to chace the Fugitives. But then the Fight grew more cruel than ever; for *Pappenheim* was returned from *Hall*, and came upon the Gallop with certain freſh Regiments. His Reputation, and his Encouragement, gave new Spirits to the Runaways, and called them to the Combate. The Duke, having Notice of this, quits this Place, new-ranks and encourages his Men, and gives *Pappenheim* a Meeting in the Midway. All the Charges paſt were nothing, in reſpect of theſe latter; *Pappenheim* employed his utmoſt Cunning and Diligence, and ſhewed himſelf, in all Places, in the Head of his Troops, to embolden them. On the other Side, the Duke

Bernard fixed a Reſolution, either to die or overcome; and the *Swedes* and *Finlanders*, inraged for the Death of their King, fought like Lions, and deſperately ran upon the Enemy. The Artillery advanced, and began to thunder, and to enter divers Battalions, and to make Legs and Arms to fly from one Place to another. The ſmaller Shot was alſo ſo violent, that the Squadrons encountered in the palpable Darkneſs, cauſed by the Smoke, without Knowledge of their Parties. This furious Shock continued two Hours, with equal Loſs to both, Victory opening her Arms to embrace now one Side, then another. *Galas*, *Merode*, and *Holok* were wounded to Death, and a Cannon-ſhot cut off *Pappenheim* by the Middle.

His Death, and the Loſs of divers other Commanders, ſtaggered the *Imperialiſts*, as much as that of the King's incenſed the *Swedes*. Then the Enemy (upon the Receipt of a new Salute from twenty-four Cannon, which pierced their thickeſt Troops) began to fly, and the *Swedes* preſſed and purſued them far within Night, which favoured the Retreat of the Fugitives, and hindered the *Swedes* from ranging further in the Chace. Indeed they were ſo tired, that they had neither Breath nor Force further to follow them. The *Imperialiſts*, giving Fire to their Camp, and Part of their Baggage, took ſome the Way of *Leipſick*, others that of *Leutmeritz*, towards the Frontiers of *Bohemia*, whither it was thought *Walſtein* was gone, having heard of the Loſs of the Battle, to find a ſafe Place of Retreat, and to gather together his diſperſed Troops.

The *Swedes* remained in Poſſeſſion of the Enemy's Camp, and moſt of his Baggage, of one and twenty exquiſite Cannon, beſides inferior ones, and a Multitude of Standards and Cornets. Upon the Muſtering of their Army, they found wanting (over and above the incomparable and irreparable Loſs of their King) the Major General *Iſslet*, and other Colonels, and Officers. A Prince of *Anhalt*, a Count of *Nilis*, the Colonels *Brandeſtein*, *Wildenſtein*, *Relinguen*, and *Winchell*, received that Day deep and honourable Wounds. The Duke *Bernard* of *Weimar* alſo was hurt, to whoſe Valour and Conduct the *Swediſh* Party (after God) owes the Glory of that Day, more bloody by far, than that which was fought the Year paſt in the neighbouring Fields of *Leipſick*. The Duke *Erneſt* of *Weimar* alſo inſinuated himſelf into the Hearts of all Men, by his Courage and Leading that Day. The Regiments of theſe two Princes, and thoſe of the Prince of *Anhalt*, of the Count of *Leweſtein*, of Colonel *Brandeſtein*, and the two *Swediſh* Colonels, ſirnamed, *The Blue, and the Yellow*, bore the Brunt of that Day. The *Swedes* loſt between five and ſix thouſand Men, and the Enemy between ten and twelve thouſand remaining on the Place, and two Thirds of their Army ruined and diſperſed, beſides the Death or mortal Wounds of divers of their remarkable Commanders, as *Galas*, *Merode*, *Holok*, *Piccolomini*, *Iſolani*, and divers others. *Pappenheim*, above all the reſt, was bewailed by his Party, and not without juſt Cauſe; his Courage, his Conduct, his Vigilance and Experience, having conſpired to rank him in the Soldiers Eſteem amongſt the braveſt Generals of theſe Times.

But this glorious Victory of the *Swediſh* Army ſuffered an Eclipſe, by the Death of that truly great King, who was the Soul of his Friends, and the Terror and Scourge of his Enemies. His Body could not be found till the next Day, when, after a curious Search, it was diſcovered among the dead Heaps rifled, and half naked, and ſo disfigured with Blood and Dirt, that he could hardly be known. This, at once ſo doleful and glorious a Spectacle of the End of ſo great a Monarch, worked ſo ſtrongly and effectually on the Hearts of his Soldiers, that, with Tears and Lamentations for a Loſs ſo irreparable, they made an unanimous Vow, upon the Place, to revenge his Death, and make him revive in the rigorous Purſuit of his Deſigns, which he had ſo often conjured them to continue, eſpecially a little before this Battle, when he ſeemed to preſage his End, touching which he diſcourſed often and ſeriouſly with many of his Familiars. Amongſt other Paſſages, the King marking the Multitude of People that flocked about him at his Entry into *Naumburg*, three Days before the Battle, and hearing their Shouts of Joy, and this general Acclamation, *Long live the King*, as if now they had nothing to fear, ſince he was preſent, he made to the Standers-by this ſhort but memorable Speech: 'Our Affairs anſwer our Deſires, but 'I doubt God will puniſh me for the Folly 'of the People, who attribute too much to 'me, and eſteem me, as it were, their God, 'and therefore he will make them ſhortly ſee I am but a Man. He be my Witneſs, it is a thing diſtaſteful to me. Whatever befall me, I ſhall receive it as proceeding from his Divine Will: In this only I reſt fully ſatisfied, that he will not leave this great Enterpriſe of mine imperfect.'

The Seventeenth of *November*, immediately following the Day of Battle, and the King's Death, Duke *Bernard* of *Weimar* retired to *Weiſſenfels*, to take a general Review of his Army, and to give Reſt and Breath to his over-wearied Troops. By the Review of his Regiments, it appeared that his Army was between fifteen and ſixteen thouſand ſtrong. The Duke imparted his preſent Eſtate, and all other neceſſary Particulars, to the Court of *Saxony*, and urged the Elector to an Uniting of their Forces, to the End they might follow cloſe their Deſign, and purſue *Walſtein* to the remoteſt Parts of *Auſtria*. After this, all the Army, as well *Swediſh* as *German*, agreed in the Election of Duke *Bernard* for their General, and took a new Oath faithfully to ſerve him, who had deſerved ſo well of the *Swediſh* Party by ſo many Benefits, by his Vigilancy, his Conduct, and the Greatneſs of his Fame in War; but, above all, by his Reſolution and incomparable Valour, of which he made ſo opportune and clear a Demonſtration on that bloody Day of Battle. The Chancellor *Oxeſterne* (who lay then about *Francfort*) was ſent for in all Haſte to manage the Affairs of the Chancery Royal, removed to *Erfurt*; but chiefly, to ſerve and counſel the deſolate and diſconſolate Queen, environed with Griefs and Croſſes inexpreſſible, yet but equal to the Greatneſs of her Loſs. The ſaid Chancellor, and the Chevalier *Rache*, ſerved happily to rectify ſundry Diſorders, and to raiſe the Spirits of ſuch as were dejected; but principally, to ſtop the Flood of Tears flowing from the Eyes of this moſt virtuous Princeſs, and to replant in her Mind generous and maſculine Reſolutions.

De la Gorde was ſent for in Poſt-haſte, who was embarked in *Swedeland* with certain Regiments of *Swedes* and *Finlanders*, to bring a Supply to the Camp Royal, and reinforce it, the dead King being anchored in this Maxim, to make continual Levies (notwithſtanding the Number of his Armies) that ſo he might have Men at Will to fill up thoſe empty Companies, which the Sword, Mortality, and many other Military Miſeries might unhappily depopulate.

But, notwithſtanding the Death of this mighty Prince, the Aſtoniſhment and Fright of the Enemy was ſuch, that he baſely forſook divers ſtrong and impregnable Places in the Electorate of *Saxony*. Amongſt others the City of *Leipſick* was forſaken, and the Caſtle razed to the Ground; *Chemnitz* was taken, *Zwickaw* inveſted and forced, the Duke *Bernard* following cloſe his good Fortune, and making good Uſe of the Enemy's Amazement. To this he was animated the more, by the fixed Decree of the Confederate Princes, to make all faſt, and more and more to knit a firm Union with the *Swedes*, that ſo both of them jointly might execute and fulfil the Intentions and Exhortations of the deceaſed King.

Walſtein having Notice betimes of his Men's Infortunity, and the Advantage of the *Swedes*, recovered *Leipſick* that Night, and before Day took the Way of *Leutmeritz*, where he recollected his disbanded Men, and added to them ſix freſh Regiments that had not been engaged in the Battle. After the often Sending of his Poſts to all Parts, at length *Altringer* had Order from the Duke of *Bavaria* to join half his Army to that of *Walſtein*.

Notwithſtanding the ſo miſerable Defeat of the *Imperialiſts*, Bonfires were made in divers Parts of *Bavaria*, for the Death of the King, and *Te Deum* chanted aloud through all the Streets of *Ingolſtadt* and *Ratisbon* But theſe vain Fires and Triumphs ſerved for ſo many Trumpets, to ſound forth the Praiſe and Glory of the departed King, ſince, in the Enemy's own Judgment, his Death was thought ſufficient to counterpoiſe the Diſſipation and Slaughter of ſo puiſſant an Army: And indeed, except this accurſed Blow, there was no one Circumſtance that did not oblige the *Imperial* Party to a funeral Equipage. Nothing was more to be admired than the Moderation of the Court of *Vienna*, which expreſſed no Joy in Triumph or Exultation. They contented themſelves with the Diſcharging of a few Ordnance, to make the ſilly People believe they had the better of the Day. Some judged this modeſt Behaviour to proceed from ſenſible Loſſes, ſuffered in the Battle, from the Conſideration of the *Swediſh* Forces, and the Difficulty to ſet on Foot again an Army of that Vaſtneſs. Others deemed it to proceed from the diſperſed Rumour of the Emperor's Death, which they thought countervailed that of the King, and caſt the *Imperial* Court into an irrecoverable Dejection.

The Failing of the *Saxon* to appear in the Field on the Day of Battle (when his Aid concerned his own Honour and the King's Good) was attributed to the like ſad Accident, a Rumour being divulged, not only of the Duke's Death, but the Manner of it, to wit, ſudden Apoplexy: But theſe falſe Bruits, both of the one and the other, were contradicted, by aſſured News, that both the Princes were living.

That the *Saxon* was not dead, he gave good Proofs, reſolving to take Occaſion by the Lock to revenge the Ruin of his Cities, and Depopulation of his Country, and to hinder the *Imperialiſts* from ſending into his Dominions any more Incendiaries.

The Continuance of the Emperor's Life was favourable to his Party; the very Name and Splendor of Majeſty being of Virtue to animate and retain divers Spirits in Devotion and Obedience to the *Auſtrian* Line, which elſe, perhaps, might have followed the Chariot of the victorious Triumpher.

But, whilſt the fooliſh People ſpread Abroad, either by Deſign, or Credulity, the Death of theſe two Princes, there came too aſſured News from *Nayence* of the King of *Bohemia*'s Death. When this unfortunate Prince was ready to take a new Poſſeſſion of his Country, and the Conditions drawn up between him, the King of *Sweden*, and the Governor of *Frankendale*, he was ſurpriſed in *Nayence* with a contagious Diſeaſe, preſently after his Return from *Deux-Ponts*, where he had viſited a Prince of his Alliance. The Care and Sufficiency of the Phyſician was ſo great, that he quickly expelled the peſtilent Quality, and ſet him, in all Appearance, free from Danger; but the great Calamities, thro' which he had paſſed, had much eſtranged his Conſtitution from its firſt Purity, and quite altered his Colour and Complexion. When he thought to quit his tedious Bed, and take Poſſeſſion of *Frankendale*, it unfortunately happened, that the King of *Sweden*'s Death came to his Ear, which wrought ſo on his Mind and Body, that his Diſeaſe was aggravated, and his Death enſued on the Twenty-ninth of *November*. His Death was much deplored by thoſe of his Blood, by his Servants and Subjects, yet did their Grief receive an Allay by his Devotion, and his laſt Words full of Faith and Piety.

The Life of this Prince was a mere Medley, and like a Picture with many Faces. His Entry into the Electorate was glorious, his Beginning happy, his Virtues eminent, and courted he was by the whole Empire. His Alliance and Friends within and without *Germany*, the Conſideration of his Houſe, of his Dominions, and the great Body that depended on his Direction, were the Cauſe of his Election to the Crown of *Bohemia*; which was fatal to him, and all *Germany*, which felt the ſad Accidents that attended this Comet, and was forthwith invaded by an univerſal War in her Heart, and all her Quarters, which hath never ſince forſook her, having engaged all the Imperial States and Provinces, every one whereof to this Day carries her Marks. And though this Prince hath ſought all Means of Reconciliation, hoping that Way to quench this Wild-fire; yet hath he from Time to Time found ſuch fatal Oppoſitions, and ſuch an ingrafted Malice in the incenſed Party, that all the Motives, Propoſitions, and Interceſſions of great Kings have hitherto been unprofitable; and this good Prince hath been conſtrained to live an Exile from his Country. At length, when a moſt pleaſing Proſpect laid at once open to his View the Frontiers of his Country, and the End of his Afflictions, a ſudden Death deprived him of his Sight, and the Fruition of ſo delightful an Object.

The Calamity of this Prince hath given Occaſion to many licentious Tongues and Pens to declaim againſt him, and unjuſtly to judge of his Cauſe by the ſad Event. Thoſe, that were of his more inward Acquaintance, avow, that he was unfortunate beyond Defect, and that the moſt magnanimous and heroick Soul could bear Afflictions with no greater Moderation and Patience, than he did. If many of his Virtues have been clouded and obſcured by his Infelicity, yet there are more which his darker Fortune could not hinder from ſhining forth, and ſtriking Envy blind. His great Family, his Extraction, his Allies and Confederates, and his princely Virtues, methinks, ſhould have contained, within the Bounds of Honour and Truth, certain mercenary, ſatyrick Spirits, who have Common-Places of Praiſes, and Invectives, which they draw forth to exalt or depreſs whom they pleaſe, and maintain their looſer Vein at the Coſt of Princes, and play upon their Perſons, Qualities, and Eſtates, whom the Greatneſs of their Births ſhould privilege from ſuch Contumelies. We owe Honour and Reſpect to Princes, of what Party ſoever; whether they be Friends, Enemies, or Neuters: And I thought this ſhort Apology due to my ſo much deplored Subject, whom his Miſeries rendered to ſome contemptible, though, by others, he was truly honoured, in the Midſt of his Diſgraces and Afflictions. The King of *Sweden* gave many brave Teſtimonies of him, being forced oftentimes to give him a Stop in the Career of Honour, leſt Courage ſhould engage him too far, exhorting him to preſerve his Life, the Good of his Country, and the publick Cauſe.

All the Comfort of his Subjects is contained in that generous unparalleled Princeſs, and in her fair Line, and numerous Iſſue, which promiſeth them one Day an intire Liberty, and the Re-eſtabliſhment and Subſiſtence of a Houſe ſo many Ways conſiderable, as being one of the firſt, and moſt ancient of *Europe*.

The Reader, I doubt not, will pardon this Digreſſion of the Soldier, who held himſelf obliged to ſpeak for a Prince, who had been a long Time the common Butt of all Afflictions and Inſultations. That which hath made him the more bold, and earneſt in his Defence, is the near Alliance of this Prince to mighty Monarchs. I ſhut up all, concerning this Point, in this Aſſertion, That all Princes have a common Intereſt in the Honour of their Equals, and ſhould all join to place their Crowns and Purple above the Reach of Envy.

The Death of theſe two Kings was ſufficient to make the *Germans* approve of the Calculation, and Prognoſticks of their great Aſtrologer *Herlicius*, who had noted this Month of *November*, as fatal to great Princes and Commanders, and foretold by the Aſpects, and fiery Conſtellations, the tragical Encounters of theſe two great Armies, and the Death of ſuch eminent Perſons, as may well compoſe the greateſt Part of the Hiſtory of our Time.

The *Swedes* were even wedded to Sorrow for the Death of their King, vowing they would more willingly have ſuffered the Loſs of many Battles than that of him, if it had lain in their Power to diſpoſe of the Arreſts of Heaven, and the fatal Laws of the eternal Providence, which, with a Diamantine Point marks all Things, and gives them a Character, which never can be changed, or defaced.

Indeed all the Days of this Month of *November* were at Strife for Superiority in Evil, but the Sixteenth overcame, to which all Stories ſhall give a Brand, in that it gave ſo ſtrange an Alteration to the Face of *Chriſtendom*. The Battle fought on that Day is ennobled by many memorable Accidents, which exalt it above thoſe of former Ages. Amongſt others, are remarkable the ſmall Number of the Victors, and the Multitude of the Vanquiſhed; the violent and furious Charges, the Durance of the Fight, the doubtful Event of the Combate, when Victory (as if ſhe had been the Daughter of *Janus*) had two Faces, and looked two Ways; the Piles of the Dead, the Loſs of eminent Commanders, and the different Effect which one and the ſame Cauſe wrought in both Parties, the King's Death kindling Indignation and Deſire of Revenge in the Boſom of the *Swede*; and the Death of *Pappenheim*, and other great Commanders, begetting an Aſtoniſhment in the Hearts and Looks of the *Imperialiſts*. And we may well affirm, that, amongſt all the Accidents of that ſaddeſt of Days, this Particular hath been moſt remarkable: That, the *Swedes* having loſt their King in the firſt Shock, this unparalleled Miſchance ſerved rather to confirm, than ſhake their Courage, and was one of the moſt apparent Cauſes of the Victory.

This alſo raiſed as high as Heaven the King's Renown, that in his Fall he cruſhed in Pieces ſo vaſt a Body; and the Hearts of his Men were ſo inflamed with this his Diſaſter, that after his Death they made the Palm and the Lawrel to ſpring out of his Blood. Nor was the Life of this Prince leſs famous than his Death.

His Youth was exerciſed in great Affairs, which hardened his Body to endure Travel, and armed his Mind againſt all ſiniſter Accidents, and infuſed into him a Courage which might eaſily be provoked, never ſubdued. The Entry of his Reign (which was the Eleventh of this Age, and the Seventeenth of his) was thorny and ſalebrous. At one and the ſame Time, he was confronted by the *Danes*, the *Polonians*, and the *Muſcovites*, who on all Sides aſſaulted him: And, though their Motives to War were divers, yet all their Intentions, like ſo many Lines, met in this Center, to ruin the *Swede*. Sometimes he ſhewed himſelf on the Frontiers of *Denmark*, ſometimes on thoſe of *Muſcovy*, ſometimes again on thoſe of *Livonia*, and all with that Promptneſs and Celerity, that his Enemies believed his Body to be ubiquitary. And his Troubles were increaſed by the Corruption of many of his Subjects to a baſe Revolt. But his Valour, his Dexterity, and the continual Travel of his Body and Mind were ſuch, that he paſſed through theſe, and greater Impediments without Stop, or Diminution of his Fame. His Compoſition with the *Danes* and *Muſcovites* was honourable, and to his Advantage. The Quarrel between him and the *Polonian* was not about any ſmall petty Territory, but the Crown and Scepter itſelf, and therefore hardly to be decided.

The Proweſs and Agility of this King were ſuch, that the *Polonians* ſaw him in all Parts, like another *Hannibal*, before their Gates; and, after many great Loſſes received in *Livonia*, and *Pruſſia*, they took Counſel of the Pillow, and (to preſerve the Remainder of thoſe Countries unviolated) concluded to come to a Treaty, on which attended a Truce, which from their Souls they wiſhed had been a Peace, whereby their Repoſe might be eterniſed. Our youthful *Mars* had not a Soul ſo narrow, as to be contented to wear only the Lawrel of the *North*. More Wreaths were prepared for him, and a Theatre more ſpacious and glorious. Poſterity will hardly believe that what this Prince hath done, was by a Man feaſible. That the Conqueſt of ſo many vaſt Provinces, and the Ruin of ſo many Armies, was the Work only of two Years, and a few Months. That a puiſſant Empire, formidable in her Greatneſs, in her Supports, in her Extenſion, in her Armies, in her Conqueſts, and Succeſs, fortified with ſo many Gariſons, who hath for her Bounds the Ocean, and the *Alps*, ſhould, in ſo ſhort a Time, be forced to put on the Yoke. A Man would think infinite Forces were required, to manage well an Enterpriſe of this Nature and Greatneſs.

The perſonal Qualities of this Prince were admirable. His external Bravery conſiſted in a ſweet, yet majeſtical Aſpect, in a comely Stature, in a piercing Eye, in a commanding Voice, in an Agility, and univerſal Application to all ſuch as might hinder, or further him. But the great Gueſts, that lodged within, were far more illuſtrious; a quick Spirit, a ſolid Judgment, an incomparable Wiſdom, an inexpreſſible Courage, an indefatigable Nature, and an admirable Conduct, which were the happy Inſtruments of all his Victories, and the Embelliſhment of this rare Piece. I may juſtly add his Incampments, his Diſcipline, his Foreſight, his Direction, and unequalled Induſtry. Nor was his Readineſs leſs in the Diſpoſition of his Affairs, in the Government of his Men, and his complying with their ſeveral Humours, which made him as well Lord of Hearts, as Provinces and Cities. But, above all the reſt, his Devotion was conſpicuous, and his frequent pious Exerciſes, which received no Interruption by his moſt ſerious Employments: And (which draweth near to a Miracle) he himſelf projected and executed all Things. It ſufficed not him to be only a General, but he would alſo be a Captain, an Engineer, a Serjeant, a Cannoneer, a common Soldier, or of any Military Calling. The moſt dangerous Occurrences dazzled not his Judgment, but then was he moſt venturous, when his Valour was moſt required. He never formed a Military Project, in the Execution whereof he would not himſelf make one: And (which bred in all Amazement) he was never weary, though ever buſied, as if Action had been his Nouriſhment. I will cloſe up the Panegyrick of this Worthy with this Affirmation, That in him all imaginable brave Parts conſpired to make him the greateſt, and moſt able Captain of *Chriſtendom*.

There was Nothing in him the leaſt Way blameable, but his Choler, to which the leaſt Provocation gave Fire; an Humour familiar to fiery Spirits chafed with continual Buſineſs, which often falls out croſs: But he had a Corrective ever ready, which was an overflowing Courteſy, and Sweetneſs to him natural, which ſtopped and repaired the Breach his Anger had made. For any haſty Speech he would give Satisfaction, not only to Men of Eminency, who might juſtly be offended, but to thoſe alſo of the meaneſt Condition, born to ſuffer. In Acknowledgment of his Nature ſo apt to take Fire at the leaſt Diſtaſte, he would often ſay, *That he was willing oftentimes to bear with others Infirmities, as the Flegm of ſome, and the Wine of others, and that therefore reciprocally his Choler deſerved ſome Support.* And, to ſay Truth, this Paſſion may challenge, and win Connivance from him, who ſhall duly conſider his working Spirit, never weakened, though ever bended; as alſo his extraordinary Virtues, and his Gentleneſs, which, upon Occaſion, made him familiar with the meaneſt of his Soldiers; ſo far was he from being puffed up with Proſperity, or raiſing his Mind with his Fortune.

Some note another Overſight in this Prince, that he did not better diſtinguiſh between the Duties of a Carabine, and a General, but expoſed himſelf to all Dangers, and was too prodigal of a Blood ſo precious. To confeſs the Truth, it is not ſo much to be wondered at, that he loſt his Life in this famous Battle, as that he parted not with it long before, in ſo many Encounters, where his Life ran the ſame Hazard with the baſeſt of his Soldiers. And in his Defence this may worthily be annexed, that the Valour of his Men depended on his Example, and all his Victories had for their Original his Preſence, and Forwardneſs in all Battles, which, like a heavenly Aſpect, ſent down Influences and Irradiations into the Spirits of his Soldiers, and Terror and Amazement into thoſe of his Enemies.

The Soldier hath attempted to draw this Prince to the Life; and aſſures himſelf, that they, who have had the Honour to ſee and ſerve him in his Wars, will confeſs, that the Pourtrait hath ſome Air of his Face, if not drawn to the Life: And he believes withal, that they, who have felt the Puiſſance of his Arms, will be the firſt to extol and magnify his Worth, that thereby they may leſſen their own Loſſes, juſtify their Diſgraces, and ſhew to the World, that ſo powerful an Organ was required to operate on them with ſuch Succeſs.

Amongſt other Circumſtances, this is the moſt agreeable and worthy of Obſervation, That this Prince hath left his Affairs in an Eſtate ſo proſperous and advantageous. The *Swediſh* Party is poſſeſſed of two Thirds of *Germany*, of the beſt Cities, of moſt of the Rivers from the *Viſtula* to the *Danube* and the *Rhine*: It hath alſo ten Armies diſperſed through the Higher and Lower *Saxonies*, *Sileſia*, *Moravia*, *Bavaria*, *Franconia*, *Suabia*, *Alſatia*, and the Circle of the *Rhine*. This Party is alſo backed and countenanced within by the principal Forces of the Empire, and without by great Kings and States, who think themſelves intereſted in the Support of it, and prefer ſure Friends before doubtful and wavering, who will eternally remember the leaſt Loſs or Affront received, and, Opportunity ſerving, be ready to revenge it. To this may be adjoined the Experience of the Times paſt, which demonſtrates unto us how well, in the *Mantuan* War, they requited the Benefits received from that Houſe at a dead Lift; which ſerves for an infallible Argument of their Dealings.

It now remains, that the Princes and States united continue to make good the Advantages bequeathed them, by baniſhing all Jealouſies, ſuppreſſing of Factions, extirpating of Schiſms and Partialities, deciding of all Diſputes ariſing from their Genealogies, by conferring Offices on Men not of great Deſcent, but Ability; by making Uſe of the Times preſent and paſt; by quickly ſeconding their Conſultation with Action, and by a ſtraight Conjunction of their Councils and Forces to ſeek their own Preſervation in that of the Empire: In any of which, being wanting, neither the Care and Pains of the deceaſed King, nor their own Armies or Advantages, can ſecure them from being a miſerable Prey to their Enemies, and wretched Spectacle to their Friends.

The Truth is, hitherto the Princes and Generals united have much abated the Pride of the Enemy, by deceiving his Hopes and Apprehenſions, and making it evident, by their Proceedings, that they were not in vain ſo long trained up in the King's School, but were ſtill mindful of his Inſtructions and Diſcipline; and that his Death did but concenter and redouble their Vigour. The Dukes of *Weimar* tread on *Walſtein*'s Heels, whom ſome report to be wounded, others dead, in the Foreſt which lies between *Fraveſtein* and *Kloſtergrappe*. If he be deceaſed, he ſerves as another Sacrifice due to the King's Tomb. *Tubal* keeps the greateſt Part of *Sileſia* and *Moravia* in Obedience; the Prince of *Birkenfield* ſhuts up all Paſſages to the *Bavarians* within the Circle of *Ingoldſtadt* and *Ratisbon*; *Horne* is Maſter of *Alſatia*, and hath joined to it the Conqueſt of *Schletſtadt*; *Colman* and *Kentzingon* have *Senfield*, nothing remaining in thoſe Parts unconquered, but *Fribourg*, which they batter, and *Briſac*, which they play with. *Baudiſin* marcheth through the Archbiſhoprick of *Cologne* without Reſiſtance, and traverſeth his Galleries (maugre the Count of *Gransfield*) from the River of *Weſper*, even to the Gates of *Cologne*. The Troops of *Wirtemberg* advance towards the Lake of *Conſtance*, and are reſolved to make good Proof of their Courage. To be brief, the *Swedes* ſhew, that they have no great Deſire to repaſs the Sea, any more than have the *Germans* to refall into their wonted Slavery.

But, though the King of *Sweden* hath left his Party in an Eſtate proſperous, yet we muſt needs confeſs, that the Enemy derives from his Death great Advantages, and that the Expence of a little Lead hath profited him as much as the Gaining of many Millions, in that the ſeveral Heads of the *Swediſh* Armies are ſubject and prone to Jealouſies and Miſconceptions; which gives him Means and Opportunity to preſerve what he yet holds, to calm Seditions, to recall long-baniſhed Peace, and once more to replant her in the Empire.

If he make good Uſe of his Loſſes and Infortunities, we ſhall ſee him forthwith to abandon all Counſels tending to Blood or Violence; to have a Care, leſt, by the Oppreſſion of Princes, he make them deſperate; to recall his ſtrayed Subjects by a general Pardon of all their Offences, and ſeek to reign by Love, not Fear. He will then no more violate Peace and the publick Faith, under the Pretext of Conſcience, which ought to be perſuaded, not forced, as depending on another Tribunal than that of Men. This Way to Reſt and Quiet he is invited alſo to take, and perſiſt in, becauſe he may now peaceably enjoy all his due Rights and Titles, the Death of the King having cured him of the deadly Fear he was in, leſt this magnanimous Prince ſhould yet ſoar higher, and aſpire to new Diadems, and make good his Anagram, by changing the Name of *Guſtavus* into *Auguſtus*.

The Chaplain's Petition to the honourable Houſe for Redreſs of Grievances. By one of the Camp Chaplains. *London*, printed for the Uſe of the Petitioners; and ſold by *Thomas Ranew* in *Fleet-ſtreet* near *Temple-Bar*. 1693. *Quarto*, containing four Pages.

1.
SInce the Ladies 'gainſt Men
Have to Paper put Pen,
By Way of moſt humble Petition,
In Hope your good Pleaſure
Will once be at Leiſure
To mend their now ſcurvy Condition.

2.
And ſince you allow
That impertinent Crew,
Your Patience to weary and vex,
With a Thing of no Moment,
That has ſmall Weight, or none in't,
But's as idle and light as their Sex.

3.
We, humble Famelicks,
Divinity's Relicks,
In plain *Engliſh*, Chaplains Domeſtick;
To make known our Grievance
For you to relieve once,
On your Door do our earneſt Requeſt ſtick.

4.
Viz. Be it enacted,
That as we've contracted,
Our Salaries may be paid us,
That when we're diſmiſs'd ill,
We may not go whiſtle,
As an ord'nary Footman or Maid does.

5.
For as to the Land all,
It will be a Scandal
To ſee Sons of *Levi* go thread-bare;
Even ſo to be ſure,
If the Paſtor is poor,
His Flock will ne'er greet him with Head bare.

6.
Next, when we've ſaid Grace,
Let's at Table have Place,
And not ſculk among the Waiters,
Or come in with the Fruit
To give Thanks, and ſneak out,
To dine upon half empty Platters.

But

7.
But beſides Store of Diſhes
(One Part of our Wiſhes)
To fortify Maw Sacerdotal,
Eleemoſynary Funk,
And Leave to be drunk,
We humbly deſire you to vote all.

8.
Item, Pray make us able
To command Steed in Stable,
When we are diſpos'd *ad ridendum*;
And if we want Boots,
Whips, Spurs, or Sartoots,
Oblige ſurly Groom ſtraight to lend them.

9.
Nor let our great Patrons,
Or their ruling Matrons,
Read the Butlers a Juniper Lecture,
If ſometimes they paſs
To our Hands a ſtol'n Glaſs,
Or ſome little Orts of Confecture.

10.
When long we have ſerved,
And Preferment deſerv'd,
Let's not miſs of our juſt Expectations,
By every Fop's Letter
For his Friend, that's no better,
Or our Patron's more Blockhead Relations.

11.
For 'tis Cauſe of Grieving
To ſee a good Living,
Which our Thoughts had long been fix'd on,
Be giv'n to a Wigeon
With no more Religion,
And Learning much leſs than his Sexton.

12.
Nor yet let Matrimony,
The worſt Sort of Simony,
Be the Price of our Preſentation;
Nor to wed a caſt Miſtreſs
When ſhe's in great Diſtreſs,
Our requiſite Qualification.

13.
And if't be our Chance
To ſerve againſt *France*,
At Sea, on the *Rhine*, or in *Flanders*;
We earneſtly ſue t'ye,
That exempt from all Duty,
We may dine with our pious Commanders.

14.
Then Brandy good Store,
With ſeveral Things more,
Which we Sons o'th' Church have a Right in;
But chiefly w' intreat,
You'll never forget,
To excuſe us from Preaching and Fighting.

15.
Let not a Commiſſion
So change the Condition,
Of him that juſt carried a Halbert;
That a Dunce of no Letters
Should hector his Betters,
For truly we cannot at all bear't.

16.
Nor when the War's done,
Let's be broke ev'ry one,
To languiſh in Rags and lie idle,
Nor be ſo ill ſerv'd
To be left to be ſtarv'd,
And kept by a Bear and a Fiddle.

17.
May it therefore you pleaſe,
For your own and our Eaſe,
To relieve us without Heſitation,
For the Grievances told
Are as frequent and old,
As any beſides in the Nation.

18.
Then on us take Pity,
And chuſe a Committee,
Let no other Buſineſs prevent ye;
Our Requeſt do not ſpurn,
Nor vote it to burn
With a *Nemine Contradicente*.

19.
To this if you yield,
Our Mouths ſhall be fill'd
With Encomiums of your Piety;
Whoſe excellent Fame
We will loudly proclaim
And worſhip next that of the Deity.

20.
When thus you remove
What we diſapprove,
We all, down to Z from the Letter A,
By Night and by Day,
Will fervently pray,
As in Duty bound, *&c. a*.

The Trade's Increaſe *. *London*, printed by *Nicholas Okes*, and are to be ſold by *Walter Burre*. 1615. *Quarto*, containing Sixty-two Pages.

To the READER.

GENTLE *Reader, I commend unto you a* Polydorus*'s Treaſure, yet without either Murder or Theft, but elſe as rich; ſo, I confeſs, without Leave: Neither may the Author be offended, if what I have borrowed for my private Uſe I have paid to the Service of the Commonwealth, in that what he intended, at the Inſtance of one, being written, is behoveful to every one.*

One Pithius, *a crafty* Sicilian, *finding an honeſt* Roman *Gentleman, called* Clanius, *deſirous of a pleaſant Garden in the Iſland, he invited him to his; and conducted divers poor Fiſhermen to attend that Day his Banks with Boats and Nets, and to bring in Plenty of Fiſh, and to lay them at his Feet. The Gueſt, asking what that meant, was anſwered by the Huckſter, That it was the Royalty of that Place; there was more Fiſh thereabouts, than in any other Stream of* Syracuſe; *and, as oft as he repaired thither, that Service was due, and done unto him. The poor Gentleman was taken with the Nets, and preſently dealeth with the Owner for the Garden; who, ſuffering himſelf to be much importuned, at the Length was intreated to ſell it full dearly. The Day following, the Buyer, diſpoſed to ſhew the Magnificence of his Purchaſe, inviteth divers Friends to accompany him thither; and, miſſing the Concourſe and Confluence of his expected Homagers, the Fiſhermen* (for there was neither Boat, Oar, Net, or Fin of Fiſh to be ſeen) *asketh his new Neighbour, Whether it were a Holiday for Fiſhermen? The plain Folk anſwered,* None, they knew of; *and further wondered at the former Reſort, for they never ſaw before Boats, or Fiſhermen there: In a Word, he was cozened. But it is not ſo in this Fiſhing-project, to the which you are now invited frankly and plainly:* Nullæ hic piſcatorum feræ; *we may always fiſh here without Fear of any* Sicilian *Purchaſe, or Scarcity of the* Roman Macrobius*'s Table, where there was* Piſcis, *but* paucorum hominum. *Here is Fiſh, the King of Fiſh, the Meat and Merchandiſe of both remote and neighbour Nations. To perſuade hereto, the Author hath dealt by Way of Compariſon, not thereby to derogate from other* Trades, *but to advance this Myſtery, and indeed to ſhew, that they may all receive true Nouriſhment from this Nurſery. Let, therefore, no Man take that with the Left-hand, which is offered with the Right: And though, by the Opinion of ſome of Underſtanding in thoſe Faculties, there is a reaſonable Survey given of our* Sea-trades, State, *and* Breeding; *and, out of others Judgments, there is even* Candor animi *in all Particulars, without either Suſpicion of any perſonal Taxation offered, or any State's Blot ſuſpected; yet I deſire alſo to profeſs the Author's true and fair Meaning herein, and to make good the Overſights, that may be committed in the particular Traverſe, with that of the Poet:* ——— Ubi plurima nitent, non ego paucis offendor maculis. *Of the Subject itſelf I will only ſay thus much: That, if* Aurum portans *hath been always welcome, hence you may receive Gold, pay the King's Duties, and do your Country Service;*

---

* This is the 188th Number in the Catalogue of Pamphlets in the *Harleian* Library.

and ſo I leave theſe Buſineſſes to their own Abilities, and take my Leave of you, with this Concluſion of them: Niſi peracta luduntur.

J. R.

SEeing by Chance a late Treatiſe intituled, *England*'s *Way to win Wealth*, &c. and being eaſily invited to read the ſame, even for the Title's Sake; I muſt confeſs myſelf ſo affected with the Project, that I preſently reſolved to go a Fiſhing, withal concluding with myſelf, that as there is no Fiſhing to the Sea, ſo there was no Fiſh in the Sea like to the Herring; and for that my Eſtate is but mean, and myſelf a freſh-water Soldier, it requireth Coſt, and I would have Company; the Sea is large enough, and hath Room enough for us all, and there are Herrings enough to make us all rich; for that I ſay, a Man may run a Courſe this Way to inrich himſelf, to ſtrengthen his Country, to enable his Prince more honeſtly than many late Sea-courſes can warrant us in, more eaſily, more ſafely, more certainly than any other Sea-courſe can perſuade us to whatſoever; I could not chuſe, out of my Allegiance to my Prince, out of my Duty to my Country, out of my Love to my Neighbour, but commend theſe Motives concerning the ſame to a further Conſideration, conſiſting,

In the Neceſſity, Facility, Profit, and Uſe of Fiſhing.

The Neceſſity out of Want of Shipping, Mariners, Employment of Men.

As concerning Ships, it is that which every one knoweth, and can ſay, they are our Weapons, they are our Ornaments, they are our Strength, they are our Pleaſures, they are our Defence, they are our Profit; the Subject by them is made rich, the Kingdom through them ſtrong, the Prince in them mighty; in a Word, by them in a Manner we live, the Kingdom is, the King reigneth. If the Sea fail, the *Venetians* they fall; and if we want Ships, we are diſſolved. *Æſop*'s Shepherd kept his Flock well ſo long as he nouriſhed his Dog; but when the Wolf had perſuaded him, that he was ſuperfluous, he cozened him eaſily of all his Sheep. It is the Kingdom's Caſe in Shipping, which made that heroical King of *Denmark*, at his View of the King's Majeſty's Navy at *Chatham*, confeſs he then ſaw the Srtength of *England*, the Greatneſs of our King, *In ſola tanta eſt fiducia Nave.*

Concerning the Want of Shipping, though to preſs the Conſideration thereof be very material, yet the Point itſelf is to be handled very tenderly; for that, as I have no Pleaſure to touch our own Wounds, ſo I am loth in this Caſe to diſcover our own Wants; for that I fear the Enemy will ſooner take the Advantage of them, than we will be ſtirred up thereby to make Supply. To give therefore the true and faithful Subject a dark Lanthorn, whereby he may only ſee himſelf, and he not be ſeen, ſetting the Contemplation of the King's royal Navy aſide, ſo mighty, ſo well conditioned, which hath ſo many good Officers, and ſuch worthy Overſeers, which is ſo chargeable to his Majeſty to maintain, as I hope it will never be ſafe for the Enemy to meddle withal; ſetting, I ſay, this aſide, our Merchant's Navy conſiſteth in the Ships.

For the *Streights. Spain. France. Hamburgh* and *Middleburgh.* The *Sound. Newcaſtle. Iſland. New-found Land.* The *Eaſt-Indies.*

I have not named *Muſcovy*, becauſe we have in a Manner loſt that Trade, the Troubles of that Kingdom, and our Deſire of Security, having deprived us thereof, which we may the more lament, becauſe I have heard Merchants affirm, that in theſe uncomfortable Days of adventuring, it was one of their beſt Trades, and with no ſmall Marvel yet upheld, and moſt providently followed by the *Hollanders*, we being ſcared away from ſo good and profitable Trade, as Birds from Cherry-trees, with the Shew of dead Carcaſes, or Shout of Boys, whilſt other luſty Lads have wilily beat away the Children, beat down the Scare-crows, and ſtolen the Fruit away, to their great Gain, and our Diſgrace, there repairing not thither above two Ships *Engliſh* inſtead of Seventeen of great Burden for the Company formerly, beſides Interlopers, to the great Decay of our Merchants and Shipping; whereas the *Hollander*, according to a credible Report made, between the Ward-houſe and the Eaſt-ward, at *Tippeny*, *Kilden*, *Olena*, and the River *Cole* at *Col-*

mograve, and at St. *Nicholas* in *Ruſſia*, had above Thirty-five Sail of their Ships the laſt Year. Happily ſome will ſay, that they made ſo poor a Voyage that they had been better kept themſelves at Home; and it is very likely; yet the Year before they had ſome thirty Sail, and now this Year they have again repaired their Navy, renewed their Adventure, and ſent near as many, as neither diſmayed with Troubles, nor yet diſcouraged with Loſs; and to make it more ſtrange, that they ſhould thus prevent our Trade, and increaſe their own: As it was after us that they came thither even by Leave, as it were, to glean with our Reapers, for the Fields were ours, the Diſcovery of the Land, and Trade wholly ours, found out by *Chanceller* and *Willoughby*, and ever ſince continued by our Merchants, ſo again their beſt Trade thither is maintained even by our own Commodities, as Tin, Lead, coarſe Cloths and Kerſies; the Inconvenience whereof, together with the Prevention, I leave to the ſenſible Conſideration, to the ſufficient Ability, of the *Muſcovy* Merchant, who I fear can ſcarce hear me, being, as I ſaid, gone ſo far as the *Eaſt-Indies*; and if I ſhould ſend to him, I fear I ſhould not find him at Leiſure, having thither tranſported much of the *Muſcovy* Staple. For the Merchants that formerly uſed the *Muſcovy* Trade are now there ſeated; and becauſe, as we know it is warmer there, and as they find it, it is very profitable, we will alſo by Compaſs travel thither ourſelves; that as *Valeria*, a fair Lady, anſwering to *Scylla* in the Theatre, being demanded, Why ſhe preſſed ſo near, ſaid, That thereby ſhe might have ſome of his Felicity; ſo by being in their Company, we may communicate with them of their good Fortunes, or commune with them of our Wants.

So then to begin our Journey at the nobleſt Place for Worth, and one of the neweſt in Knowledge, the worthieſt in former Remembrance, the worſt in preſent Reputation, for the Bottom of the *Streights*, the firſt in Name, and for ſome Time a very material Buſineſs of Merchandiſe: I do find this Trade but eaſy, and the Difficulties many and new, the Trade itſelf being leſſened by the Circumvention of the *Eaſt-India* Navigation, which fetcheth the Spices from the Well-head; and I find the reſt of the Benefits allayed, by Charges, by Inſultation of Pirates, and Infidelity of Servants. Theſe make Preſents and Profit of their Maſters Goods Abroad, ſo far, that ſome of the Owners become lame at Home: Pirates meet with that, whereby others are extremely hindered, and by the Charges the reſt are exceedingly diſcouraged; ſo that the Merchants Return is but poor, and the Navigation much leſſened, the Employment thitherward failing in near thirty Ships, and thoſe of ſuch Burden, that they were of Defence and Renown to the Kingdom. I heard a worthy Merchant in his Time, *Thomas Cordel* of *London*, ſay, that on the firſt Beginning of the *Turkey* Trade, his ſelf with other Merchants, having Occaſion to attend the late Queen's Majeſty's Privy-Council about that Buſineſs, they had great Thanks and Commendations for the Ships they then built of ſo great a Burden for thoſe Parts, by the Earls of *Bedford* and *Leiceſter*, and other honourable Perſonages, with many Encouragements to go forward, even to uſe their own Words, *for the Kingdom's Sake, notwithſtanding it was then to their great Benefit likewiſe, whoſe ordinary* Returns at the firſt were three for one, which I ſpeak not out of Envy. For as all Callings are, and ought to be maintained through the Profit that ariſeth thereby, Labours rewarded, Dangers recompenſed by the Sweat and Sweet of Gain; nay, in our moſt liberal Profeſſions, the Divine for his ſpiritual Nouriſhment hath temporal Food; the Phyſician for the Care of the Body aſketh the Comfort of the Purſe; and the Lawyer muſt be paid *for his Plea*; ſo Merchants, of all Companies the moſt liberal, are likewiſe of all Sorts the moſt worthy to gain, *Ut qui per univerſum orbem diſcurrunt, mare circumluſtrantes & aridam*; to uſe that hopeful Prince, in his Time, King *Edward the Sixth*'s Words in a Letter to foreign Princes, in Sir *Hugh Willoughby*'s Behalf. But, to end my long Parentheſis, I ſpeak it I ſay out of Pity, to ſee now the Return ſo mean, the Merchant ſo diſcouraged, the Shipping ſo diminiſhed; and to conclude this Point without Love or Anger, but with Admiration of our Neighbours the now *Sea-berrs*, the Nation that get Health out of their own Sickneſs, whoſe Troubles begot their Liberty, brought forth their Wealth, and brought up their Strength; that have out of our Leavings gotten themſelves a Living, out of our Wants, make their own Supply of Trade and Shipping there; they coming in, long after us, equal us in thoſe Parts in all Reſpects of Privilege and Port; that have devanced us ſo far in Shipping, that the *Hollanders* have more than one hundred Sail of Ships that uſe thoſe Parts, continually going and returning, and the chiefeſt Matters, they do lade outward, be *Engliſh* Commodities, as Tin, Lead, and Bales of ſuch like Stuff as are made at *Norwich*.

For the reſt of the *Streights*, one Side, as the Coaſt of *Barbary*, ſerves only for Places and Cities of Refuge, not after the Divine *Levitical* Law, when one hath killed a Man, by Chance, there to be ſuccoured: But after that Diabolical *Alcoran*, when any have robbed and murdered Abroad, thither they may repair, be in Safety, and enjoy.

The other Side, as *Naples*, *Genoa*, *Leghorn*, and *Marſeilles*, employ ſome twenty Sail, and they moſt with Herring. For the Ports near to the *Streights* Mouth, as *Malaga*, &c. we have ſome Store of Shipping, as about thirty Sail, that begin in *June* to ſet forth ſome for *Ireland*, to lade Pipe-ſtaves in their Way to *Malaga*, they returning *Malaga* Wines. But the *Hollanders* likewiſe have found out that Trade, and be as buſy amongſt the *Iriſh*, as ourſelves for Pipe-ſtaves; nay, by your Leave they have been too buſy there of late with ſome of our poor Countrymen's Wind-pipes; but that is beſides the Matter here. But, for *Malaga* itſelf, the Inhabitants there have, through our plentiful Reſort thither, planted more Store of Vines, ſo that, on our Recourſe thither, our Merchants have withdrawn themſelves much from *Cherris*.

For *Andaluſia*, *Quantado*, *Lisborn*, and *Portugal*, it is eaſily known what Shipping we have there, by our Trade, which is but mean, conſiſting in Sack, Sugar, Fruit, and *Weſt-India* Drugs, which may employ ſome twenty Ships. Amongſt theſe *Cherris* Sacks are likewiſe brought into *England*, eſpecially in *Flemiſh* Bottoms.

For the Bringing in from thence any Store of Salt by us, it is excepted againſt, we being by Report furniſhed principally by the *Hollanders* with moſt of the Salt that our Fiſher-towns do uſe for the Salting of *Iceland* Fiſh, and all other Fiſh for Herring and Staple-fiſh, as the Ports of *London*, *Colcheſter*, *Ipſwich*, *Yarmouth*, *Lynne*, *Hull*, and *Scarborough* can teſtify. *Alborough* Men were wont to bring it in, eſpecially employing ſome thirty or forty Sail belonging to it, of ſome ſeven or eight Score, or Two-hundred Tons; which, for the moſt Part, were ſet on Work all the Year long, with Tranſporting of Coals from *Newcaſtle* to *France*, and fetching Salt from thence; which Trade is now much decayed with *France*, by the double Diligence of the *Hollanders*, who ſerve us principally from *Spain*.

For our Trade to *Bourdeaux*, it is lightly as great as ever it was: For I do not think there was ever more Wine drunk in the Land. Yet that Voyage appeareth not to be ſo beneficial in Regard of the ſmall Rate, that the Owners and Seamen have thither-ward. *France* may every where employ, and thoſe moſt ſmall Veſſels, ſome threeſcore Ships and Barques.

To *Hamburgh* and *Middleburgh*, there are belonging ſix or ſeven Ships to each Place, and they lade for the Company, and are called appointed Ships; every three Months in all the Year, there may be laden ſome thirty odd Ships, and they but fourteen or fifteen bodily. But as they make, as is ſaid, two Voyages the Ship, how it ſtandeth with them, or how they will ſtand, it is uncertain in Regard of the Manner of the Altering of Trading with their Cloth. Once for certain the Merchant-Adventurers Ships have been always formerly the ſure Stay of Merchants Services both for their Readineſs, Goodneſs, and Number of Shipping, touching the Commonwealth's Affairs.

For *Dantzick*, *Melvin* and *Quinsburgh*, there are not above five or ſix Ships of *London*, that uſe thoſe Places, as many more of *Ipſwich*; and ſo likewiſe from *Hull*, *Lynne*, and *Newcaſtle*, the like Proportion reſorteth thither for Trade. Theſe make ſome two Returns, in the Year; but in all thoſe Places the *Hollanders* do abound, and bring in more Commodities by five Times to us, than our own Shipping. And, for *Lieſland*, the *Narve*, *Rye*, and *Revell*, the *Hollanders* have all the Trade in a Manner; the Commodities from theſe former Places being Corn, Flax, Soap-aſhes, Hemp, Iron, Wax, and all Sorts of Deal.

For *Norway*, we have not above five; and they above forty Sail, and thoſe double or treble our Burden, even for the City.

The next is *Newcaſtle* Trade, and, for certain, the chiefeſt now in *eſſe*, for Maintenance of Shipping, for ſetting Sea-faring Men on Work, and for breeding daily more; there may be about ſome Two-hundred Sail of *Carviles*, that only uſe to ſerve the City of *London*, beſides ſome Two-hundred more that ſerve the Sea-coaſt Towns throughout *England*, ſmall and great, as Barques and other Shipping of ſmaller Burthen, and more might eaſily be: For hither, even to the Mine's Mouth, come all our Neighbour Country Nations with their Ships continually, employing their own Shipping and Mariners. I doubt me whether, if they had ſuch Treaſure, they would not employ their own Shipping. The *French* ſail hither in whole Fleets, ſome forty or fifty Sail together, eſpecially in Summer, ſerving all their Ports of *Picardy*, *Normandy*, and *Bretagne*, even as far as *Rochel* and *Bourdeaux*, with their own Ships and Sailers from *Newcaſtle*. So they of *Breame*, *Embden*, *Holland*, and *Zealand* do ſerve all *Flanders*, and the Archduke's Countries, whoſe Shipping is not great: Theſe paying no more than his Majeſty's own natural Subjects, if they tranſport any Coals. Which Impoſition, ſay our Men, made our Countrymen forbear their Carrying any more Coals Abroad, becauſe the *Frenchmen* would not give above their old Rate; and which was worſe, whereby they ſold away their Ships, ſome to *France*, ſome to *Spain*, ſome to other Countries. Whereby ſure their Faults are more apparent than their ill Fortune, in that though their Gain was leſs at the Inſtant, by the Impoſition, than formerly; yet to leave the Trade argued neither good Spirits, nor great Underſtanding, nor any ſpecial good Mind to their Country. For whence I pray you came ſuch a Neceſſity to leave the Trade and to give over Shipping, as if they could not live thereby; when preſently foreign Nations fell to the Trade themſelves, as is formerly ſet down, and fetch away our Coals on the ſame Terms which we do refuſe? And by Report, notwithſtanding the five Shillings impoſed, the *French* do ſell in *France* one Chauldron of Coals for as much Money as will buy three or four of *Newcaſtle*. Had they held to with Patience, either they might have brought the Stranger to their Price, or elſe, by due Order, and diſcreet Faſhion, opened the Inconveniency to the State, of the Stranger's Stomach in refuſing their Coal, and fetching them themſelves; ſo as they might eaſily have wearied them, and won their Trade and Gain again; whereas now they are beggared, and our Country diſfurniſhed of Shipping. The Stranger, keeping his Coin at Home, bringeth hither bare and baſe Commodities; their Shipping and Mariners are employed and increaſed, and, notwithſtanding the *Argus*'s Eyes of the Searcher, carry Gold away with them, always bringing more in Stock with them, than they carry away in Commodities.

For to make a Motion, to have this five Shillings excuſed in our own Nation, is rather profitable than neceſſary, in Regard we ſee the Stranger thriveth, notwithſtanding it, and it being done out of his Majeſty's royal Prerogative, & *ex Cauſa lucrativa*, as is apparent by what the Stranger gaineth; and the like is willingly embraced here in other Tranſportations, as Beer, &c. were, methinks, undutiful likewiſe. But to mention a Motion very lately made, and generally amongſt his Majeſty's loyal Subjects embraced: Might it pleaſe his Majeſty to make and ordain a Staple-town in *England* for Sea-coal; and we have many fit Places and Harbours more near and proper than that of *Tinmouth*, at *Newcaſtle*; and herein, as I am bound in Affection to wiſh well to *London*, ſo I muſt, out of many Men's Judgments, commend *Harwich*, *Statio bene fida Carinis*, and then lying fit for the *Low-Countries*, and indeed open to all Nations by the Benefit of the large Sea, which waſheth it, whereby Strangers ſhall be reſtrained from further Trade to *Newcaſtle*, and ſhall all repair to the ſaid Staple-town to fetch their Coals: Beſides that it would be an exceeding Benefit to his Majeſty, it would likewiſe help us in this our Complaint of Want of Shipping. For by this Means, our *Engliſh* Bottoms, bringing all the Coals to the Staple-town, ſhall not only be ſet on Work, but Increaſe will follow in Shipping. The *Venetians*, ſome Time paſſed being outgone by thoſe of *Zant* in their Cuſtom, drew the Trade from the *Grecians*, and planted, as it were, a Colony of Currants at *Venice*. If for a little Cuſtom, and to pull down their ſuſpected Subjects ſwelling Minds, they did ſo, Why ſhould not his Majeſty for the Increaſe of his Shipping, and the Relieving of the proſtrate Eſtate of his faithful and humble Subjects, take this warrantable Courſe?

Iceland Voyage entertaineth one-hundred and twenty Ships and Barques.

Newfoundland employeth ſome one-hundred and fifty Sail, from all Parts, of ſmall Ships, but with great Hazard; and therefore, that Voyage feared to be ſpoiled by Heathen and Savage, as alſo by Pyrates.

Now followeth the Conſideration of the *Eaſt-India* Trade, into whoſe Seas, not only the River of *Volga*, as before you heard, diſembogueth itſelf, but even the Bottom of the *Streights* is emptied, to fill up thoſe Gulphs; and not ſo only, but, beſides that, many of our beſt Merchants have tranſported their Staples thither; it hath, alſo begot out of all Callings, Profeſſions, and Trades, many more new Merchants. Then, where there is Increaſe of Merchants, there is Increaſe of Trade; where Trade increaſeth, there is Increaſe of Shipping; where Increaſe of Shipping, there Increaſe of Mariners likewiſe; ſo then rich and large *Eaſt-Indies*. The Report that went of the pleaſing Notes of the Swans in *Meander*-flood, far ſurpaſſing the Records of any other Birds in any other Places whatſoever, drew thither all Sorts of People, in great Confluence, and with great Expectation, to hear and enjoy their ſweet Singing. When they came thither, they found, inſtead of fair white Swans, greedy Ravens, and devouring Crows; and heard, inſtead of melodious Harmony, untuneable and loathſome Croaking. In Indignation that they were ſo received and deceived, inſtead of applauding, they hiſſed, and, of ſtaying, fled away. You are now, brave *Eaſt-Indies*, *Meander*-flood; your Trade is the Singing of Swans, which ſo many journey ſo far to enjoy: God forbid you ſhould be found ſo diſcoloured, and we ſo ill ſatisfied. And howſoever, that I may be ſure to avoid any Detraction, whereby my Nature might have any Imputation; or by calling up more Spirits into the Circle, than I can put down again, I might incur ſome Danger, and be taxed likewiſe of Indiſcretion, for that we only hitherto have complained of the Want of Shipping; we deſire now but herein to ſurvey the Store, and ſee how you help the Increaſe. You have built more Ships in your Time, and greater far than any other Merchants Ships; beſides what you have bought out of other Trades, and all thoſe wholly belonging to you, there have been entertained by you, ſince you firſt adventured, twenty-one Ships, beſides the now intended Voyage of one new Ship of ſeven-hundred Tons, and happily ſome two more of Increaſe. The leaſt of all your Shipping is of four-ſcore Tons; all the reſt are goodly Ships, of ſuch Burdon as never were formerly uſed in Merchandiſe; the leaſt, and meaneſt of theſe laſt, is of ſome hundred and twenty Tons, and ſo go upward, even to eleven-hundred Tons. You have ſet forth ſome thirteen Voyages, in which Time you have built of theſe eight new Ships, and almoſt as good as built the moſt of the Reſidue, as the *Dragon*, the *Hector*, &c. ſo that, at the firſt Appearance, you have added both Strength and Glory to the Kingdom, by this your Acceſſion to the Navy: But where, I pray you, are all theſe Ships? Four of theſe are caſt away, of the which, one was of three-hundred Tons, another of four-hundred, the third of three-hundred, and the fourth of eleven-hundred; two more are docked up there, as Pinnaces, to trade up and down; the reſt are either employed in the Trade in the *Indies*, or at Home out of Reparations; which, if true, if the Kingdom ſhould have Need of them, on any Occaſion, it ſhall ſurely want their Service; and ſo then, there is not only no Supply to the Navy this Way, but Hurt even to the whole Kingdom, the Woods being cut down, and the Ships either loſt, or not ſerviceable. Surely Stories can ſhew us, which we may read in the Courſes of Commonwealths, how tolerable, nay how laudable it is, in all States, to enlarge Commerce. Merchants, whom we ſhould reſpect, can tell us of the Caſualties which not only the Ships, but their Eſtates, are ſubject to by Adventures. Mariners, whom we muſt pity, can teach us of the ordinary Dangers, not only that Ships and Goods, but their Lives, are ſubject to by Sea. I muſt not then exprobrate that to them, which is to be imputed to the Sea; nor are they to be blamed out of Reaſon, for that which deſerveth, in Humanity, Commiſeration; nor is *England*, bounded by our Horiſon, to go no further than we ſee. We have learned, long ſince, that *Mercatura ſi tenuis ſordida, ſi magna ſplendida*; The ſtranger the Country, the greater the Adventure; the more famous our Nation, the more worthy the Merchant. Before we were, even *Horace* writ, *Currit Mercator ad Indos*. Loth then am I to borrow that Saying of *Demoſthenes*, on his courting of *Lais*, to pay it to the *Indian* Trade, by alledging, that *Non tanti emam pœnitentiam*, only having now in common that *Roman* Proviſo, *Ne quid detrimenti reſp. capiat*. Let us examine that which may move Patience, that our Woods are cut down, and the Ships either loſt or not ſerviceable: Our Woods, I ſay, cut down in extraordinary Manner, neither do the Ships die the ordinary Death of Ships. Our Woods extraordinarily cut down, in regard of the Greatneſs of the Shipping, which doth, as it were, devour our Timber. I am able, out of ſufficient Teſtimony, to affirm, that, ſince the *Indian* Trade, and merely through their Building of their Ships of ſo great Burden, and their Repairing (the Building, notwithſtanding, began but five Years ſince) that Timber is raiſed in the Land five Shillings, and more, in the Load, nay, almoſt, not to be had for Money; which the Company, no Queſtion, being ſenſible of, very wiſely ſeek to help themſelves in, by Building of Ships in *Ireland* for their Service; yet, it ſeemeth, their Encouragement that was, is but neceſſitous, in regard, by their own Saying, beſides the Hazard, the Charges are little leſs; and which is worſe, that Kind of Timber is but untoward for that Uſe, being ſo extremely heavy, that a Ship of ſmall Burden draweth much Water. If, in five Years Space, their Building, together with their Repairing of Ships, almoſt equal to Building, beget ſuch a Scarcity, What will a little Continuance bring forth? Bring forth, I cannot ſay aught, but a Privation will follow, even of all our Timber-wood. The King's Navy muſt be maintained, other Merchants, of lower Rank, muſt have Shipping, and the Sea-trade may increaſe; and then either we muſt trade without Shipping, or make Ships without Timber.

When the *Norman* Conqueror, having ſubdued the moſt Part of the Kingdom, paſſed from *Eſſex* into *Kent*, which then made Head againſt him, the *Kents* having, by the Advice of their politick Biſhop, and their ſtout Abbot, cut down great Boughs, and, with them in their Arms, marched towards the Conqueror; whereby, beſides the Novelty of the Sight, the Army appeared double as big. *William* himſelf ſo conceiving it, as alſo amazed to ſee Woods walk; more feared and diſcontented with that Sight, than otherwiſe aſſured with his former Succeſs, condeſcended to what Demands ſoever were made by thoſe People, to have ſuch Weapons laid down, and to gain ſuch ingenious Subjects; whereby, to their eternal Benefit and Credit, their Perſons were never in Bondage, nor their Laws altered. In this their Land-ſtratagem, I ſee our Sea-arts, in that, and theſe Woods, being the fatal Inſtrument of our Fortunes; Boughs of Trees kept the *Kentiſh* Men out of Servitude, when they held them in their Hands, and but for Shew; their Bodies will keep us in Liberty, when they contain us, and are for Service; and, by their moving on the Water, they will amaze both *French* and *Spaniſh*, and whomſoever, and keep them, and all others, from coming near us: Out of which provident Foreſight, our moſt worthy Princes, formerly reigning, have made divers Laws, in Favour of Timber-trees; and our moſt noble King hath provided thereto, with new Acceſſions, for the Preſerving and Increaſing of them; but that a Parricide of Woods ſhould thus be committed by Building of Ships, it was never thought on by any of our royal *Solons*, and therefore there was no Proviſo for it: Nay, this Inconveniency was ſo little ſuſpected, that our ſaid famous Princes have provided clean Contrary, with great Bounty and Indulgence, having encouraged, by Reward out of their own Purſes, the Builders of great Ships; as beſtowing on the Builders five Shillings on the Ton, for every Ton that is built above one-hundred Ton in a Ship, ſo neceſſary did the Prince think his Maintenance of Shipping, the Acceſſion thereof conſiſting much in their Greatneſs, to the Honour and Safety of the Kingdom, and ſuch Uſe, he made Account, he ſhould have of them; whereas now this Way he contributeth to the Spoil of his Woods, to the Loſs of his Ships, and to the Hurt of the Kingdom. I heard a Ship-wright ſay, on the Loſs of the Trade's Increaſe, That, if you ride forty Miles from about *London*, you could not find ſufficient Timber to build ſuch an other. It was a Ship of eleven-hundred Tons; for Beauty, Burden, Strength, and Sufficiency, ſurpaſſing all Merchants Ships whatſoever. But alas! ſhe was but ſhewn; out of a cruel Deſtiny ſhe was overtaken with an untimely Death in her Youth and Strength, being devoured by thoſe iron Worms of that Country, that pierced her Heart, and broke many a Man's, withal memorable in her Misfortune, only redounding to the Commonwealth's Loſs; for as to the Merchants, though I pity their Adventures with all my Heart, yet, in this, their Part of Loſs was leaſt, for all their Goods were on Shore, and ſhe had brought abundance out of the *Mecca* Fleet, which ſhe did both tithe and toll; and, Thanks be to God, they are more than Savers by what is returned from her; and more than that often, by the Grace of God, will come from her to the Merchants Gain.

The like untimely Fall had the other three of great Burden, gallant Ships, never having had the Fortune to ſee their native Soil again, or the Honour to do their Country any Service, in reſpect of all other Ships that wander ordinarily to other Countries; therefore, I may juſtly ſay, that they die not the ordinary Death of Ships, who commonly have ſome Reſt, and, after long Service, die full of Years, and at Home, much of their Timber ſerving again to the ſame Uſe, beſides their iron Work, and the reſt otherwiſe ſerviceable; and not in this bloody and unſeaſonable Faſhion, rather, indeed, as Coffins full of live Bodies, than, otherwiſe, as comfortable Ships: For the reſt that live, they come Home ſo crazed and broken, ſo maimed and unmanned, that, whereas they went out ſtrong, they return moſt feeble; and, whereas they were carried forth with Chriſtians, they are brought Home with Heathens. What the Profits are to the Merchants, for ſo great an Adventure, I know not; I am ſure Amends cannot eaſily be made for ſo great a Loſs, even in this Point which is our ſpecial Subject now, for Waſte of Woods, and Spoil of Shipping.

And thus we have ſurveyed all the Fountains whence our Shipping, eſpecially, doth flow; which, before I ſhut up, I remember me of a new Spring in *Greenland*, that batheth ſome Ships, and burdeneth them likewiſe with her own natural Freight, with the which the Whale is ſo richly laden withal. This Place is but of late frequented ſo eſpecially, and hath employed, this laſt Year, ſome fourteen Ships, and more would do, but that the poor Fiſhermen, who, though they knew the Place before, yet, being, belike, afraid of the Whale, are now ſwallowed up in the Whale's Ships.

I cannot find any other worthy Place of foreign Anchorage; for the *Bermudas*, we know not yet what they will do; and for *Virginia*, we know not well what to do with it; the preſent Profit of thoſe not employing any Store of Shipping; and, for this other, it is yet but *Embryo*; no Queſtion, a worthy Enterpriſe, and of great Conſequence, much above the Merchants Level and Reach. And ſure, in regard of the great Expences they have been at, and the poor Return that is made, they are much to be regarded and commended, for Holding out ſo long: I could wiſh, that, as many of the Nobility and Gentry of the Land have willingly embarked themſelves in the Labour, ſo the reſt of the Subjects might be urged to help to form and bring forth this Birth, not of an Infant, but of a Man; nay, of a People, of a Kingdom, wherein are many Kingdoms. When *Alcmena* was in Travel with *Hercules*, the Poets ſay, *Jupiter* was fain to be Midwife; and ſure, as we have the Countenance of our earthly *Jupiter*, ſo we are humbly to implore the propitious Preſence of our heavenly God, toward the Perfection of this ſo great a Work. And, ſo leaving to meddle further with what we have nothing to do, let us return to our Ships, out of whoſe Entertainments we may either rejoice at their Increaſe, or, by other Obſervations, prevent their Decay; and, becauſe we propounded to ourſelves the Neceſſity of our Home Fiſhing, out of the Want of our Shipping, we will affirm, that, by this our ſuperficial View, we find a Decay thereof, and that out of two Reaſons; becauſe that, in Places formerly frequented, our Shipping leſſeneth, and, in Places new found, they do not ſucceed: We have given reaſonable Probability of theſe already, without any Pleaſure, and there is no Need of Repetition; and it will be more apparent, in the preferring of this Deſire of Fiſhing, out of the Examination of the next Inducement thereto, which is Want of Mariners.

Mariners, they uſe the Weapons, Ships; they wear the Ornaments, Ships; out of them Ships, are Strength and Pleaſure, otherwiſe, they are but Pictures, that have but a Shew, or are as Carcaſes bereft of Life. It is the good Pilot that bringeth the Ship to the Haven; it is the wiſe Maſter that governeth the Men in the Ship, but, without Men, the Maſter cannot govern, nor the Ship go: What is a Leader without an Army, and that of Soldiers? The ſame Reaſon of Seamen in a Ship; the Body muſt have Life, Blood, and Fleſh, the ſame are Seamen to a Ship. *Columbus* found out the new World, *Drake* brought Home the hidden Treaſure in a Ship; but they were both provided well of Men, and governed well; therefore, as Ships are manned.

ned, and as Maſters uſe their Men, ſo ordinarily their Ships ſucceed. As for this laſt Matter of Government, it is beſides our Buſineſs, we will leave that to whom it concerneth. Now then, though we cannot uſe Shipping, without Men, and therefore they muſt go together, yet we muſt conſider the one after the other; and having looked into the Strength of the one, we will view in them the State of the other; in the which we will not be long, for that the Subject is unpleaſant, and our Tale is half told already, for the Conſequence is neceſſary: As Ships are employed, ſo Men are buſied.

For *Muſcovy*, it is apparent that the Shipping thitherward is decayed; ſo neither Mariners are well employed that Way, nor any Seamen almoſt bred. The Fleet, that went ordinarily thitherward, entertained three or four Novices in a Ship, and ſo bred them up Seamen, which might make up the Whole happily ſome Four-ſcore Men Yearly, which was well for their Parts. Now then there were ſome five-hundred Mariners and Sailors employed withal: So then this Way there is Want.

The like Reaſon of the *Streights* in their Proportion, the very Bottom of the *Streights* failing in thirty Ships, maketh yearly ſeven-hundred Seamen and Mariners at the leaſt, ſeek ſome other Courſes which were that Way employed, beſides the under Growth hindered of ſome Hundred and forty Seamen yearly. And, but that I am loth to renew our Complaints, I would ſay it were great Pity of this ſo great an Ebb of our Men in theſe Seas; for that, beſides the Voyages were of Encouragement even to the Fry, all in general commonly went and returned in good Health, a Ship ſeldom loſing a Man in the Voyage; nay, I heard a proper Maſter of a Ship ſay, That in eighteen Years, wherein he frequented thoſe Parts, he loſt not two Men out of his Ship; and whatſoever may be imputed to the Incontinency of our Men, or the Unwholeſomneſs of the Women in other Places, ſurely in thoſe Parts I hear the common Sort of Women to be as dangerous, and the Generality of our Men as idly diſpoſed.

Naples, *Leghorn*, *Marſeilles*, and thoſe Parts of the *Streights*, may employ ſome four-hundred Men, and breed of theſe about forty.

Malaga employing, beſides, ſome four-hundred Men; the Employment that may come by all other Places, in *Spain* and *Portugal*, not arriving to four-hundred Men, in Regard to the Poverty of the Trade, and the Superfluity of the Commodities; it being indeed rather entertained, becauſe they will not be idle, otherwiſe than that they are well buſied, like Food that keepeth Life, not elſe maintaineth Strength; yet it hath a pretty Myſtery in it, that, though the Gain ſcarce provideth for the Merchants Livelihood, yet the Commodities make the Land merry; and howſoever, I am of the Opinion, that the former hoſtile State buſied more Seamen, than twice the Trade of *Spain* can nouriſh; yet I differ from thoſe, that would rather by Repriſal make Soldiers, than, by nouriſhing Commerce, increaſe Mariners.

Our Shipping into *France* is not ſuch as it hath been, but nurſeth many young Men, or rather ſheweth them the Sea, and may buſy ſome ſeven or eight Hundred Men.

Hamburgh and *Middleburgh* always have been counted the ancient Maintainers of Mariners, for the States Service on all Occaſions, being ready at hand; and therefore as we wiſhed well to their Ships, ſo we deſire Encouragement to the Men. There may be belonging to their Employment ſome four or five Hundred Mariners and Seamen.

Norway and the *Sound* may breed and employ ſome four-hundred Men, thoſe Parts being moſt frequented, thoſe Commodities moſt brought in by the *Hollanders*.

Newcaſtle Voyage is the next, and if not the only, yet the eſpecial Nurſery, and School of Seamen: For, as it is the Chiefeſt in Employment of Seamen, ſo it is the gentleſt, and moſt open to the Landmen: They never grudging in their ſmalleſt Veſſels to entertain ſome two freſh Men, or Learners; whereas, on the contrary, in the Ships that voyage to the Southward, or otherwiſe, far out of the Kingdom, there is no Owner, or Maſter, that will ordinarily entertain any Landman, be he never ſo willing, as being bound by their Charter-Party to the Merchant, as they ſay, not to carry but ſufficient Men, and ſuch as know their Labour, and can take their Turn at the Helm, Top, and Yard. It is by great Favour others ſlip in, and they very likely; and therefore, whereas in former Adventures I allow them the bringing up of two or three Men in a Voyage, it is in general to be underſtood, that they were firſt trained up, either amongſt the Colliers in this Journey, or elſe came out of Fiſhermen's Boats, and yet but Novices to thoſe Seas and Sailors; ſo then this Trade, without all Exception, admits of all Sorts that never ſaw the Sea before; whereby are yearly bred and employed, out of the great Store of Ships buſied therein, ſome two or three Thouſand People. A great Comfort to Youth, and Men that want Employment; and a great Stay to the Sea State, that ſhall have Need, on all Occaſions, of their Help. I have ſhewed my Good-will enough, being ſo private, to further their Employment, and, being ſo ignorant, I muſt not be bolder.

Iceland Entertainment aſketh and nouriſheth ſome Two-thouſand five Hundred Men, after the Number of Shipping and Barques ſet down, and ordinarily employed.

Newfoundland may breed and employ ſome Fifteen-hundred; but, ſeeing what Diſcouragements they have, what Caſualties they are ſubject to, we may judge of their Uncertainty.

Out of the extraordinary Number of all People buſied in theſe two former Employments, it is no unneceſſary Obſervation, that in any Trade in particular, our Coal excepted, our ſpecial Employment, Nouriſhment and Increaſe of Seamen, is even in this Foreign Fiſhing, which I hope will prove but petty, when it cometh to be balanced with our Home Fiſhing.

The laſt Conſiſtence of Shipping propounded, was that of the *Eaſt Indies*; which, though youngeſt, was found in Shew and State to have over-topped all the reſt, as a Bird that maketh herſelf gay with the Feathers of all other Fowls; having borrowed, nay, having bought the beſt Ships out of other Trades, to honour their Voyage, and plumed even *Conſtantinople* herſelf, of her Shipping; therefore, that Men are entertained extraordinarily in this Voyage, it is apparent out of the Greatneſs of their Shipping; the Entertainment of them increaſing, it ſhould be a Conſequent that Seamen increaſe this Way: But that we may not by Ambages triumph in their Loſs, or our Calamities, we ſee this Way that our Ships periſh, and therefore our Men they ſhrink. Nay, though Ships come Home, yet they leave the Men behind; ſo, in this Voyage, there is a two-fold Way towards our Want of Mariners.

In that Ships, nay, great Ships, are extraordinarily ſubject to be caſt away, and then there muſt be a Loſs likewiſe of Men; in that, though they come, they come Home emptied of their Men.

By the Loſs of four Ships, we have loſt at the leaſt four-hundred and fifty Men; and, in the Adventure of ſome Three-thouſand that have been employed ſince that Voyage began, we have loſt many above Two-thouſand.

David refuſed to drink of the Well of *Bethlehem*, which the ſtrong Men had fetched, when he thirſted and longed, becauſe it was the Price of Blood. This Trade, their Commodities are at a far dearer Rate, being bought with ſo many Men's Lives.

But happily ſome will ſay, that the greateſt Loſs of theſe Men was at the Beginning, whenas all Things are difficult; but ſince, our Men, framed to a better Compoſition of themſelves, to the Variety of this Climate, and heartened the Tedioufneſs of this Voyage, have better endured and overcome thoſe Difficulties, and returned more comfortably: Herein the lateſt Voyages will inform us beſt, and we will inſtance it in the three laſt that have made Returns.

The *Firſt* was under Sir *Henry Middleton*, whoſe former Government, in that Kind of Voyage, had approved his Wiſdom and Moderation. His Ship was that famous and unfortunate Veſſel of eleven-hundred Tons, his Company in that Ship ſome two-hundred and twenty Men. After four Errors, up and down the Sea, wherein he underwent many Conſtructions at Home, and overcame ſtrange Difficulties Abroad; having, to his eternal Reputation of Policy and Courage, outgone the perfidious *Turk*, and revenged their barbarous Wrongs, to the Merchants Gain, and the Kingdom's Repute. After he and his, had, I ſay, been accompanied with many Sorrows, with Labour, Hunger, Heat, Sickneſs, and Peril; that worthy Commander, with many a ſufficient Mariner, with the whole Number (ten excepted) of his live *Cargazon*, periſhed in that *Aceldama*, in that bloody Field of *Bantam*.

Nicholas Dounton, the Vice-Admiral of that Fleet, returned, and of Seventy he carried forth, brought Home ſome Twenty; the reſt, their Labours and Lives were ſacrificed to that implacable *Eaſt-Indian Neptune*; the *Darling* of that Voyage is yet there, nor never will the Maſter, an approved Seaman, return, with divers others.

The *Second* was that of Captain *Saris*, and Captain *Towerſon*, Men formerly exerciſed in thoſe Journies, and therefore thought meet to command. Whether they were ſhort of the Opinion conceived of them or no, I know not; if they were, I ſhould attribute Part of the Loſs of their Men to their Inſufficiency, but that the Deſtiny of the Country challengeth it all to itſelf. Capt. *Towerſon*, who firſt returned, having left behind, of ſome Hundred and twenty carried forth, Fourſcore and five; and Capt. *Saris*, of ninety and odd, not having brought Home above two or three and twenty; the *Thomas*, of that Voyage, which went forth with ſome ſixty Men, was brought Home by Way of a Wreck; you know the Deſtruction of Men that Name importeth.

The *Third*, that of Capt. *Thomas Beſt*, Admiral of the Fleet, a Man whoſe former Behaviour in Sea-Affairs drew into that Journey with great Expectation; and, which is very ſeldom and hard, his Carriage in this Employment went beyond the great Expectation of a repoſed Demeanor, indulgent to his Men, vigilant in his Charge, his Courage like to his Carriage, and his Fortune above all: He checked the *Indians*, he mated the *Portugueſe:* Thoſe honour our King, theſe fear his Forces: He ſettled a Trade in *Cambaya*, reduced Things in order to *Bantam*, brought Riches Home for the Merchants, and kept Reputation for himſelf; yet for all this he had *Nemeſin in dorſo*, the *Indian* Vengeance haunted his Ship, even to our Coaſts; of ſome Hundred and eighty Men under him, when he went forth, depriving him of One-hundred and odd Men for ever. Some Four or five and twenty of the Remainder are left, on the deſperate Account of Men, for the Countries Factorage; only Thirty are returned. In two great Sea-fights with the *Portugueſe* and their Galleons, which continued four whole Days, he loſt not four Men. It was not then the Fortune of the War; neither out of Want of aught that Victuals and good Government could afford; Imputations to ſome other Voyages: Nor had the Length of Time any Fault, Part of others Bane; he having made the Voyage in ſhorter Space than others ordinarily; the Dog-Star of thoſe Climates, the Stench of thoſe Countries, were his Fatality.

As one Swallow maketh no Summer, ſo it is not much to be marvelled, that in all theſe Voyages ſome one Ship hath not been ſcarred, and not elſe much Hurt in this Journey: She indeed but even ſeeing thoſe Coaſts, and preſently on ſo great a Glut of our Men and Ships, with the which it ſeemeth the Sea and Land was then buſied and full; whenas Captain *Newport* returned with little Loſs, and in a ſhort Time.

Now then, as we have ſaid before, that the *Indian* Ships die not the ordinary Death of Ships; and that we have ſhewed likewiſe before, that Men do not die extraordinarily in this Voyage, which is almoſt incredible; they are diſtreſſed likewiſe after their Death, and that is very apparent, by the mean Account made to their Heirs of what they had in Poſſeſſion in their Life-time, by what ſhould otherwiſe be due to them in their Purchaſe, by the Calamities of their Wives, Children, and Friends, after their Death. Fabulous and fantaſtical Legends have been made of the reſtleſs Death of many concealed Extortioners and Murderers, whoſe Ghoſts have been ſaid to walk in Pain and Penance. On the contrary, how many live Bodies, indeed the true Images of the Deceaſed, complain on the Death, call for the Due of their Friends, Fathers, Huſbands, Children, Kinsfolks, and Creditors? Poor *Ratcliff*, *Limehouſe*, *Blackwall*, *Shadwell*, *Wapping*, and other Sea-towns abroad, can ſenſibly tell. The Merchant he is at Home, and therefore he cannot embezzle the Goods Abroad; and it is likely, that what is directly proved due, is paid here to theirs. Then is the Calamity of that Journey more fearful, becauſe out of his own ill Planet it maketh ſo many miſerable. How this is recompenſed, it is neither my Purpoſe, nor my Part to examine: For certain, there is Want of Trade; the *Hollander* would grow greater, if he had all this Trade in his own Hands. The King's Cuſtoms are now advanced: This Way Shipwrights are ſet on Work, which muſt be maintained; and other mechanical Trades live hereby, with a Number of Poor buſied. And ſurely, he that would not have the Poor to live, I would he might beg: And he that would not advance the King's Profit in all liberal Manner, and Merchandiſe in a fair Means, I would he might die; and he that regardeth not his Country's Good, it is Pity he was ever born. I deſire not, like a ſecond *Phaeton*, to make a Combuſtion. All that I would inforce at this Time is, that in this Trade our Men are conſumed, and thereby more Want of Mariners. Let the *Streights* Men and the *Liſbon* Merchants complain of their Hinderance this Way, and ſay, their Traffick before was more beneficial by much, and more certain to the Cuſtom-houſe than the *Indies* be now. Let others report, that the Foundation of this Trade was laid in the Ruin of a Carrick that

Sir *James Lancaſter* took in the firſt Voyage, and that the main of this After-jollity proceeded from the forced Trade driven with the *Mocha* Fleet by Sir *Henry Middleton*, whereby divers durſt not go preſently after to the *Streights*, as the *Angel*, and other Ships, out of Rumour of Revenge for Violence offered by our *Indian* Men to the *Turks* in the *Red Sea*. Let the common People ſay, that their Commodities are unneceſſary: Aſk the Tradeſmen, nay, all Men, what they have cheaper: Look into the Price of Victuals, how it riſeth out of their great Proviſions. Let the whole Land murmur at the Tranſport of Treaſure, and bring in *Charles the Fifth*'s Opinion, ſpeaking to the *Portugueſe* of their Trade to the *Eaſt-Indies*, who ſaid, that they were Enemies to *Chriſtendom*, for they carried away the Treaſure of *Europe* to inrich the Heathen. Let go the Speech of the ſmall Relief thereby to the Poor, and they, whom it doth concern, may ſuggeſt the *Indian* Home State and particular Profit. Once I am ſure, that, as *Veſpaſian* the Emperor ſaid, He had rather ſave one Citizen, than kill One-thouſand Enemies; ſo his Royal Majeſty had rather have his Subjects than Cuſtom for them; and you ſee plainly, that his Majeſty's Subjects, our Countrymen, fall this Way, and this Way is Want of Mariners.

Greenland Ships, which before I had forgotten, entertain ſome Mariners, and help to breed others; as of late, being fifteen Sail, employ ſome four-hundred Men, and may breed of thoſe ſome fourſcore, which help ſomewhat, and may be, by reaſonable Encouragement, far more beneficial, if it be more publick.

And thus we have run over the material Trades State and Condition in them of Seamen. In all in general we conceive Want, in regard of the ſmall Increaſe of what is needful to furniſh this great Machine, this goodly Engine of our Sea-ſtate, either by ſupporting their own Members (the *Newcaſtle* Trade excepted) or all joined together, to make up the great Body of our Land's Navy; witneſs, that general Preſs that was made of Men from all the Coaſts, to man the Ships that were to attend that matchleſs Pearl, that peerleſs Princeſs, the Lady *Eliſabeth*, her Grace, with her hopeful and happy Mate, the illuſtrious *Palatine*, at their Departure; and our Nakedneſs, that would appear, if there were ſudden Occaſion to furniſh ſome Six of his Majeſty's Ships: All which maketh for the Furtherance of our Propoſition of Fiſhing.

The *third* Motive hereto was Want of Employment.

As the Coſmographers in their Maps, wherein they have deſcribed the habitable Globe, uſe to ſet down in the Extremity of their Cards, on unknown Regions and Climates, that beyond thoſe Places they have noted, there is nothing but Sands without Water, full of wild Beaſts, or congealed Seas, which no Ship can ſail, or *Scythian* live in; ſo may I write in the Map of Employment, that out of it, without it, is nothing but ſordid Idleneſs, baſe Condition, filling the Mind with a hundred Chimera's, and groſs Fantaſies, and defiling both Body and Mind with diſſolute Courſes and Actions; like fat Ground neglected, that bringeth forth a thouſand Sorts of Weeds, or unprofitable Herbs. And with this Diſeaſe is our Land affected, our People infected; whereby ſo many come to an untimely and reproachful Death in the Land, and many more live ſo diſſolutely, and ſo wickedly, on the Seas. I do not think, that, in any two Kingdoms in *Europe*, there are ſo many juſticed for Murderers and Felons yearly, as in *England*. And, above all Nations, we are moſt infamous for Piracies; wherein, againſt the Law of Sea Robbers, or, at leaſt, beſides ordinary Example of any other Nation, we forbear not to prey on our own Countrymen; nay, we forbear not our own Acquaintance. Sure the Want of Grace, and Fear of God, is much in moſt of theſe: But that Men ſhould leave their Wives, Children, and Family, and rebel againſt their own Sovereign's Laws, and make War on all People, proceedeth more out of Want of Means, Want of Employment at Home. Beſides, how many that have more Grace, and the ſame Wants, are ſtraitened in their Fortunes, notwithſtanding their Abilities of Body and Mind; and are, as it were, damned to Poverty? And more than all theſe, that have a little Grace, and leſs Means, that lead the loathſome Life of Begging?

Now if the Means may be found, nay, if the Means, long found, already be offered unto us, to redeem us out of this Diſaſter: Why ſhould we not underſtand them? Why ſhould we not apprehend them? Why ſhould we not be induſtrious in them? We are not thoſe rebellious *Iſraelites*, that could not ſee the flowing Land; much leſs enjoy it; we have this Place in Poſſeſſion, and if my *Ephemerides* fail me not, I dare ſay, *Natam inde eſſe artem*, that ſhall not only take away all thoſe Diſcontents and Miſeries, that Want of Employment breeds in any of our unfortunate Countrymen, but that ſhall alſo repair our Navy, breed Seamen abundantly, inrich the Subject, advance the King's Cuſtom, and aſſure the Kingdom; and all this in our own Seas, by Fiſhing, and eſpecially out of Herrings. Towards the which, apparent Neceſſity having hitherto made us the Way, we are to perſuade you to follow in it by the Facility, Profit, and Uſe of this Fiſhing.

The Facility, in that the Means are in our own Hands.

The Place, our own Seas.

The Art, well known.

The Means in our own Hands, in that we have all Things that ſhall be uſed about this Buſineſs growing at Home in our own Land, Pitch and Tar excepted; whereas the *Hollanders*, having nothing growing in their own Land for it, are fain to go to ſix ſeveral Countries, and thoſe remote, and under divers Princes, to furniſh themſelves, merely with the Barter of Fiſh and Herrings taken out of our Seas.

Then the Place is not far removed, if in our own Seas, if in his Majeſty's Dominions, on the Coaſt of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, is this principal Fiſhing; for by the Report of many exerciſed in this Myſtery, and the Relation of two eſpecially, painful herein by their Treatiſes, *Hitchcock* and *Gentleman*,

The Herrings *firſt*, and towards the Ending of Summer, ſhoot out of the Deeps on both Sides of *Scotland* and *England*; and begin to do firſt ſo, on the *Scots* Coaſt at *Midſummer*, when is the *firſt* and worſt Fiſhing.

The *ſecond* and beſt is about *Bartholomew-tide*, from *Scarborough* in *Yorkſhire*, till you come to the *Thames* Mouth.

The *Third*, from the *Thames* Mouth through the narrow Seas, but not ſo certain, for that extreme Weather maketh them ſhoot on both Sides of *Ireland*; likewiſe on the Coaſt of *Ireland*, is good Fiſhing for Herrings, from *Michaelmas* to *Chriſtmas*.

On the North-weſt Seas of *England*, overagainſt *Carliſle*, about *Wirkentown*, is good Fiſhing for Herrings from *Bartholomew-tide*, till fourteen Days after *Michaelmas*. So then it appeareth by theſe Reports, that this Fiſhing for Herrings is eſpecially on his Majeſty's Dominions. And to this End aſk the ancient Cuſtom of the *Hollanders* and *Flemings*, that before they began their Fiſhing for Herrings, craved Leave of *Scarborough* aforeſaid; which eaſily obtained, they then laid their Nets. And howſoever it pleaſeth his Majeſty to allow of his Royal Predeceſſor's Bounty, in tolerating the neighbour Nations to fiſh in his Streams; yet other Princes take more ſtraight Courſes. For whereas till *Chriſtmas*, on the Coaſt of *Norway*, called the *Mall Strand*, all Strangers do fiſh, as *Hitchcock* writeth, they then paid a Youhendale on every Laſt of Herrings, to the King of *Denmark*. And I can likewiſe remember, that certain of our Merchants of *Hull* had their Goods and Ships taken away, and themſelves impriſoned, for Fiſhing about the Ward-houſe, and not paying the Duty impoſed on them by the King of *Denmark*.

The Place, our Seas likewiſe, for other neceſſary and profitable Fiſhing; on the Coaſt of *Lancaſhire*, from *Eaſter* to *Midſummer*, for Cod and Hakes; betwixt *Wales* and *Ireland*, from *Whitſun-tide* until St. *James's-tide*, for Cod and Ling; about *Padſtow*, within the Land's-end of *Severn*, from *Chriſtmas* to middle *Lent*, and in ſeven or eight ſeveral Places more about the Coaſts, and within his Majeſty's Dominions, the which is largely ſet down by *Hitchcock*.

Now beſides this Fiſhing-treaſure lieth eaſily to be found in our own Seas: What good Harbours fitting thereto lie open to us in our own Coaſts, as *Colcheſter*, *Harwich*, *Ipſwich*, *Yarmouth*, with a Number of others, ſet down painfully by *Gentleman*, together with the Commodities they afford for Timber, Workmanſhip, Furniſhing and harbouring Buſſes, Nets, and Men?

As the Havens lie open to us, as the Seas be our own, and as we have all Things almoſt fitting for ſuch a Buſineſs at Home, and naturally, ſo that nothing may be wanting to us but ourſelves; the Art is well known to us likewiſe. Maſters for Buſſes may be had from *Yarmouth* and *Sould*, and the reſt of the Coaſts down the River. Uſe maketh Fiſhermen, and theſe Places afford Store of Seafaring Men for the Purpoſe. In *Orford* Haven and *Alborough*, be many good Fiſhermen, whoſe Abilities, exerciſed in Buſſes, would, by *Gentleman's* Report, put down the *Hollanders*. The like may be ſaid of *Sould*, *Dunwich*, *Walderſwich*, which breed Fiſhermen. In all theſe, and many other Places, is this rich Art known, but not uſed. In all theſe, and all others, the *Hollanders* ſwim like Elephants, we wading like Sheep. We keep the Banks and Shoals, whenas they are in the Depth.

Beſides, to encourage us the more, the Charges are not great, the Pains are not great, the Time is not long, the Hazard is nothing at all. This is very apparent, and exactly ſet down in *Gentleman*'s Treatiſe, whom I ſhall but obſcure to contract; neither is he long.

The next Motive to this Fiſhing was that of Profit; wherein, if ever it were true, that a good Cauſe maketh a good Orator, here is a Subject to enable all mean Rhetoricians. Every Man almoſt is taken with the Attention to Profit. Love doth much, but Money doth all. Here is Money, here is Profit in Abundance, and divers Ways. In Abundance, for that the whole Charge of a Buſs, with all Furniture and Appurtenances, between thirty and forty Laſt, will coſt about Five-hundred Pounds; the Charges, for keeping her a whole Summer at Sea, may be ſome Three-hundred Threeſcore and five Pounds; the whole Summer filling her three Times, with making One-hundred Laſt of Barrels, amounteth to One-thouſand Pounds; whereby, allowing One-hundred Pounds for Wear of Ships, and Reparations of Nets, there are gained Five-hundred Sixty-five Pounds by one Buſs in one Year, and this is after ten Pounds the Laſt, which was ſo rated in *Hitchcock*'s Time, which is ſome Thirty-three Years ago; the *Hollanders*, now, ſelling them for fifteen, twenty Pounds, and upward the Laſt, at *Dantzick*. Hence one may gather of the great Gain, that even riſeth to a private Purſe, by this Fiſhing, with a ſmall Adventure, Buſſes being the main, and thoſe likely likewiſe to continue, by God's Grace, ſome twenty Years. So then her Charges returned for keeping her at Sea; the firſt Year alſo ſhe quitteth her own ſelf, and there are, I ſay, Five-hundred Sixty-five Pounds, as long as ſhe liveth afterwards, *de claro*. I would fain know, not deſiring to be too curious in a ſtrange Commonwealth, but rather to invite my Countrymen into this Society, what Trade in the Land did ever in its Strength promiſe ſo much; howſoever, never any, I am ſure, performed ſo much, ſo eaſily, ſo continually.

When *Antiochus* in his Shew to *Hannibal* of his glorious Army in Battle-range, his Elephants being moſt richly adorned, and all his Soldiers in very brave and coſtly Harneſs and Habiliments, willing to draw ſome Acknowledgment from him of his Power and Strength, aſked his Opinion of it; the warlike Soldier replied again, That it was an Army able to ſatisfy the moſt covetous Enemy. No Queſtion, though the *Carthaginian* noted the People of Cowardice; yet it would require great Charges, and coſt ſome Blood, to overcome ſuch an Army.

In the beſt Trade in Appearance now that is, and in thoſe Countries, certain there are infinite Riches, you ſee how remote it is, and with what Coſt of Purſe, and Loſs of People followed, yet without ſuch Satisfaction. Here is Wealth enough to ſatisfy the moſt thirſty thereof, without much Coſt, without any Spoil; even almoſt *Salmacida ſpolia*; if not, *ſine ſudore*, *ſine ſanguine*, and not for a Time, but permanent. All other Trades are far fetched, as it were, out of a Well, out of the Deep, I mean from far; here is a mere Spring which is in Superficies hard by us, out of our own inexhauſtible Sea, from the everlaſting Store of Herrings, whence only the *Hollander* reapeth a Million of Gold yearly; beſides the moſt gainful Fiſhing with other Veſſels for Cod and Ling. *Hitchcock* long ago diſcovered the ſame, his Book is extant; and fore-named *Gentleman* hath very plainly ſet down, and in a very probable and particular Manner diſcloſed the Myſteries thereof. And the Conceit the *Hollanders* have of it, calling it their *chiefeſt Trade, and Gold Mine*; and the Confidence they have in it, as laying out their Children's Money given them by Friends, in adventuring in Buſſes; and Fathers likewiſe putting in their Children's Portions into Buſſes; preſume of the Increaſe that Way, and ſo proportion a Sum certain out of that Gain, in a certain Time; as alſo, that there is for Orphans laid out, and ſo increaſing that Way, for the Maintenance of them. Here then we may get Treaſure in Abundance, and certainly; and beſides the Gaining of it, we ſhall ſtay the unnatural Tide of the Departure and Tranſportation of our Gold; a Miſchief, which notwithſtanding our royal King was ſenſible of, in the Raiſing of it, yet it ſtill departeth with *Veſtigia nulla retrorſum*, out of the lazy and diſgracious Merchandiſe of our Coaſters, that give away our Coin to the Stranger for our own Fiſh; which unſeaſonable and unprofitable Humour of Cauponation is this Way to be diverted only.

But ſome will ſay, That our Men are not ſo apt, nor diſpoſed thereto; which cannot be, in Regard of the Store of Fiſhermen that our Coaſts nouriſh, which live as hardly, and take as great Pains, in their Faſhion, only wanting the Uſe of Buſſes, and ſeem to rejoice at the Name of Buſſes; and may on very good Reaſon; for that this Buſs-fiſhing is more eaſy than any other Kind of Fiſhing, which now we uſe in Crayers and Punts, as being armed this Way better againſt all Weathers, which others ſuffer and periſh in, in other Veſſels, yearly; and, as their Proviſions are better, and the Dangers leſs, ſo their Pains are likewiſe leſs.

Again, Who will not be exceedingly encouraged with the Benefit of ſuch Gain, in ſo honeſt a Manner, when once the Sweet is taſted of? Whenas, otherwiſe, our Countrymen run ſuch laborious and deſperate Courſes, eſpecially out of Want.

Others will ſay, That our Land will not utter them in any Quantity, in Regard that the Feeding on Herring and Fiſh doth not taſte us, nor is ſo received, as amongſt thoſe *Holland* and *Zealand* Mermaids: And, ſure, if thoſe neceſſary Laws, provided by our adviſed State for the Keeping of Fiſh-days clean through our Land, were better obſerved, it would be more wholeſome for our Bodies, and make much for the Advancing of our Fiſh, and Plenty of other Victuals; beſides the Dearneſs of our Fiſh-victual, which more hurteth our Purſe than our Appetites, for that the Price is, within theſe twenty Years, almoſt trebled, which, indeed, maketh the true Diſtaſte, as all Houſholders find, and thereon feed their Houſholds with Fleſh and otherwiſe; this Fiſh-victual being now obtained by Merchandiſe, which indeed is our own ſtaple Commodity, whereon groweth this Penury to the Poor, this great Price to others, this Diſuſe to all, and in theſe the King's, the Kingdom's Loſs. Yet, notwithſtanding, there is ſuch Quantity of Herrings, beſides other Fiſh, conſumed amongſt us, that *Hitchcock* alloweth Ten-thouſand Laſts for our Proviſion of Herrings to be ſpent here in the Realm; ſo that it would ſave at Home One-hundred-thouſand Pounds of Treaſure, which, to our great Shame and Loſs, the *Hollanders* carry away, even for our own Proviſion; beſides, that Proviſion is of the worſt, ſuch as they call *Roop-ſick*, and ſuch as they are forbidden to bring Home. Now, to be ſerved of our Worſt, whereas we might be our own Carvers, and to give our Gold for that we may have for nothing, judge of the Loſs, of the Indignity. And, as we may eaſily remedy this by our own Induſtry, ſo we cannot otherwiſe excuſe the Fault, our gracious Prince, no Queſtion, being ready to aſſiſt us herein by the ſame favourable Authority, which other Trades, for their Benefit, taſte moſt plentifully of, by forbidding the Sale and Uttering of Herrings to his loyal Subjects, by any Foreigner or Stranger whatſoever. And, in *Holland*, it is not lawful for them to buy any of our Herrings, if they be brought thither: nay, if we bring any thither, they are burned. Beſides what other Effects of his incomparable Clemency would bleſs our Induſtries herein, he being Lord Paramount of theſe Seas, where this Fiſhing-food groweth, and which now is taken by Strangers? And therefore he would not, queſtionleſs, allow Strangers to eat up the Food that was provided for the Children; the Crumbs we would not envy them, though we are now fed under their Table.

Now farther it may be alledged, That we can utter no ſuch Quantity, nor can afford any ſuch Pennyworth. For the Firſt, that muſt ariſe out of our Diligence. No Queſtion, we once attaining the Art of the *Flemiſh* Uſage of theſe Herrings, they will be in as great Eſtimation as the *Hollanders*, in *Normandy*, *Nantz*, *Bourdeaux*, *Rochelle*, and other ſuch Countries; for which, Return is made of Wine and Woad, for which is always paid ready Gold, with a Number of other Commodities. They will be in as great Eſtimation in the Eaſt Countries, *Revel*, *Rie*, *Ruſſia*, *Dantzick*, *Poland*, *Denmark*, the Returns whereof are ſet down in *Gentleman*; and the Quantity of Herrings, that theſe forenamed Countries conſume, is infinite. Therefore, though the *Hollanders* ſpend more Fiſh and Herrings by much, in their Countries, than we do, yet it is their foreign Trade with all other Nations, that is their Baſis, elſe they could never employ ſo many Ships, nor gain ſuch Wealth, nor get ſuch Strength thereby: And in all theſe Places we can and do trade, and all their Returns we need and uſe, and therefore may utter them in as great a Quantity as they do.

Then, for the Affording of Herrings and Fiſh at as good a Rate as they can, let any conſider of the Likelihood in our Behalf. *Firſt*, it ſtandeth with Reaſon, if we have the like Veſſels, we can go with as few Men; and our Fiſhermen on the Coaſt, by divers Reports, can live as hardly as they: And let any judge of the Hardneſs, when the principal Time of fiſhing for Herrings is in *September* and *October*, and a Six-weeks Time, and they are almoſt in Sight of our own Coaſts; and, beſides good Proviſion of Butter and Cheeſe and Beer, they have the Plenty of the Sea-fiſh; then, this Way, we may afford as good Pennyworths as they. But I go further, and ſay, that we have great Advantages of them.

The Seas be our own, therefore we journey not ſo far as the *Hollander* doth, whereby likewiſe our Travel and Charge muſt be lighter: Our Ports, Harbours, and Roads be at Hand; nay, which is more, all Utenſils and Appurtenances belonging to Shipping, as is before ſhewed (Pitch and Tar excepted) are found in our own Land, whereas they, with great Coſt, Pains, and Hazard, fetch them from ſix ſeveral Places: So then we ſhall be able to afford better cheap, than the *Hollanders*; and ſo we may ſell, when they cannot, and ſo the *Engliſh* ſhall and may weary them, and wear out thoſe Flouts, wherewith our poor Fiſhermen are ſcorned. For, if they be put by the Uttering of their Herrings Abroad, they will be driven to leave their great Ships, and fiſh in ſmaller Veſſels near the Shore, to ſerve their own Turns, as heretofore they have cauſed us to do; whenas, likewiſe, on every Tempeſt, they openly triumph over us for not taking the Bleſſings of God poured into our Laps.

Theſe Hindrances objected taken away, we may now reſort again to the ſweet Fountain of Profit; which, beſides that it watereth our private Eſtates with the continual Spring of great Gain, keepeth in our Treaſure, which exceedingly now waſteth, and bringeth in all Commodities, that either the Eaſt and North Countries, *France* or *Flanders*, afford, even for this Barter: It runneth into the Sea of the King's Cuſtom. The Venting only of Ten-thouſand Laſts of Herrings beyond Sea cometh to Five-thouſand Pounds, after the Rate of the ordinary Poundage, beſides the Cuſtom of Cod and Ling, very near as valuable as the Benefit of Herrings; the particular View whereof is ſet down by him whom I have ſo often named, and in whoſe Book you may ſee the Greatneſs of the Cuſtom amounting to above Fifty-thouſand Pounds Sterling, that accrueth to thoſe Countries out of this Fiſhing-trade: And yet all this, to them, is nothing. Their Keeping in their Treaſure, their Carrying away our Treaſure, their Abundance with all other Commodities, the Greatneſs of their Cuſtom this Way is nothing, in Regard of their Profit, Honour, Safety, that their Increaſe of Shipping, Increaſe of Mariners, this Way begetteth to themſelves, amongſt all Nations, to their State.

The Life of the Sea is in Shipping; nay, one may ſay to Ships, *Mare non eſt mare, vos eſtis mare.* The Beauty of the Sea is in Shipping; and ſure the Poets, affirming *Venus* to be the Daughter of the Sea, might mean a Ship by her; for, *Hæc una Venus omnium ſurripuit Veneres*; and this little Land of the *Hollanders*, exceeded in Quantity by *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, hath gotten this Sea, hath gained this *Venus*; *England*, *Scotland*, *France*, and *Spain*, for Shipping and ſea-faring Men, not anſwerable to them; and all ſpawned out of Fiſh and Fiſhing.

There hath been numbered, in Sight, two-thouſand Sail of Buſſes, and other good Veſſels, gone out to Sea, at once, of the *Hollanders*; and there have been found, by Computation, ſome thirty-ſeven Thouſand Fiſhermen, in divers Sorts of Veſſels, at one Time, employed herein. Hence proceed their great Undertakings, and prodigious Adventuring to all Places; hereby they outgo us, and overbear all Trades where-ever they come. We think the *Weſt-India* Gold to be the Cauſe of the Pride and Preſumption of *Spaniards*; we may aſſure ourſelves, that our *North-Indies* countervail that Treaſure, and are the only Confidence of the *Hollanders*, even by breeding Seamen, and increaſing of Shipping, in that Abundance, as that hereby they both ſwarm every where, and *France*, *Spain*, and the *Eaſt Countries* are full of their Shipping. Hence they fetch our Coals, and carry them Abroad; from *Norway* and *Dantzick* they bring us all Commodities, and carry forth ours, at a far better Rate than we can ourſelves: They have filled *Muſcovy*, whence we are emptied, with thither Shipping, and the *Streights* abound with them, once our

Poſſeſſion. They go into, nay they arm in the *Weſt-Indies*, where we may not be ſeen; and, in the *Eaſt-Indies*, they have had long ſettled Factories before us, and have four Men to one of ours there, and go beyond us as far; beſides the Number, in Store of goodly Shipping; whereby, as they hinder our Trade, ſo they forbear not, which I cannot but write with Stomach, the Honour of our King and Kingdom, as preſuming ſometimes to call themſelves *Engliſh*, and pretend Ambaſſage, and Preſents from his Majeſty, which they did to the King of *Siam*; in other Places calling the Crown and State of *England* into Compariſon, which made the King of *Achem* aſk Captain *Beſt*, Whether the King of *England*, or the King of *Holland*, were the greater Monarch?

Beſides, what an infinite Number of Ships and Men of War have they always in Readineſs at Home. And as the Inn-keeper of *Chalcis* ſaid to his Gueſt, admiring *tantam ferculorum varietatem*, It was, with Art, all cooked out of Pork; this their Store, this their Abundance, is raiſed all out of Fiſhing, Who then would not be moved? Who would not be ſtirred up therewith? Who would not go a Fiſhing? You ſee what Want we have of Shipping, what Want we have of Mariners, what Diſcouragements we have in Trades, what Wants our Men are in. When *Naaman*, the *Syrian*, complained to *Eliſha* of his Leproſy, he was bid to waſh himſelf in *Jordan* ſeven Times. He looked for other miraculous Courſes to be taken by the Prophet, and could hardly be perſuaded thereto, becauſe *Abna* and *Pharphar*, Floods of *Damaſcus*, were better. *Naaman* was a Heathen, and had never any Experience of God's *Jordan*, yet he was, in the End, perſuaded. To ſupply our Wants, to ſatisfy our Hunger, to heal our Diſeaſes, there is not a River, but a Sea ſhewn us, and that not in another Kingdom, but in our own; we are but bidden, Go and take Fiſh out of it; we are Chriſtians, and it is God that hath provided this Remedy; and we ſee, by Experience, no Water like ours, and we ſee our Neighbours, from every Place, reſorting thereto, and healing themſelves thereby. You ſee how it concerneth us, let us, in the End, likewiſe be perſuaded. What the Number is of our Seamen, bred and employed by all Sorts of Sea-trades, our petty Fiſhings excepted, may eaſily be gueſſed at, and whatſoever it may amount to. If, out of our whole Land, there be but four hundred Buſſes built, and ſet forth, of ſeventy Tons the Piece, there are, in two Years, nine thouſand Mariners more than was in the Land before; let Men of Experience and State judge of the Proportion, by the Way of Compariſon; every one can perceive the Increaſe ſimply. Beſides, by the Report of ſome of our beſt Mariners, theſe, thus bred, prove not only equal, but better able, than any bred otherwiſe, for Sea Affairs, and publick Service.

On this publick Profit of Fiſhing, thus ſpread Abroad, the Maintenance of Havens, and Haven-towns in *England* beſides, have no ſmall Dependency, and are ſo material to the Land, ſo plainly underſtood of all his Majeſty's Subjects, and ſo well wiſhed to by *Hitchcock* and *Gentleman*, that it is enough for me but to point at them; we all know the Uſe of them, they ſhew the Decay, and this Art, the Reparation and Maintenance of them.

The Uſe of this Fiſhing is implied much in the Profit, but more eminent, by the Conſideration again of the infinite Number otherwiſe of idle People, and out of Employment. Only by this Art, it is reported, not one goeth a Begging in all the *Low-Countries*: And what a Number of People have we, that, now deſtitute of Means, may, this Way, have a Calling? It is a grievous Sin, Idleneſs, and bringeth forth, as we ſee, horrible Effects: To get a Living by the Sweat of our Brows, is the Ordinance of God, and this Way there is a Recompence. There were found in *Yarmouth*, the laſt Year, three or four Hundred, and thoſe of honeſt Diſpoſition, that wanted Means: And how many Hundreds more are there, in other Places, that would gladly be thus uſed? *Hitchcock* alloweth, to every one in this Employment, twenty Pounds yearly, beſides his Diet, for his Reward; a good Savour to honeſt Men, that now have no Means; and this only out of two Voyages for Herrings. A Number of Carpenters and Shipwrights ſhall be ſet a Work, Coopers buſied, Numbers of People making Lines, Ropes, Cables, Dreſſers of Hemp, Spinners of Thread, Makers of Nets, bred; many Salt-houſes ſet up, beſides what Store of poor

People, all along on the Sea-coaſts, which are now very poor and idle in *England* and *Wales*, to be uſed in ſplitting of Fiſh, waſhing of Fiſh, packing, ſalting, carrying, and re-carrying of Fiſh. And on theſe foreſaid Occupations depends an infinite Number of Servants, Boys, and daily Labourers, for the Uſe of Things needful. *Nilus*, whoſe Fertility is envied, affordeth not ſo many Sorts of Fiſh, of Monſters, as this Fiſhing entertaineth Sorts of People: Which humbly committing to the high Diſpoſer of all Hearts, and to the due Conſideration thereby of his Miniſters here on Earth, I will leave further to enlarge, and ſhut up this abrupt Diſcourſe, with the Alluſion of that of *Baſil* to this Sea-buſineſs, *Putei*, *dum hauriuntur*, *ſpecioſiores*.

Now for a Corollary to all theſe imperfect Lines: Whereas, in the ſuperficial Survey of Want of Shipping, we find moſt of our Sea-trades, either decaying, or at a Stay; let me, out of themſelves, without Offence, propound the Conſideration of one Remedy thereto; even by a Freedom of Traffick for all his Majeſty's Subjects to all Places. Hereby his Majeſty's Cuſtoms will increaſe, the Navy and Seamen will receive Nouriſhment, out of more Employment; the whole Incorporation of Merchants reap Comfort, in that they may communicate with all Adventures; and the univerſal Body of the Subjects of the Land content, in that they may become Merchants, being very ready, in this adventurous World, to make new Diſcoveries; whereas, now otherwiſe, Merchandiſe, ſorting and ſettled in Companies, confineth Merchants into thoſe Limits that private Orders tie them in, ſo that they may not help themſelves, through any Diſcouragements in one Trade, but by Suit and Submiſſion of themſelves to the other; though, I ſay, their Trades fail them, and others have too much; nor may any elſe of the Kingdom come amongſt them, though never ſo able and well diſpoſed, unleſs they come in on ſuch Conditions, as the Victor pleaſeth to propound. A Thing, in ordinary Senſe, ſomewhat harſh to Fellow-ſubjects, and equal Citizens, in this great Monarchy, to be ſo ſerviceably tied, and ſubject one unto the other; and, the rather, for that thoſe Privileges, by the Indulgence of the Prince, being granted as a Reward to ſome for their Induſtries, and exemplary to others Encouragements, are ſtrictly uſed, to the eternal Benefit of a Few, and the Wrong of all the Reſidue.

The *French* Company manifeſted this plainly, which, if it had continued (and it began but the other Day) had undone all the *Weſtern* Men.

The *Muſcovy* Company declareth the ſame, as being granted on Condition of ſerving his Majeſty of all Materials (as Flax, Oil, Wax, Tallow, and Cordage) belonging to Shipping; whereas now it is ſupplied by Strangers, even ten for one Ship, and thoſe double our Burdens; and notwithſtanding they do not perform, and have let fall their Trade, yet none may enter but on their Conditions.

The *Greenland* Company, out of Pretence of their firſt Whale-hunting, keep all Fiſhermen (notwithſtanding they knew and uſed thoſe Seas) from further Reſort thither; and ſome Merchants of *Hull* were taken by them in that Journey, and brought back, notwithſtanding, as I am informed, thoſe Countrymen found it firſt.

The *Virginia* Company pretend almoſt all that Main, betwixt it and *Newfoundland*, to be their Fee-ſimple, whereby many honeſt and able Minds, diſpoſed to adventure, are hindered and ſtopped from repairing to thoſe Places, that either knew, or would diſcover unfound, even for Fiſhing.

The *Eaſt-India* Men, not able to furniſh thoſe Places they reſort to, keep out others from coming amongſt them; and to look into thoſe Parts they know not, and would give out of their Largeneſs and Riches Entertainment to all the Merchants in the Land. Beſides, how tedious and coſtly they, and all other Companies, make it to their own Aſſociates, whenas out of Orders, and Cauſe of Upholding their Trade, Men can neither diſpoſe of their own as they would, nor have the Benefit under a long Time? Beſides, how private do they, and other Companies, make it, when as out of Orders, and maintaining their Trade, how plentifully ſoever the Commodities are brought in, and at what Advantage ſoever they buy them, they will be ſure to keep up the Price, either by ſending moſt Part of the Commodities Abroad, or elſe by buying all others into their Hands? That Other is hard for the Owner ſometimes, but he doth it in his own Wrong; but to the Buyer this is always unjuſt, for that he ſuffereth, againſt his Will; the Commonwealth, made private, ſuffereth by all; this, that, the firſt, and all the more Diſcontentful, in that, beſides that all other Nations reſort freely to all thoſe Places whence they keep out their own Countrymen, the like Faſhion of Companies and Societies is not uſed in all *Chriſtendom* elſe, it being lawful and uſual to all others amongſt themſelves, promiſcuouſly to frequent and communicate with Places, and Trades, one by the other. Nay, this Separation of Trading, and Excepting of Subjects from Places, between divers Princes that had but Peace one with the other, was ſo admired and diſallowed of, formerly, that *Charles the Fifth*, Emperor, being moved by the *Portugueſe*, being under their own abſolute King then, to forbear the *Eaſt-India* Trade, becauſe they had found it; anſwered, *That he had Peace with them, and therefore he would have Trade with them; for they were not his Friends, but his Enemies, that would hinder him of it.* How much more may we, murmuring at this Iniquity, affirm that we are all *Britons*, all Subjects to one Royal King, all combined together in one natural League, and therefore not to be barred from Trading equally to all Places? Which his moſt gracious Majeſty, together with the whole Aſſent of the High Court of Parliament, openly profeſſeth; whenas there was enacted free Liberty for all his Majeſty's Subjects, to trade into the Dominions of *Spain*, *Portugal*, and *France*, with moſt ſufficient Reaſons therefore, for the Increaſe of Shipping, Mariners, Thouſands of Handicraft-men, of Prices of their own Commodities, and Augmentation of them, together with the Plenty of Foreign Commodities, and a Cheapneſs of them, and the bettering of his Majeſty's Cuſtoms. No one Man ever invented all Sciences, nor any Merchant found all Places; yet they make a Compenſation one to another. Society firſt began, and Knowledge and Civility, by Communication. But, if the World in their Infancy had been reſolved to have held private what they had in Poſſeſſion, and to have concealed what they knew, there had not only been no Civility, but no Society. Yet, as the firſt Maintainers of Society had their Honour, the firſt Inventors of Sciences and Arts their Rewards, and, in all well-diſpoſed States, the Induſtry of thoſe, that do benefit them, have their Encouragements; ſo is not this my Propoſition of free Trade otherwiſe entertained, than that there ſhould be a due Reſpect had of all worthy Adventurers, an eſpecial Conſideration of the Charges and Hazard of the firſt Diſcoveries; which the ſolercious *Hollander* examples us, by forbidding their own Subjects to trade to thoſe Places which ſome particular Purſe hath, or ſhall find out, before that the firſt Founders have received Benefit of their Pains and Charges; allowing them ſome ſix Returns to their own private Adventures, before any elſe ſet thitherward. If thoſe Adventures, or Returns, were increaſed here for the Finders Content, and Profit, there is no Man would grudge it: But to keep others out for ever, unleſs they pay, and ſubmit themſelves according to their Order, and to their Government, or, under the Pretence of one Place found, to include more than was ever meant, ſeems very injurious. Again: My Propoſition is not any Way ſo tumultuous, as that thereby I would excuſe all Order and Form of Government in Trades; or otherwiſe, to intend a promiſcuous Kind of Calling; or rather Confuſion of all Sorts. Who knoweth not that the Commonwealth conſiſteth, *Non ex medico, & medico; ſed ex medico, & agricola?* As alſo that there muſt be œconomical and diſcreet Partition and Proportion amongſt the Members, divers Trades, to maintain the general Body Commerce? I have only pointed at ſome Aberrations, but as the Novice, travelling through ſtrange Countries, *Tapmando*, or *tanquam canis ad Nilum*. The Proſecuting of this Argument would draw on a larger Diſcourſe than all the whole former, and would then exceed a Corollary, and detain the Reader too long. Neither like I the Iſſue of Meddling, when Men tire themſelves with Controuling of publick Matters, yet many Times cannot manage their own Affairs. I make no Intruſion into Merchants Myſteries, neither deſire to pry into the State's Secrecy. It was a fooliſh Complaint of the Poet, *Cur aliquid vidi?* It is much more for me to ſay, *Cur aliquid ſcripſi?* I am ſo far from giving any Cauſe of publick Offence, that I would not juſtly provoke any private Perſon. I was born in the City, and live amongſt Seamen. And as ſome Almanack-Makers, when they pretend Exactneſs in their Calculations, though they do but rove, uſe to appropriate their Obſervations to the Place they live in; ſo I, writing with the ſame Knowledge, would ſay I deſire Good to the Meridian of theſe two Places; notwithſtanding, as they ſay alſo, Theſe may ſerve alike to all the Land.

The

The Great Baſtard*, Protector of the Little One. Done out of the *French*. And for which, a Proclamation, with a Reward of 5000 Louis'dors, to diſcover the Author, was publiſhed. Printed at *Cologne*, 1689. *Quarto*, containing thirty Pages.

WE find in Holy Writ, that, in in the *Jewiſh* Law, it was expreſly provided by the Supreme Legiſlator, *That a Baſtard ſhould not enter into the Congregation of the Lord, even to the tenth Generation:* But it ſeems the unhappy Kingdom of *France* allows the Baſtard himſelf, not only to enter into the Congregation, but to ſettle himſelf upon the Throne, and to bear it higher than all the preceding Kings before him, which had a better Right to do it, as being the Offſpring of Kings, and not *the Sons of the People*, the proper Term the *Roman* Law gives to Baſtards. We have heard of the *Salick* Law, in Force in that Kingdom, for a great many Ages, by which the Crown of *France* cannot fall from the Sword to the Diſtaff; but, 'till the bleſſed Days of our Auguſt Monarch, we never had the Happineſs to be acquainted with a Law or Cuſtom, by which that was in the Power of a Queen of *France*, to provide us an Heir to the Crown, without the Concurrence of her Huſband, and to impoſe upon us, for our King, a Brat of another Man's Making. All the Reign of our Invincible Monarch has been a conſtant Series of Wonders; but, amongſt them all, this is none of the leaſt, That he, who was, in the Opinion of all the World, the Son of a private Gentleman, from his Birth to the End of the Prince of *Conde*'s Wars, has had the good Fortune to be, ever ſince, no leſs than the Son of *Lewis the Thirteenth*. After this, let no Body call in Queſtion the commonly ſuppoſed Fable of the Tranſmutation of *Iphis* from a Woman to a Man, ſince to be tranſlated from a Baſtard, to a Son lawfully begotten, is equally as difficult.

Among a great many other Quarrels I have with the *Engliſh* Nation, this is one, That they are a People too nice in believing Miracles; and their Haughtineſs is ſuch, as they ſcorn, forſooth, to believe Impoſſibilities: For albeit they, and all the reſt of the World about them, are firmly perſuaded, that the little Bauble Prince of *Wales* was never of Queen *Mary*'s Bearing, much leſs of King *James*'s Begetting; yet, if theſe Infidels had been as well-mannerly credulous, as we in *France* have been, of the wonderful Tranſmutation of our *Lewis le Grand*, they needed not have made all this Noiſe about the little Impoſtor Infant, but might have comforted themſelves in the Hopes, that he, who was a ſpurious Prince of *Wales* To day, might ſome Years hence, by a new *French* Way of Tranſubſtantiation, become a lawfully begotten King of *England*. But the Miſchief of all is, theſe ſtiff-necked Hereticks, ever ſince they fell off from the Communion of the Holy Church, make bold to call in Queſtion all our Miracles; and ſuch a one, as this would be, I am afraid they would ſtick at, amongſt others.

Good God! how happy had it been for *France*, yea, for a great Part of the World, that the *French* had been as great Infidels, upon the Point of Miracles, as the Heretick *Engliſh*; and that our *Lewis the Fourteenth* had been hurled out of *France*, when but Dauphin of *Viennois*, as the little Mock Prince of *Wales* has been out of *England*, when ſcarce well handled into the Light? What diſmal Tragedies has our *French* Impoſtor cauſed in *Chriſtendom*? How many Cities laid in Aſhes, Countries ruined, Families extinguiſhed, and Millions of Lives ſacrificed to the Vanity and Ambition of a Baſtard?

The *Hugonots* of *France*, of all People in the World, have moſt Reaſon to be aſhamed of their Conduct, with Relation to this ungrate Monſter, in the Time of his Minority, and of the Prince of *Conde*'s Wars: And theſe People, who diſown a thouſand Things in the Catholick Religion, merely upon the Account of their being, in their Opinion, irreconcilable to Reaſon, did ſtrangely contradict, not only common Fame, but even Reaſon itſelf, in being brought

---

* This is the 65th Number in the Catalogue of Pamphlets in the *Harleian* Library.

to think, that it was poſſible that *Lewis the Fourteenth* ſhould be the true Son of *Lewis the Thirteenth*, after near half a Jubilee of Years paſt in Marriage betwixt him and *Anne* of *Auſtria*, his Queen, without the leaſt Hope of Iſſue, with all the concurring Signs of a natural Impotency on his Side. But theſe Gentlemen have paid dear enough for their Opinions, and have had ſufficient Time and Occaſion to read their paſt Folly, in their preſent Affliction, and to call to Mind, with Regret, their unaccountable Madneſs, in aſſiſting him to re-aſcend the Throne of *France*, whom almoſt the whole Nation, the Princes of the Blood, and the Parliament of *Paris* had combined together to tumble down, and had certainly done it, if the *Hugonots* had not turned the Scale. Theſe poor *Hugonots* have had ſo many ſad Occaſions ſince to repent their Fault, that I confeſs it is ſcarce generous to upbraid the Miſerable with the Follies they cannot now amend, and which have brought upon them ſo many Misfortunes. And yet I muſt beg Leave to tell them, That as their Zeal to *Lewis the Fourteenth*'s unjuſt Intereſt was the original Cauſe, in my Opinion, of Heaven's thus afflicting them by his Hands; ſo indeed it was the true Motive that induced this Ungrate to ruin them. For thus it was, that he and his Jeſuitick Cabal reaſoned amongſt themſelves: If the *Hugonots* in the late Prince of *Conde*'s Wars, when the Crown was at Stake, were able to turn the Balance, and to draw Victory and Succeſs to the Side they eſpouſed, which at that Time was ours: By the ſame Parity of Reaſon, if the ſame *Hugonots* ſhall at any Time hereafter be induced to join againſt us, and to take our Enemy's Part, they will without all Doubt turn the Scale on the other Side, and prove as dangerous Enemies as formerly they were Friends; and thence, by a diabolical Way of Reaſoning, it was concluded that it was the true Intereſt of the Crown, that the *Hugonots* ſhould be utterly deſtroyed.

By the Way, I muſt, though contrary to my Inclination, do a Piece of Juſtice to *Lewis the Fourteenth*, in vindicating him from a common Aſperſion caſt upon him by the *Hugonots*, and it is this: Over and above the fouleſt Ingratitude imaginable (in which Charge I heartily agree with them) he is chargeable with, as to them they will needs load him to the Boot, with no leſs than Perjury and Breach of Faith, in not obſerving the famous Edict of *Nantz*, which was granted to them by King *Henry the Fourth*, and declared by him to be, in all Time coming, an irrevocable and fundamental Conſtitution of the State; which Edict, ſay they, *Lewis the Fourteenth* ſwore at his Coronation inviolably to obſerve. I confeſs this is a heavy Charge; but, to ſpeak no worſe of the Devil than he deſerves, in my Opinion our *Lewis le Grand* is not chargeable upon that Score, as not being bound to the Obſervance of that Edict, even though having ſworn it; if we ſhall conſider, that, by the expreſs Words of the Edict itſelf, King *Henry* obliges *Himſelf and his lawful Succeſſors only*, that is, thoſe who ſhall ſucceed to the Crown of *France* in a lawful Deſcent of Royal Blood. Now I think no Man will ſay, that, by this Clauſe of the Edict, an extraneous Perſon, ſuch as our Interloper *Lewis the Fourteenth*, is, can be included; and therefore, as having none of the Royal Blood of *France* in his Veins, he cannot be juſtly charged with Perjury or Breach of Faith, in not obſerving one Edict, which was declared and meant to oblige only the lawful Succeſſors of King *Henry the Fourth*.

Here I cannot but relate a Diſcourſe I had once with one of the Fathers of the *Capuchin* Order, the very Day after the Revocation of the Edict of *Nantz*, and which may ſerve to anſwer one Objection naturally ariſing, from what I have ſaid upon this Head. All *Paris* was filled with the Noiſe of this Affair, and, in every Corner, both Papiſt and Proteſtant were reaſoning upon it: Amongſt the reſt, the good *Capuchin* and I would needs turn both Stateſmen and Caſuiſts on the Subject. We loſt betwixt us all the Arguments we could fall upon, to vindicate, if poſſible, the King's ſo apparently unjuſt Action; and, in the End, we came to reaſon, how far the King was obliged to the Obſervance of the Edict of *Nantz*, upon Account of his not being indeed the lawful Succeſſor of *Henry the Fourth*, the Granter of it. But, ſaid I, 'Father, though I ſhould agree, 'that the King is not obliged by that Edict 'at firſt, for the Reaſon we have named, yet 'his Poſterior, ſwearing to obſerve it, makes 'him as liable to the Obſervance of it, as if he 'were really the true Succeſſor to *Henry the* '*Fourth*, and of the Royal Blood of *France*.' To this the *Capuchin* returned me a very ſatiſfactory Anſwer: 'Sir, ſays he, it ſeems you 'are but little acquainted with the Caſuiſtick 'Doctrine and Principles of the Jeſuits, and 'have not the Happineſs to be acquainted with 'Father *le Cheſe* the King's Confeſſor, ſo well ‘as I; and therefore I'll tell you one Evaſion, a Wit, like his, will ſoon find out to remove all needleſs Scruples from the King's Mind, ariſing from his Swearing the Edict of *Nantz*, and it is this: The Words of the Oath, which the King did take at his Coronation, were theſe: And ſeeing this Edict was declared to by King *Henry the Fourth*, our Grandfather of Glorious Memory, to be irrevocable, and that his lawful Succeſſors, the ſucceeding Kings of *France*, ſhould ſwear the ſame at their Coronation, therefore we do thereby promiſe and ſwear, faithfully and inviolably to obſerve the ſaid Edict all the Days of our Life-time. Now theſe being the very Words of the King's Oath (continues the *Capuchin*) How proper and eaſy was it for the Reverend Father *le Cheſe*, to tell him, Sire, You are not all obliged by this Oath, becauſe it leans upon, and contains in its very Boſom, a Suppoſition, upon the Removal of which, the whole Oath itſelf does neceſſarily fall, *viz.* your Majeſty's being the Grand-child of *Henry the Fourth*; which neither you yourſelf, nor no Body elſe does believe: So that, if your Majeſty has ſworn an Oath, wherein there is an expreſs Suppoſition that you are the Grandchild of *Henry the Fourth*, which you are not, the Oath itſelf, as leaning on that falſe Suppoſition, muſt neceſſarily fall with it, and becomes in itſelf void. I hope you are wiſer, (concludes the *Capuchin* to me) but to think that Father *le Cheſe* might uſe all this Freedom with his ignorant bigotted Pupil, inſlaved to his Direction, eſpecially that he is acquainted with all the Villainies of his Life, and in particular with his criminal Privacies with the Dauphineſs.’ Thus far the *Capuchin*'s Diſcourſe and mine; and I muſt ſay, upon Reflexion, I cannot divine an Evaſion which Father *le Cheſe* could have fallen upon more plauſible, to perſuade his inſlaved Pupil to revoke the Edict of *Nantz*, than this the *Capuchin* hinted at.

But I know the Reader will tell me, what means all this Pother, upon a mere Suppoſition that *Lewis le Grand* is a Baſtard, without making it appear, or proving that he is ſo? I acknowledge, that, of all the Taſks one ever ventured upon, that of proving a Man to be a Baſtard is the hardeſt; for, when a Woman deſigns to bring another than her Huſband to her Bed, ſhe uſes not to order ſuch and ſuch Perſons to ſtand by, that they may bear Teſtimony of her Crime; and though ſome Women may come the Length of Inadvertency or Impudence, in being too open in their Amours, yet when they have to do with a Gallant that is concerned in Honour, and obliged by his Character, to be more reſerved in his Pleaſures; it is not to be imagined, but ſhe will be taught to play her Part, if not chaſtely, yet cautiouſly. All the World knows that the Cardinals of *Richlieu* and *Mazarine* were capable of keeping their own Secrets; and yet it is to be regretted, that their Amours with our Invincible Monarch's Mother were hard enough to be concealed, ſo many are the Spies about the Courts of Princes.

That *Anne* of *Auſtria* found a Way to provide an Heir to *Lewis the Thirteenth*, without putting him to the Pains of getting it himſelf, will appear clearly enough, if we take a View of all the Circumſtances that meet in this Affair, which, all taken together, leave us no Room to doubt of that Queen's Concern for perpetuating her Huſband's Memory at any Coſt.

Common Fame was ever looked upon as a great Preſumption of the Truth of a Thing, eſpecially if joined to other concurring Circumſtances; and never did that prating Goddeſs extend her Voice louder, than in proclaiming to the World the ſpurious Birth of our Auguſt Monarch: Time was, when ſhe did not whiſper it in Corners, but expreſſed it in publick Pictures, Plays, Farces, and what not? Modeſty will not allow me to mention the bawdy Shapes of theſe two Sorts of Bread, called to this Day the *Queen*'s *Bread*, and the *Cardinal*'s *Bread*, ſold through *Paris*, and in moſt Places of *France*; ſo that, at that Time, one could ſcarce ſit down to eat, but he was put in Mind of the Queen and the Cardinal's Amours. It were in vain to enumerate the thouſandth Part of the *Satires* and *Paſquils* on this Subject, for a great many Years; each Pen outvying one another, in the Glory of propagating to Poſterity the Love Paſſions of theſe two Mighty Cardinal Miniſters of State; let this one upon Cardinal *Richlieu*, affixed on his Palace, ſerve for all:

What means th'Ungrate *French* to hate,
The only true Support of State?
What greater Favour could there be
Shewn to the King, Queen, State, all three;

Than to provide, by his unwearied Care,
The King a Son, the Queen a Huſband,
and the State an Heir?

Impotency is one of thoſe Imperfections, a Man is moſt unwilling to take with, being that which unmans him, and renders him the Scorn of his own, and the Abhorrence of the other Sex: It can only be proved by Preſumptions; and theſe are for the moſt Part reducible, either to his Indifference for the fair Sex in general, or for his own Wife in particular; the Weakneſs of his Conſtitution, or his Cohabiting with a Woman of a ſound Body, and proportioned Age, for a conſiderable Time, without having any Iſſue by her. All theſe Preſumptions, and ſome more than perhaps Decency will allow me to name, will be found in *Lewis the Thirteenth*, the ſuppoſed Father of our Auguſt Monarch.

I think there can be no greater Proof of a Man's Indifference for the Fair Sex, in general, or his own Wife in particular, than when a Man, in the Heat of his Youth, has a Right by Marriage to the Bed of a beautiful and young Princeſs, has her conſtantly in his View, and in his Power, and yet, at the ſame Time, can, for ſome Years together, abſtain from thoſe Embraces, which Marriage has not only made Lawful, but a Duty: And this unwonted Coldneſs, in Youth, is the more to be jealouſed, that, previous to the Marriage, the Man did expreſs an eager Impatience to enjoy his young Bride; for the ſubſequent Coldneſs and Abſtinence does clearly inſinuate a Conſciouſneſs of his being miſtaken of himſelf, and that upon Trial he has found his Power not anſwerable to his Will.

Of all this, we have a pretty clear Inſtance in *Lewis the Thirteenth*: Upon his being married by Proxy to *Anne of Auſtria, Infanta of Spain*, afterwards *Mother to our Invincible Monarch*, he expreſſed the greateſt Eagerneſs to enjoy her, and, having gone the Length of *Bourdeaux* to meet her, his Deſires vented themſelves in the following Letter, ſent her ſome few Days before her Arrival.

MADAME,

SINCE I cannot, according to my longing Deſire, find myſelf near you, at your Entry into my Kingdom, to put you in Poſſeſſion of the Power I have, and of that intire Affection I have in my Breaſt to love and ſerve you; I ſend you *Luyenes*, one of of the moſt truſty of my Servants, to ſalute you in my Name, and to tell you, that you are expected by me with the greateſt Impatience, to offer unto you myſelf: I pray, therefore, receive him favourably, and believe what he ſhall tell you, Madam, from your moſt dear Friend and Servant,

LEWIS.

The Strain of this Letter ſeems to be warm enough, and the Word, *Offer of Himſelf*, is pretty expreſſive, as coming from a young Bridegroom, to a young and beautiful Bride. Now who would have dreamed, but this Skirmiſhing by Letters ſhould have produced a fixed Battle at Meeting? But, alas! our Youngſter, having bedded his Queen but for the Space of two Hours, riſes up from his Nuptial Bed, too late conſcious to himſelf of his Unfitneſs for the Sports of *Venus:* And, albeit he was in his Queen's Company every Day for four Years thereafter, his falſe Deſires never led him once again, during all that Time, to try a ſecond Rencounter: Yea, it was expected by every Body, he ſhould never have ventured to bed the Queen again, if his Favourite *Luyenes* had not tricked him into it, the very Night of his Siſter's Marriage with the Prince of *Piedmont:* For, *Luyenes* finding the King in a good jolly Humour, and talking more wantanly than ordinary, he graſps him out of his Bed, in his Arms, and throwing a Night-Gown about him, brings him unexpectedly into the Queen's Bed. It was indeed pretended, that the Reaſon of this four Years Abſtinence was, for Fear the Marriage-bed might hinder the King's Growth, and enervate his Strength: And yet it is hard to believe, that ſuch a Politick Conſideration could prevail with a Man that had any boiling Blood in his Veins. But every Body will be apt, at the firſt Daſh, to draw this Conſequence from it, that there was more in it of a Winter Chilneſs, than uſually ſuits with Youth.

From the Beginning of the Year 1619, to 1638, King *Lewis the Thirteenth* continued to cohabit with his Queen; and often in his melancholy Fits, to which he was naturally ſubject, he would complain to his Confidents, that he knew certainly the Queen would have no Children to him. Upon which fell out a remarkable Paſſage, that ſerves mightily to unriddle ſome Difficulties in this Affair: One

Day at *Fontainebleau*, the Time of his Brother Monſieur's Wars againſt him, being in a ſullen Fit, he began to regret, to ſome few about him, his Misfortune of not having Children of his own Body; which, he ſaid, was the Cauſe of Monſieur's Inſolence againſt him, and of his Power with the People, as being preſumptive Heir of the Crown. Hereupon ſome of them began to tell him, that, for Reaſons of State, it was very fit to procure a Divorce from the Queen; and that, perhaps, another Wife might bring him Children to heir the Crown of *France*, and put Monſieur beſide the Cuſhion. But *Luyenes*, who knew the King's Infirmity beſt, taking him aſide, told him with his uſual Freedom, ‘Sire, unleſs you reſolve ‘to ruin yourſelf, for good and all, let ‘there never be the leaſt Mention made, in ‘Time coming, of a Divorce from the Queen; ‘for, if any ſuch Thing ſhall come to her Ears, ‘ſhe will be ſure to lay the Blame of her Barrenneſs upon your Majeſty; and this every ‘Body will believe, and which will render ‘Monſieur's Pretenſions inſupportable.' And indeed, it was from this Conſideration, that the Motion of a Divorce was ever afterwards laid aſide, leſt the Queen ſhould be provoked, to tell out the Truth, and thereby Monſieur's Intereſt elevated a Pin higher than ſuited with the King's Safety.

There is another great Preſumption of one's Impotency, when a Man evinces himſelf to be indifferent not only for his own Wife, but for the whole Fair Sex in general. *Lewis the Thirteenth* gave ample Proofs of this Sort of Virtue, if it be one; having been never ſeen to caſt one ſingle warm Glance at any of the Beauties of the Court, and never heard to utter one Expreſſion that could be interpreted amorous.

Of this Indifference of his, for the Fair Sex, there is one pretty Inſtance, in an Expreſſion he had to Monſieur his Brother, upon the Occaſion of his marrying the Duke of *Lorrain*'s Daughter againſt the King's Will. Monſieur having told him, by Way of Excuſe, that he chuſed to marry at any Rate, rather than to live in Whoredom; and one of the two, he ſaid, his Conſtitution obliged him to do: ‘Brother, replies the King, you, and I, it ſeems, are of ‘different Tempers, for I could live all my ‘Life without either of them.' Here was a modeſt, though untimely Confeſſion of his Indifference, if not Impotency; and indeed Monſieur was not wanting to improve it in his Circular Letters, he wrote to his Partiſans, a few Months after, upon his Retiring to *Bruſſels*.

There is another Story, much of the ſame Nature, that paſſed betwixt the King and his Favourite *Luyenes*, about the Divorce from the Queen, when it was firſt talked of: *Luyenes* told him, That the only Way to ſtop the Queen's Mouth, in the Matter of the Divorce, was for the King to give an Evidence, that her Barrenneſs was not from his Fault, by trying to get Children by ſome other Woman; and, hereupon, he mentioned one of the handſomeſt Ladies about Court, as a fit Miſtreſs for him. The King anſwered coldly, ‘Mais je vous aſſure *Luyenes*, je ne ſonge ‘pas a telles choſes;' But I aſſure you, ſays he, *Luyenes*, I do not think upon theſe Things; and ſo the Diſcourſe was dropped.

I ſhall only name one other Inſtance more, of the King's Indifference for the fair Sex, becauſe it was ſo publick, and had ſo much of Rallery in it. The King being one Day playing at Cards with Madamoiſelle *Rambouilet*, it happened that the King alledged upon her, ſhe had dropped a Card on Deſign, ſaying he would have it, be where it will: The Lady, finding ſhe was diſcovered, ſlipped the Card into her Breaſt, ſaying, ‘Sire, I am aſſured ‘you will not take it out here.' Which was true, for the King gave over any further Search, when he ſaw the Card was in her Boſom.

A great many attributed this Indifference of the King's, for his own Lady, and all other Women, to the Weakneſs of his Conſtitution; and, indeed, he was of the tendereſt and ſicklieſt imaginable, being, from his Birth, weak in his Limbs, and aſthmatick to his Dying-day. The Duke of *Eſpernon*, rallying one Day with the King's Phyſician, told him, He was afraid the King might over-heat himſelf, in the Embraces of a young and beautiful Queen. The Phyſician, nodding his Head, anſwered him, It muſt be a great Heat that will thaw his Majeſty's Ice.

But though *Lewis the Thirteenth* had been a juſt Admirer of his own Queen, and of the fair Sex in general, and had neither been branded with Impotency, nor known to be of a weakly Conſtitution, What a wonderful Thing was it, that what a Man could not do, in the Heat of his Youth, he ſhould, in the Beginning of the Autumn of his Age, and that there ſhould be twenty-three Years betwixt their Marriage, and the Birth of their firſt Child! I remember the Poets tell us, That *Jupiter*, when he was to beget *Hercules*, was neceſſitated to make a Night three Times longer than the ordinary; ſo difficult was it, even for the Father of the Gods, to beget an Hero: But our invincible Hero, *Lewis le Grand*, required a longer Time to be gotten than *Hercules*, and twenty-three Years was little enough Time to produce our auguſt Monarch. What a Shame was it for Cardinal *Richelieu* to throw away ſo much Pains to no Purpoſe? And how eaſy had it been to have made the King a Father, and the Queen a Mother, in the twentieth Part of that Time, if he had but underſtood the new *Engliſh* Way of getting and bearing Children? But, it ſeems, the Art of impoſing Infant Princes was not then brought to that Perfection, it has been of late; and *Anne* of *Auſtria* was not ſo good a Proficient in the Trade, as *Mary* of *Modena*. What needed the Former have made herſelf the Talk of all *France*, for her Intrigues with her two Cardinals? It had been the eaſieſt Thing in the World to make her a Mother, without the Trouble of one ſingle Throw. A cloſe Baliſter about the Bed, and a convenient Paſſage at the Head of it, with a wary Midwife, and one or two more truſty Confidents, might have done juſt as well.

But the Curſe of all was, our *Lewis the Thirteenth* was neither to be impoſed upon, in ſuch an Affair, nor could be brought into the Deſign himſelf; his Malice to his Brother, the next Heir, though at War with him, came not up to that Length, as to cheat him of the Throne. And, though *Lewis the Thirteenth* had been capable of ſo great a Weakneſs, or rather Madneſs, his Brother Monſieur was too much concerned, to let the Queen impoſe upon him one to exclude him from the Crown. During the Queen's Bigneſs, Monſieur had his conſtant Spies about her, to watch her Motions, and to tell him every Thing that paſt. Upon the News of the Queen's being in Labour, Monſieur was not out of the Way, but haſtens away to her Bed-chamber; and his Sedulity and Watchfulneſs was ſcarce allowable in Modeſty; the leaſt Circumſtance, about the Mother and Child, did not eſcape his prying Curioſity, and the Field of Nature itſelf was laid open to his View; ſuch is the Misfortune of Princeſſes, when bearing Children, in Prejudice of other Men's Rights. Monſieur, retiring [redacted] his Chamber, in a melancholy Mood, as he had good Reaſon, was aſked of, by *Eſpernon*, what he had ſeen; 'Alas! ſays he, I am ſure I ſaw it come out, but, who the Devil put it in, I know not.'

Queen *Mary* of *Modena* took a ſhorter Cut, and a more modeſt Method of Lying-in: She would neither allow the Princeſſes concerned, to ſearch into her Bigneſs, nor permit any, in their Name, to be preſent at her Labour: The poor Princeſs of *Denmark* was hurried away to the *Bath*, upon the Pretence of her Health; and the Queen Dowager was not brought in, till the Game was over. And who can blame a modeſt *Italian*, to be more reſerved in the Secrets of Nature, than a blunt *Spaniard*? How happy was it for the Firſt, that, inſtead of two Princeſſes at a Diſtance, ſhe did not meet with a bluſtering Duke of *Orleans*, to peep more narrowly into the Scheme of her Contrivances, and render her and her Plot ridiculous?

But, to return to the happy Birth of our *Lewis le Grand*, it ſeems all the Endeavours of Cardinal *Richelieu*, to provide an Heir for *France*, were unſucceſsful: Whether his Brain, and his other Parts, were not of a Piece, or his preſſing Cares of State, joined to ſome natural Impediment, were the Cauſe of it, I cannot tell; but it was reſerved for a Perſon of a meaner Condition, though of a more robuſt Conſtitution, to effectuate what this conſummate Churchman had attempted in vain: Monſieur *le Grand*, a Gentleman of a comely Perſon, and ſprightly Spirit, and a courtly Genius, was looked upon as the fitteſt Perſon to make up the Defects of an impotent King, and a wearied favourite Cardinal. This Carpet-knight was admitted into the Embraces of the Queen, and, by her teeming Belly, ſhe found, within a few Months, that ſhe had hit upon a fit Stallion to propagate the Royal Family of *France*.

It is generally thought, this Gentleman was not ſo much the Queen's own Choice, [redacted] of *Richelieu*; and that this refined Miniſter perſuaded the Queen to entertain Monſieur *le Grand* for her Gallant, out of a mere Principle.

ple of State, as being more likely to make the Queen a Mother, than he himſelf was: And this is the rather believed, that it is generally known that, immediately after the Queen was found to be with Child, Monſieur *le Grand* was diſmiſſed the Court, upon the honourable Pretence of being made Lieutenant-criminal of *Provence*, the wily Cardinal fearing his Intimacy with the Queen might prejudice him in her Favour; and, indeed, after this Job was done, the Cardinal had no more Uſe for him, as the Sequel made it too evident.

Pliny tells us a Story of the Wolf, That he never ſees his Sire, becauſe, ſays he, he is murdered by the reſt of the Wolves, out of Envy, that he was preferred by the She-wolf before them. The ſame Fate had the Father of this rapacious Creature, *Lewis the Fourteenth*; for, being nooſed into the Conſpiracy of Monſieur *de Monmorency*, he was beheaded at *Tholouſe*, by the Cardinal's expreſs Command; who was unwilling the Queen ſhould have an abler Gallant, than himſelf, for the Future.

I cannot but regret the Fate of this poor Gentleman, in being firſt brought to the Bed of a Queen, and thereafter in having his Head chopped off, merely that he might not tell Tales, or give any Jealouſy to his Rival, in the Queen's Favour: Yet I judge him happy in this, that he did not live to ſee the Monſter he had begotten.

There happened a memorable Paſſage at his Death, which was this: Being all along, after his Condemnation, laid aſleep with an Aſſurance of a Pardon, even upon the Scaffold, to the End he might not diſcover any of his Criminal Secrecies with the Queen; at laſt, being deſired to lay down his Head, for the Blow, he came to underſtand, too late, that he was cheated out of his Life; and juſt when he was Beginning to expreſs himſelf in theſe Words: 'O! la Vanite d' eſtre aime d' une feme 'cruele, *&c.*' O! the Vanity of being loved by a Woman cruel, and devoted to the villainous Councils of a Church-man. Here the fatal Axe did put an End to the Sentence, and to his Life together.

This End had Monſieur *le Grand*, Father of our Auguſt Monarch: And it is but juſt, his Son ſhould bear the Name of *le Grand*, not as an Epithet, but as the Sirname of his Father, *le Grand*, by Way of Epithet, being never his Due. And thus was Cardinal *Richelieu* revenged upon him, for being a fitter and abler Gallant to the Queen, than himſelf, tho' at firſt he was not only the Privado, but the firſt Encourager of their Amours.

When I am on this Subject, I cannot but mention a Droll Sort of Letter, written about that Time by Monſieur to the Duke of *Lorrain*, his Brother-in-Law, from *Bruſſels*, which was afterwards found among the Duke of *Lorrain*'s Papers, taken at St. *Michael*, which was to this Purpoſe: 'Your Highneſs accuſes 'me unjuſtly, for not obtaining from Mon-'ſieur *le Grand*, when he was with me, a 'Declaration of his Privacies with the Queen; 'which you ſay, would have mightily fur-'thered my Affairs: But, Sir, though Mon-'ſieur *le Grand*, at ſome certain Times, out 'of a Tranſport of Fury againſt the Queen, 'for her Unkindneſs, as he termed it, would 'confeſs to me the whole Secrets paſt be-'twixt the Queen and him; yet the very next 'Moment, he would paſs from all he had 'ſaid, and affirm, that what he ſpoke for-'merly was but in Jeſt. One Night, when 'we were ſpeaking of retiring from Court, I 'brought him to promiſe, that he ſhould wait 'on me the next Morning, to give an ample 'Declaration of what I ſought of him; but 'he changed his Mind that very Night, and 'told me the next Day, that he would do it 'ſome other Time, when our Affairs were bet-'ter ripened. Being aſtoniſhed at this ſud-'den Change, I found by Inquiry, that the 'Cardinal had ſent for him that very Night, 'and that he was in his Privy-Chamber above 'an Hour together; and what paſt betwixt 'them two, I cannot divine, but by the E-'vent. Notwithſtanding of all this,' concludes Monſieur's Letter, 'I cannot think 'but this Unfortunate has left ſome ſuch De-'claration in the Hands of ſome of his Friends, 'which if it could be fallen upon, would migh-'tily conduce to the Good of our Affairs, '*&c.*'

In this Letter, we ſee Monſieur aſſerts plainly, that Monſieur *Le Grand* confeſſed to him his Privacies with the Queen, and had promiſed in his angry Fits, to declare them under his Hand; though I muſt ſay, it was not generous on his Part, let the Queen's Ingratitude to him be what it will; and it is more than probable, that the taking Vent of this Affair haſtened his Ruin. It ſeems Madamoiſelle, who is yet alive, Daughter to Monſieur, was perſuaded of the Truth of this Intrigue; and that her Father had told her, how little Right *Lewis* XIV, had to the Crown; ſince a great many Years after, at the Barricado of *Paris*, this Princeſs went in Perſon to the *Baſtile*, and with her own Hand, fired the firſt Gun, againſt the King's Forces, with this Expreſſion, 'I know of no Right he 'has here.'

If Likeneſs be a Sign of a near Relation, never were there two Faces liker to one another, than theſe of our Invincible Monarch, and Monſieur *le Grand*. And I muſt acknowledge the Wiſdom of the Queen, in cauſing Monſieur *le Viſme*, her Painter, to call in all the Pictures of Monſieur *le Grand*, that he could poſſibly get into his Hands, when ſhe found her Son betrayed his true Father by his Phyſiognomy: For thoſe, who have ſeen both the Originals, will ſay, there was Need of all this Caution.

Thus the Cardinal *Richelieu* had the Honour of being a Gallant to a Queen, and upon Trial of his own Want of a prolifick Quality, had the Goodneſs to provide another better qualified than himſelf: Notwithſtanding of this Obligation the Nation has to him, I cannot forgive his Inſolence in ordering theſe Words to be engraven in capital Letters, upon the Pedeſtal of *Lewis* XIII's Statue, in the Palace Royal, 'Cardinalis Richlieus Coadjutor ſuus 'in omnibus ſuis negotiis:' The Cardinal *Richelieu*, his Helper in all his Affairs: As if it had not been enough to have cuckolded his Maſter, without erecting him a Statue, merely to tell the World that he did ſo.

As Similitude in Faces is often a Sign of a Relation in Blood, ſo the Likeneſs of Condition is as often an Incentive to Love, and the Motive to Friendſhip: Let No-body therefore blame *Lewis the Great*, for patroniſing the little Prince of *Wales*; it is but reaſonable the Great Baſtard ſhould protect the Little One, and endeavour to ſet upon the *Engliſh* Throne juſt ſuch a Creature as is already up on the *French* one.

It is juſt with our Great Baſtard, as with the Fox in the Fable, who had the Misfortune to loſe his Tail; he would needs perſuade his Neighbours to cut off theirs, that thereby he might hide his own Infirmity: It is certain *Lewis the Fourteenth* would be content that all the Scepters of *Chriſtendom* were only ſwayed by Baſtards, that his own Spuriouſneſs might be the leſs taken Notice of. And if it be true, that ſome Lawyers affirm of the old Law of *Normandy*, that by it Baſtards did exclude the lawfully Begotten; no Body has Reaſon to exclaim againſt *Lewis le Grand*'s Succeſſion to the Crown of *France*, ſince he is a *Norman* by Birth, as born at St. *Germain en Lye*, the hithermoſt Town of that Province.

Methinks I hear the little Prince of *Wales*, or rather his true Parents, exclaiming againſt me heavily, for calling him ſo often a Baſtard, and thus pleading againſt the Injuſtice of my Pen: 'What Devil muſt inſpire a Man to 'call one a Baſtard, that is really begotten in 'lawful Wedlock; and though he had the 'good Fortune to be brought into Queen *Mary*'s Bed, by a ſkilful Midwife, to be there 'owned for her own Son, yet all this makes 'him not a Baſtard: And pray who would 'have refuſed to lend their Son to the Heir of 'three Crowns?' I confeſs there is Reaſon in all this; and I am very inclinable to excuſe both the little Impoſtor and his Parents, ſince few would have refuſed ſuch an Offer; and I oblige my ſelf, That if ever I happen to be in *England*, when the Gentleman comes to be King, I ſhall beg his Pardon for giving him a Name he deſerves not.

The whole and true Diſcourſe of the Enterpriſes and ſecrete Conſpiracies, that haue bene made againſt the Perſon of *Henry de Valois*, moſt Chriſtian King of *Fraunce* and *Poland*: Wherupon followed his Death, by the Hand of a young *Iacobin* Frier, the firſt Day of *Auguſt*, 1589; whereby the Enemies of the Crown thought to haue reduced and brought all *Fraunce* to their Will and Deuotion. Together with the Aſſembly, that the King, before his Death, made of the Princes of the Blood, Lordes, and Gentlemen, that were in his Armie, with the Heads of the Straungers, to whom he declared his laſt Will. *Engliſhed* out of the *French* Copie, printed at *Caan* in *Normandie*. Imprinted by *Thomas Purfoote*, and are to bee ſoulde at his Shoppe, without *New-gate*, ouer againſt S. *Sepulchers* Church. 1589. In *black Letter*. *Octavo*, containing twelve Pages.

YF the holy Scripture, yea, God himſelfe expreſly forbid vs (and that with threatning vs to fal into the Indignation and Iudgment of the higher Power) that we ſhould not in any Wiſe touch or hurt the Anoynted of the Lord, it is a Matter worthy to bee wondred at, that hee, who calleth himſelfe the Preacher of the Goſpel, ſhould ſo far forget himſelfe, as that hee neither knewe, nor vnderſtoode the Will of God, who ſo greatly eſteemeth, and ordaineth to bee honoured and reſpected, the Partie to whom hee committeth the Gouernment of a Common Weale, although hee vſe Rigoure and Seueritie.

And who, I pray you, from Time out of Mans Memorie, can giue vs Teſtimonie of ſo wretched an Act, and ſo worthie of euerlaſting Blame, to haue hapened, and to haue bene committed and perpetrated in all *Chriſtiandome*, as that, which is yet all bloodie in our *Fraunce*, committed againſt our ſo gracious and mercifull King, *Henrie de Valois*, King of *Fraunce* and *Polande*? An Act, verily, vtterlie vnworthy a Chriſtian, and that would not be beleiued to haue bin exerciſed amongeſt the moſt barbarous Nations of the World.

We find, yea in the holy Scriptures themſelues, that there haue bine Reuoultings, Diſcontentments, Contradictions, and Murmurings; and that, in the Ende, many People haue rayſed Wars againſt their Kings and Princes, by Reaſon of the great Subſidies, Impoſtes, and heauie Burthens, and other Charges, that were layde vpon their Shoulders, very hard and vneaſie to be borne; but it is not found, that there hath an Aſſault and Murder ben done, nor conſpired, againſt the Soueraigne Authoritie.

Wee read of *Salomon*, who had impoſed and layd vpon the Backes of the People, that were committed vnto him by the Authoritie of God, importable Burdens, wherewith the Subiects felt themſelues ouerturned and wholy opreſſed. *Ieroboam*, his welbeloued Seruaunt, albeit hee had received Newes by *Abias*, the auncient Prophet of God, that hee ſhold raigne ouer tenne Tribes of *Iſraell*, and that there ſhould but one of the Tribes remaine in the Houſe of *Dauid*; yet the ſaide *Ieroboam*, being at Difference and Diuiſion with his Mayſter, had rather to flie from the Face of his Mayſter *Salomon*, and to go into *Egipt*, then to quarrell with him: Notwithſtanding, when *Salomon* was dead, and his eldeſt Sonne, *Roboam*, ſucceeded in the Kingdome, *Ieroboam*, by the Aduertiſement of the People, was enformed howe all Matters went; who, when hee was returned, togither with the People, exhibited a Supplication to the King to eaſe them of thoſe heauie Burdens, that his Father had layde vppon them. Whereto King *Roboam* woulde not yeilde, and they went there Waies, very greatly diſcontented. And the ſaide *Ieroboam* raigned ouer tenne of the Tribes of *Iſraell*, who crowned him Kinge and Ruler ouer them: But they long continued not in that Eſtate, but the Vengeance of God fel vppon them after the Death of the ſaide *Roboam*. And amongeſt all that is written of this goodly Hiſtorie, in the Book of *Paralipomenon*, the thirteenthe and fourteenthe Chapters, and in the firſte Booke of *Kinges*, the firſte, ſeconde, thirde, fourthe, and other Chapters following, there is no Mention made (though there wanted no Meanes) of the Practiſing amongeſt them of any other Meanes, nor of any other Kinde of Aſſaulting the King (though hee were conſtrained to flee vnto *Ieruſalem*) nor of *Abias* his Sonne, that raigned after him. Wee finde alſo, that, in the Warres, many Kinges haue bene ſmitten and ſlaine; others alſo, by the iuſt Iudgment of God, haue bene killed and wounded by diuerſe ſtraunge mortall Woundes. The Reuerence due to the King, aſwell in the Warres, as otherwiſe, hath bene, and yet is in ſo great Accompt, that there is an Obſeruation in the Warres, when the King is there in Perſon, to crie aloude, *Saue the Kinge, ſaue the Kinge*.

They will aledge, It was done vppon Wrath and Indignation, for that which was executed vppon Mounſire *de Guyſe* by hys Maieſties Commaundement.

I aunſweare them: It is not the Part of a Seruaunt, nor of any other, whomſoeuer, to make himſelfe equall and euenlyke, nor to compare himſelfe with the Aucthority, Power, or Highnes of an Emperor, Kinge, or Magiſtrate, who executeth and diſpoſeth of his Affaires, as pleaſeth himſelfe, and according to his good Counſell: After whoſe Example, and in Imitation of hym, if perticuler Perſons ſhoulde take vppon them to make [illegible] ces, and to entermeddle in the Rule and Gouernment of the Ciuil Eſtate and the Affaires of the Kingdome, What Order, what Gouernment, what Iuſtice ſhoulde wee haue therein? To whom might it bee ſaide, that the Obedience were due, which wee proteſt to yeild, in the Name of God, to our Superiours, whome hee hath ordeined and eſtabliſhed ouer his People.

There is no Queſtion, nor Controuerſie, but that a long Time there hath bene verie ſecret Practiſing againſt the Kinge; for his Maieſties owne ſelfe hath often diſcouered verie euident Tokens thereof, whereby hee might eaſilie bee perſwaded of their canckred Heartes toward him; as may appeare by the Serching and Sifting, that the Houſe of *Guyſe* hath made, as being deſcended from *Charlemaine*, vpholding the Bull of Pope *Stephen*, in the Behalfe of *Pepin*, Kinge of *Fraunce*, and of his Wife, with their two Iſſues Males, one of the which was the ſame *Charlemaine*: The which Bull (next after the Conſecrating and Anoynting of the Regality, in the Perſon of the ſaide *Pepin* and his Wife, by the ſame Pope) conteineth a Iudgment of Curſe againſt them that ſhoulde preſume to enterpriſe the *French* Scepter, and preuaile to obtaine the ſame, except they were ſuch, as ſhoulde diſcend from the ſaide *Pepin* and his Race. There haue bene other ſufficient Occaſions brought to Light, which I will paſſe in Silence.

But I wonder why they laid that ſo long aſide, and oppoſed not themſelves, to them that have raigned ſithence that Time. I wotte well that they have ruled and gouerned in *Fraunce* in their Time, and that nothing was done, but what they allowed for the moſt Part.

And to alleadge at this Daie, that the King had hardely dealt with them: Hee that had brought to Light ſo many Dealinges, and Enterpriſes, they indeuoring and purpoſing to aide and defend themſelves with a [illegible] and Aſſociation (in a Manner) of all the Townes and Communalties of all *Fraunce*, where they could get Audience. This Kinde of Proceding was, in truth, concluded and determined from the Councel of *Trent:* And being aſſured of a great Number of People, as well Churchmen, as Gentlemen, and of the thirde E[redacted] vnder Colour of the revniting of [redacted] and Religion, and alſo of the aſſwaging and leſſening of the Impoſitions, Taxes, and Subſidies, that the Kinge demanded, by Reaſon of the Neceſſity of the Affaires of his Kingdome; and of other Prankes, wherwith, I may well ſay, a great Number of Folke were bewitched, forſaking their Kinge, who onlye hath Power and Authoritie in his Kingdome to take Order in all ſuch Matters, the which People ſtayed themſelues upon certaine perticuler Perſons, that have not any Meane to accompliſh the ſame, but only by taking their Swordes in Hande, and altogether to inforce the Kinge to graunt to their Minds, or elſe to conſtraine him to yeild up his Scepter; and intending thus to winne the Authority that they ſeeke to haue ouer all *Fraunce*; to bring all Things into Confuſion and Diſorder; to murder all them that ſhould refuſe to be obeident to their Will; to ſeaſe their Goods and Poſſeſſions; to recompence the Heades of theſe Warres, for their good Seruice imployed for this League, at their Coſtes. Theſe Matters are wel ynough knowne to many, by the Actions that they have committed, yea, and after what Sort they have led the Kings Maieſtie about, who, for a certaine Space, diſtruſted not their Hipocriſie and Diſſimulation. But they could not ſo couertlye and cunningly playe their Game, but it was eſpyed, how they had deliberated to ſhutte the Kinge up in a Religious Houſe, there to finiſh the Reſt of his Dayes.

Now when this Confederacie and League was thus confirmed and ſetled, and the Time of the Execution of their Intent drewe neere, we know howe the Kinge was conſtrained to withdrawe himſelf from *Paris*, and all thoſe Matters that enſued thervppon, vntill the Aſſembly of his General Eſtats at *Bloys*. At which Place, in the Beginning, the Kinge of *Nauarra*, and all thoſe of his Race, are declared to be vnmeet and vncapable to ſucceed to the Crowne of *Fraunce*, as Men attainted and conuicted of Hereſie, in their onely Judge[redacted] with Confiſcation of all their Poſſeſſions. In which Place they thought veryly to have accompliſhed and attained to the Perfection of their ſecrete Intents and Complots. But, when Matters ſtirred and turned otherwiſe then they expected, and the Eſtates ceaſed, they muſt needes open the Cloſet of their Heartes, whereby were reuealed their Fautors and Aſſiſters. And, even as there was left but one Tribe of the Children of *Iſraell* in the Houſe of *David*, in the Handes of Kinge *Roboam*, the lawfull and naturall Sonne, and rightfull Succeſſor of his Father *Salomon*; ſo did the Kinge finde himſelfe ſtripped of all his good Townes, Noblemen, and an infinite Number of Men at Armes, ſo that he had no ſure Acceſſe nor Place of Retrait, ſaving in the leſſer Part of his Kingdome, though there were many of his Side in the Proteſtant Townes, but the Force was not in their Hands. Seeing themſelues then thus ſtrong, they cried, *God ſaue the League, God ſaue the League:* The which Word, becauſe it ſeemed odious, they haue changed into *Vnion.*

The Kinge weighing and conſidering this Kinde of Proceeding, and perceiving their Demeanors, Pride and Ambition, ſetling and rooting in the Hartes of theſe Hypocrites, the Taking of his Townes, Borroughes, Caſtels, and ſtrong Holdes, with double Aſſurance of Men in Pay, and out of Pay; it was neceſſarie for him to craue Aid els where; and as hee was alwaies well aſſured of the good Will of the Kinge of *Nauarra*, his Brother-in-law, toward him, ſo did he not ſticke nor make any Difficultie to call him to his Aide: Whereto the ſaide Lord would not in any Reſpect diſobey, notwithſtanding the Rigour of the Edicts and Declarations that the ſaide King of *Fraunce* had made againſt my ſaide Lord the King of *Nauarra*, and his Aiders, and had cauſed their Goods and Poſſeſſions, both mouable and unmouable, to bee ſolde, according to the Deſire of his Enemies the Leaguers, beſides other Matters which they cauſed the ſaide deceaſed Kinge to doe by Force, for the moſt Part, and wherein moſt often hee knew not what hee did. Which Matters the ſaide Lord, the Kinge of *Nauarra*, hath ſufficiently ſet downe at large in all his Proteſtations that he hath made to his Maieſtie.

Now Sathan, ſeeking like a roaring Lion, whom he may deuour, perceiuing this good and holie Agreement and Reconciliation, with the good Will of the faithfull Proteſtantes of the Kings Side, he could no longer ſtay himſelfe in Aſſurance, foraſmuch as his Deuiſes went euill forward. For theſe of the Kinges Side, taking Courage, haue brought manie

Sheepe backe againe to their owne Fold. Herewithall, hee perceived howe the Straunger tooke the Cauſe in Hand, and ſtirred againſt the Diſturbers of the common Tranquilitie. They coulde not otherwiſe judge, for the Behoof of the Cauſe, but to perſecute the Head, that the Members might be the ſicker.

In this Iudgment and Opinion, there bee many Sortes of Folke. For ſome of them ought to bee plaine and continent in their Willes; others are bolde and ignorant, ledde by their owne Affection without Iudgment; other ſome, contrarie to their Solitarines, are Forerunners, who, contrary to their Profeſſion, entermeddle to doe Things cleane contrarie to all honeſt Conuerſation, which cauſeth them to be euill liked, of ſuch as deſire to walke plainlie in their Vocation. All the which Kindes of Folke, thus put together, cannot, in their particular Paſſions, which are without all Holines and Pietie, rightly nor fitly giue any good Counſell for ſuch Matters as are to be done; for they prefer their wicked Intention (which is tranſported with Pride and vnſatiable Couetouſnes) before all good Affection, and the Saftie of the Common Weale. And all of them ſo put together, without Foreſight of that which is to come, reiecting all Manner of Knowledge of God, cannot deliberate any other other Thing, ſauing onely the Cutting away of the Head of the Tree, that the Braunches might wither away the ſooner.

This Counſell was holden at *Paris*, whereat were preſent at that Time the principall Heads of this League, in which Place, Sathan offered one worſe then *Iudas*, for *Iudas* kiſſed his Maiſter after he had ſold him, and acknowledged his Offence afterwards. But this yong Man, a *Iacobin* Frier of Religion, hath made no Difficulty nor Sticking, to wound to Death him, that ſo hartily loued that Order aboue all the whole Nations of Religious Perſons, who had cheriſhed them, as they that were welcome about his Perſon. This will I ſay, it is no Noueltie that they begin to doe Evill. I will produce an Emperour that was poyſoned by a halowed Hoaſt, empoiſoned notwithſtanding, which was preſented unto him by a *Iacobin*. This Order of Friers Preachers haue alwaies bene very deſirous to bee welcome amongeſt Men of high Calling, and to undertake odious Offices, as to be of the Inquyſition of Fayth, and others. Theſe of the League, upon Conſideration thereof, prouoke and ſtyrre more and more thys poore curſed Wretch, within whoſe Hart Sathan lodged, to keepe him alwaies in this curſed Mind. Upon the Reſolution hereof, they prepared him a Knife for this Purpoſe, which they double poiſoned with ſuch Kind of Poyſon, that, though the Party ſtryken with thys Inſtrument dye not preſentlie, yet it ſhall not be poſſible for him to eſcape, nor liue long after.

Upon *Tueſday*, the Firſt of *Auguſt*, very early in the Morning, this diveliſh Perſon taketh his Iorney, purpoſing to find his Maieſty at *S. Clou*, two ſmall Leagues from *Paris*: Attending his Vpriſing, for Feare of loſing the Occaſion to ſpeake with him; being well aſſured to have Entrance to him, in reſpect of the Fauor that the Kinge bore vnto them; hauing in his Hand a Letter or Miſſive, to deliuer vnto him from the firſt Preſident of *Paris*, as the Report goeth, whom they detaine Priſoner.

Aſſoone as hee was aduertiſed that hee might conueniently ſpeake with the Kinge, hee entereth with a bolde Face, as hardy as a Lyon, and, like a bloody Traitor, gave him the *Iube*, with a very low and humble Curteſie, offering vnto him the ſaid pretended Writing of the ſame Preſident; and comming neer to his Maieſtie, hee ſignified unto him, how hee had another Secret to declare vnto him. The King, hearing the ſame, cauſed two Gentlemen to goe out, that ſerved him at his Vpriſing. Then this *Iacobin*, continuing in his wicked Mind, drew this Knife, and therewith thruſt the Kinge into the little Belly, as they call it; the which Stroke entred not into his Body, neyther dyed hee preſentlie. The Kinge ſeeing this, and being mooved, laid Hold of a Dagger that lay neere unto hym, and therwith ſtroke the ſaide Monke, who, being hurt with the Stroke, and much affrighted, fell preſently down for Feare: Howbeit not dead, but, as is commonly ſene, a Malefactor is never ſettled and aſſured in Conſcience, when he goeth about to execute ſuch a Crueltie. Thys wretched Monk, being worſe feared then hurt, had Leyſure to ſpeake.

Upon the which Noiſe, the ſaide Gentlemen ſodenly came in againe, with others, who, by the Kings Commandement, ſlue him not, but tooke him up. After the Kinge was dreſſed, euen ſo far, that hee had ſeuen Stitches with a Needle, as the Report goeth, hee gaue Commandement for the Examination of the ſaide Monke, which was accompliſhed ; and he declared who ſet him on, the Authors, and all other Informations, with his Name and Vocation, and that he was not counterfayted, but of the ſaide Order. Which being finiſhed, through Impatiency he was kylled, ſuffering aboue a hundred Thruſts with Daggers ; and, which is worthy the Maruayling at, it is reported, that the ſaide Monkes Fleſh became as black as a uery Rauen, which ys eaſie to be beleeued, becauſe Sathan dwelt wythin hym, and then the Iudgement of God that appeareth to Men in diuers Sorts ; behold here a pytyfull Tragedy.

But, as God will ſerue his Purpoſe with Men, by many and diuerſe Sortes, the Kinge, being yet of good Chere, with the Hope which hee had conceiued that his Wound might mend, ſent with Speede for his Brother-in-Lawe the King of *Nauarra*, the Lordes of his Court, Gouernours, Captaines that were in his Armie, and eſpecially the Heads of the Straungers that were in his Countrie, to the Intent that, if it ſo fell out that hee died, the Diſorder and Miſrule ſhould not be ſo great, that all the Armie ſhould be broken up, nor an unmeaſurable Confuſion enſue therevpon. When they were all thus aſſembled, God put into the Kinges Mouth ſo ſtedfaſt and ſtated Speach, as though he had felt no Griefe, and began to ſignify to the Aſſemblie, that the lawfull Succeſſion of the Royall Eſtate of *Fraunce* fell not to any other, ſauing in the Perſon of *Burbon* ; and, declaring at that Time the Kinge of *Nauarra* firſt Succeſſor, he prayed and exhorted the whole Companie ſo to acknowledge him, and to be faithfull vnto him ; and to proteſt all with one Voice the Acknowledging and Taking in good Part of this Deede, and true Obedience, as to the true and lawfull Heire, and to cauſe the like Promiſe and Acknowledgment to bee made in the Campe by all true and faithfull Captaines and Souldiers, that could not bee preſent at the ſaide Aſſembly, aſwell naturall *Frenchmen* as Straungers, who all, with Gladnes of Hart (though otherwiſe ſad and ſorrowfull for his Maieſties Wound) ſwore to execute the Kinges Will.

Vpon the Ordering and Diſpoſing of all Matters in this Sorte, the Kinge ſent Letters into all Places, where he had yet the full Gouernment, and eſpecially to *Caan* to *Mounſyr de la Verune*, Gouernour and Bayly at *Caan*, and to the Court of Parliament eſtabliſhed at the ſaide Place, with Hope, that there was no Daunger of Death. Aſmuch was written vnto them from *Mounſyr de Mountpenſier*, Gouernour-General for his Maieſtie in *Normandy*, who was then at *Andely* vpon the Riuer of *Seyne*, where hee cauſed his whole Armie to take the like Oath ; exhorting the Heades to maintaine the Kinges Will. Whiche was accorded vnto him, with Hope, as the ſaide Lord Gouernour demed, that there ſhold be no Daunger of the Kinges Death, by Gods Helpe.

But, the next Daie following, the ſaide Lord Gouernour chaunged that Kind of Language, writing to the ſaide Bayly of *Caan*, whereby hee gaue him to vnderſtand, how the Kinge dyed the *Wedneſdaie* next following the Daie wherein he was wounded.

An Aſſembly was holden at *Caan*, vpon *Sonday* the ſixt Daie of *Auguſt*, of all the Citizens and Inhabitantes of the ſame Place, in the Preſence of the Bayly of *Caan*, and the Court of Parliament, the Bodie of the Towne, and the Gentlemen of the Countrie, where the ſkilful Perſon *Mounſyr de Liſores*, Preſident in the ſaide Court of Parliament, did ſit as Preſident ; and when he had deliuered and ſhewed to all the whole Company what Matters had happened, with Admiration of the Speach of thys Lord, as proteſting perfect Loyalty on his owne Behalfe : Publication of his Maieſties Letters, and of *Mountpenſiers* Letters, was publiquely made, where all vniformally ſware their Acknowledgment and Fidelity, euery Man proteſting to mayntayne the Will of *Henry de Valois* thus deceaſed, in all Thinges that it conteineth.

His Majeſty's Speech * in this laſt Seſſion of Parliament, concerning the *Gunpowder-Plot*; as near his very Words, as could be gathered at the Inſtant. Together with a Diſcourſe of the Manner of the Diſcovery of this late intended Treaſon, joined with the Examination of ſome of the Priſoners.

Imprinted at *London*, by *Robert Barker*, Printer to the King's moſt Excellent Majeſty, *Anno* 1605. *Quarto*, containing Ninety-two Pages.

The Printer to the Reader.

HAVING received (gentle Reader) the Copy of the King's laſt Speech to the Parliament as near to the Life of his own Words, as they could be gathered; and being about to commit them to the Preſs, as I did his former, there is preſently come to my Hands a Diſcourſe of this late intended moſt abominable Treaſon againſt his Majeſty, and the whole State. And becauſe that a great Part of his Majeſty's Speech was grounded upon that fearful Accident, whereof this Diſcourſe doth make an ample Declaration; I have thought it would not be unpleaſing unto thee to join them together in the Preſs. And, ſo leaving thee to make thy beſt Uſe of both, I bid thee heartily Farewel.

MY Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and you the Knights and Burgeſſes of this Parliament, it was far from my Thoughts till very lately before my Coming to this Place, that this Subject ſhould have been miniſtred unto me, whereupon I am now to ſpeak. But now it ſo falleth out, That whereas, in the preceding Seſſion of this Parliament, the principal Occaſion of my Speech was, to thank and congratulate all you of this Houſe, and in you, all the whole Commonwealth, as being the Repreſentative Body of the State, for your ſo willing and loving Receiving and Embracing of me in that Place, which God and Nature, by Deſcent of Blood, had in his own Time provided for me: So now my Subject is, to ſpeak of a far greater Thankſgiving than before I gave to you, being to a far greater Perſon, which is to God, for the great and miraculous Delivery he hath at this Time granted to me, and to you all, and conſequently to the whole Body of this Eſtate.

I muſt therefore begin with this old and moſt approved Sentence of Divinity, *Miſericordia Dei ſupra omnia opera ejus.* For Almighty God did not furniſh ſo great Matter to his Glory, by the Creation of this great World, as he did by the Redemption of the ſame. Neither did his Generation of the little World, in our old and firſt *Adam*, ſo much ſet forth the Praiſes of God in his Juſtice and Mercy, as did our Regeneration in the laſt and ſecond *Adam*.

And now I muſt crave a little Pardon of you, That ſince Kings are, in the Word of God itſelf, called Gods, as being his Lieutenants and Vicegerents on Earth, and ſo adorned and furniſhed with ſome Sparkles of the Divinity; to compare ſome of the Works of God the great King, towards the whole and general World, to ſome of his Works towards me, and this little World of my Dominions, compaſſed and ſevered by the Sea from the reſt of the Earth. For as God, for the juſt Puniſhment of the firſt great Sins in the Original World, when the Sons of God went in to the Daughters of Men, and the Cup of their Iniquities of all Sorts was filled, and heaped up to the full, did, by a general Deluge and Overflowing of Waters, baptiſe the World to a general Deſtruction, and not to a general Purgation, only excepted *Noah* and his Family, who did repent and believe the Threatenings of God's Judgment: So now, when the World ſhall wax old as a Garment, and that all the Impieties and Sins, that can be deviſed againſt both the firſt and ſecond Table, have and ſhall be committed to the full Meaſure; God is to puniſh the World the ſecond Time by Fire, to the general Deſtruction and not Purgation thereof. Although as was done in the former to *Noah* and his Family by the Waters; ſo ſhall all we that believe be likewiſe purged, and not deſtroyed by the Fire. In the like Sort, I ſay, I may juſtly compare theſe two great and fearful Doomſdays, wherewith God threatened to deſtroy me, and all you of this little World that have Intereſt in me. For although I confeſs, as all Mankind, ſo chiefly Kings, as being in the higher Places like the high Trees, or ſtayed Mountains, and ſteepeſt Rocks, are moſt ſubject to the daily Tempeſts of innumerable Dangers; and I amongſt all other Kings have ever been ſubject unto them, not only ever ſince my Birth, but even as I may juſtly ſay, before my Birth, and while I was yet in my Mother's Belly; yet have I been expoſed to two more ſpecial and greater Dangers than all the reſt.

---

* This is the 150th Number in the Catalogue of Pamphlets in the *Harleian* Library.

The firſt of them, in the Kingdom where I was born, and paſſed the firſt Part of my Life: And the laſt of them here, which is the greateſt. In the former I ſhould have been baptiſed in Blood, and in my Deſtruction not only the Kingdom wherein I then was, but ye alſo, by your future Intereſt, ſhould have taſted of my Ruin. Yet it pleaſed God to deliver me, as it were, from the very Brink of Death, from the Point of the Dagger, and ſo to purge me by my thankful Acknowledgment of ſo great a Benefit. But in this, which did ſo lately fall out, and which was a Deſtruction prepared not for me alone, but for you all that are here preſent, and wherein no Rank, Age, nor Sex ſhould have been ſpared; this was not a crying Sin of Blood, as the former, but it may well be called a roaring, nay a thundering Sin of Fire and Brimſtone, from the which God hath ſo miraculouſly delivered us all. What I can ſpeak of this, I know not: Nay, rather what can I not ſpeak of it? And therefore, I muſt for Horror, ſay with the Poet, *Vox faucibus hæret.*

In this great and horrible Attempt, whereof the like was never either heard or read, I obſerve three wonderful, or rather miraculous Events.

Firſt, in the Cruelty of the Plot itſelf, wherein cannot be enough admired the horrible and fearful Cruelty of their Device, which was not only for the Deſtruction of my Perſon, nor of my Wife and Poſterity only, but of the whole Body of the State in General; wherein ſhould neither have been ſpared, or Diſtinction made of young nor of old, of great nor of ſmall, of Man nor of Woman: The whole Nobility, the whole Reverend Clergy, Biſhops, and moſt Part of the good Preachers, the moſt Part of the Knights and Gentry; yea and, if that any in this Society were Favourers of their Profeſſion, they ſhould all have gone one Way: The whole Judges of the Land, with the moſt of the Lawyers and the whole Clerks: And as the Wretch himſelf, that is in the *Tower*, doth confeſs, it was purpoſely deviſed by them, and concluded to be done in this Houſe; that, where the cruel Laws, as they ſay, were made againſt their Religion, both Place and Perſons ſhould all be deſtroyed and blowed up at once. And then conſider therewithal the cruel Form of that Practice: For, by three different Sorts in General, may Mankind be put to Death.

The *Firſt*, by other Men, and reaſonable Creatures, which is leaſt cruel; for then both Defence of Men againſt Men may be expected, and likewiſe, who knoweth what Pity God may ſtir up in the Hearts of the Actors at the very Inſtant? Beſides the many Ways and Means, whereby Men may eſcape in ſuch a preſent Fury.

And the *ſecond* Way, more cruel than that, is by animal and unreaſonable Creatures; for, as they have leſs Pity than Men, ſo it is a greater Horror and more unnatural for Men to deal with them: But yet with them both Reſiſtance may avail, and alſo ſome Pity may be had, as was in the Lions, in whoſe Den, *Da-*

niel was thrown; or that thankful Lion, that had the *Roman* Slave in his Mercy.

But the *Third*, which is moſt cruel and unmerciful of all, is the Deſtruction by inſenſible and inanimate Things, and amongſt them all, the moſt cruel are the two Elements of Water and Fire; and of thoſe two, the Fire moſt raging and mercileſs.

Secondly, How wonderful it is, when you ſhall think upon the ſmall, or rather no Ground, whereupon the Practiſers were enticed to invent this Tragedy. For, if theſe Conſpirators had only been Bankrupt Perſons, or diſcontented upon Occaſion of any Diſgraces done unto them, this might have ſeemed to have been but a Work of Revenge. But for my own Part, as I ſcarcely ever knew any of them, ſo cannot they alledge ſo much as a pretended Cauſe of Grief: And the Wretch himſelf in Hands doth confeſs, that there was no Cauſe moving him or them, but merely and only Religion. And eſpecially that Chriſtian Men, at leaſt ſo called, *Engliſhmen*, born within the Country, and one of the Specials of them my ſworn Servant in an honourable Place, ſhould practiſe the Deſtruction of their King, his Poſterity, their Country and all: Wherein their following Obſtinacy is ſo joined to their former Malice, as the Fellow himſelf, that is in Hand, cannot be moved to diſcover any Signs or Notes of Repentance, except only that he doth not yet ſtand to avow, that he repents for not being able to perform his Intent.

Thirdly, The Diſcovery hereof is not a little wonderful, which would be thought the more miraculous by you all, if you were as well acquainted with my natural Diſpoſition, as thoſe are, who be near about me. For, as I ever did hold Suſpicion to be the Sickneſs of a Tyrant, ſo was I ſo far upon the other Extremity, as I rather contemned all Advertiſements, or Apprehenſions of Practices. And yet now, at this Time was I ſo far contrary to myſelf, as, when the Letter was ſhewed to me by my Secretary, wherein a general obſcure Advertiſement was given of ſome dangerous Blow at this Time, I did upon the Inſtant interpret and apprehend ſome dark Phraſes therein, contrary to the ordinary Grammar Conſtruction of them, and in another Sort, than I am ſure any Divine, or Lawyer, in any Univerſity would have taken them, to be meant by this horrible Form of Blowing us up all by Powder; and thereupon ordered that Search to be made, whereby the Matter was diſcovered, and the Man apprehended: Whereas, if I had apprehended or interpreted it to any other Sort of Danger, no worldly Proviſion or Prevention could have made us eſcape our utter Deſtruction.

And, in that alſo, was there a wonderful Providence of God, that, when the Party himſelf was taken, he was but new come out of his Houſe from Working, having his Firework for Kindling ready in his Pocket, wherewith, as he confeſſeth, if he had been taken but immediately before, when he was in the Houſe, he was reſolved to have blown up himſelf with his Takers.

One Thing, for my own Part, have I Cauſe to thank God in, that, if God for our Sins had ſuffered their wicked Intents to have prevailed, it ſhould never have been ſpoken nor written in Ages ſucceeding, that I had died ingloriouſly in an Ale-houſe, a Stews, or ſuch vile Place, but my End ſhould have been with the moſt honourable and beſt Company, and in that moſt honourable and fitteſt Place for a King to be in, for doing the Turns moſt proper to his Office; and the more have we all Cauſe to thank and magnify God for this his merciful Delivery. And eſpecially, I for my Part, that he hath given me yet once Leave, whatſoever ſhould come of me hereafter, to aſſemble you, in this honourable Place; and here in this Place, where our general Deſtruction ſhould have been, to magnify and praiſe him for our general Delivery; that I may juſtly now ſay of my Enemies and yours, as *David* doth often ſay in the Pſalm, *Inciderunt in foveam quam fecerunt*. And ſince *Scipio*, an *Ethnick*, led only by the Light of Nature, that Day when he was accuſed by the Tribunes of the People of *Rome*, for Miſpending and Waſting in his *Punick* Wars the City's Treaſure, even upon the ſudden broke out with that Diverſion of them from that Matter, calling them to Remembrance how that Day was the Day of the Year, wherein God had given them ſo great a Victory againſt *Hannibal*; and therefore, it was fitter for them all, leaving other Matters, to run to the Temple, to praiſe God for that ſo great Delivery, which the People did all follow with one Applauſe: How much more Cauſe have we that are Chriſtians to beſtow this Time, in this Place, for Thankſgiving to God for his great Mercy, though we had no other Errand of aſſembling here at this Time? Wherein, if I have ſpoken more like a Divine, than would ſeem to belong to this Place, the Matter itſelf muſt plead for my Excuſe: For being here come, to thank God for a divine Work of his Mercy, How can I ſpeak of this Deliverance of us from ſo helliſh a Practice, ſo well as in Language of Divinity, which is the direct Oppoſite to ſo damnable an Intention? And therefore may I juſtly end this Purpoſe, as I did begin it with this Sentence, *The Mercy of God is above all his Works.*

It reſteth now, that I ſhould ſhortly inform you what is to be done hereafter, upon the Occaſion of this horrible and ſtrange Accident. As for your Part, that are my faithful and loving Subjects, of all Degrees, I know that your Hearts are ſo burnt up with Zeal in this Errand, and your Tongues ſo ready to utter your dutiful Affections, and your Hands and Feet ſo bent to concur in the Execution thereof (for which, as I need not to ſpur you, ſo can I not but praiſe you for the ſame:) As it may very well be poſſible, that the Zeal of your Hearts ſhall make ſome of you, in your Speeches, raſhly to blame ſuch as may be innocent of this Attempt; but, upon the other Part, I wiſh you to conſider, That I would be ſorry that any, being innocent of this Practice, either Domeſtical or Foreign, ſhould receive Blame or Harm for the ſame. For although it cannot be denied, That it was the only blind Superſtition of their Errors in Religion, that led them to this deſperate Device; yet doth it not follow, That all profeſſing the *Romiſh* Religion were guilty of the ſame. For as it is true, That no other Sect of Hereticks, not excepting *Turk*, *Jew*, nor *Pagan*, no, not even thoſe of *Calicut*, who adore the Devil, did ever maintain, by the Grounds of their Religion, That it was lawful, or rather meritorious, as the *Romiſh* Catholicks call it, to murder Princes, or People, for Quarrel of Religion. And although particular Men, of all Profeſſions of Religion, have been ſome Thieves, ſome Murderers, ſome Traytors, yet ever, when they came to their End and juſt Puniſhment, they confeſſed their Fault to be in their Nature, and not in their Profeſſion, theſe *Romiſh* Catholicks only excepted: Yet it is true, on the other Side, That many honeſt Men, blinded peradventure with ſome Opinions of Popery, as if they be not ſound in the Queſtions of the real Preſence, or in the Number of the Sacraments, or ſome ſuch School Queſtion; yet do they either not know, or, at leaſt, not believe all the true Grounds of Popery, which is, indeed, the Myſtery of Iniquity. And, therefore, do we juſtly confeſs, that many Papiſts, eſpecially our Forefathers, laying their only Truſt upon Chriſt, and his Merits, at their laſt Breath, may be, and oftentimes are ſaved; deteſting, in that Point, and thinking the Cruelty of Puritans worthy of Fire, that will admit no Salvation to any Papiſt. I, therefore thus do conclude this Point, That as, upon the one Part, many honeſt Men, ſeduced with ſome Errors of Popery, may yet remain good and faithful Subjects; ſo, upon the other Part, none of thoſe, who truly know and believe the whole Grounds, and School-concluſions of their Doctrine, can ever prove either good Chriſtians, or faithful Subjects. And, for the Part of foreign Princes and States, I may ſo much the more acquit them, and their Miniſters, of their Knowledge and Conſent to any ſuch Villainy, as I may juſtly ſay, that, in that Point, I better know all Chriſtian Kings by myſelf, That no King nor Prince of Honour will ever abaſe himſelf ſo much, as to think a good Thought of ſo baſe and diſhonourable a Treachery; wiſhing you, therefore, that as God hath given me an happy Peace and Amity, with all other Chriſtian Princes, my Neighbours, as was even now very gravely told you, by my Lord Chancellor, that ſo you will reverently judge and ſpeak of them in this Caſe. And, for my Part, I would wiſh, with thoſe ancient Philoſophers, that there were a chryſtal Window in my Breaſt, wherein all my People might ſee the ſecreteſt Thoughts of my Heart; for then might you all ſee no Alteration in my Mind for this Accident, further than in theſe two Points: The *Firſt*, Caution and Warineſs in Government, to diſcover and ſearch out the Myſteries of this Wickedneſs, as far as may be; the other, after due Trial, Severity of Puniſhment upon thoſe that ſhall be found guilty of ſo deteſtable and unheard of Villainy. And now, in this Matter, if I have troubled your Ears with an abrupt Speech, undigeſted in any good Method or Order, you have to conſider, that, an abrupt and unadviſed

Speech doth beſt become, in the Relation of ſo abrupt and unorderly an Accident.

And although I have ordained the Proroguing of this Parliament, until after *Chriſtmas*, upon two neceſſary Reſpects; whereof the *firſt* is, that neither I, nor my Council, can have Leiſure, at this Time, both to take Order for the Apprehenſion and Trial of theſe Conſpirators, and alſo to wait upon the daily Affairs of the Parliament, as the Council muſt do: And the other Reaſon is the Neceſſity, at this Time, of divers of your Preſences, in your Shires, that have Charges and Commandments there. For as theſe Wretches thought to have blown up, in a Manner, the whole World of this Iſland, every Man being now come up here, either for publick Cauſes of Parliament, or elſe for their own private Cauſes in Law, or otherwiſe: So theſe Rebels, that now wander through the Country, could never have gotten ſo fit a Time of Safety in their Paſſage, or whatſoever unlawful Actions, as now, when the Country, by the aforeſaid Occaſions, is, in a Manner, left deſolate and waſte unto them. Beſides that, it may be, that I ſhall deſire you, at your next Seſſion, to take upon you the Judgment of this Crime; for as ſo extraordinary a Fact deſerves extraordinary Judgment, ſo can there not, I think, following even their own Rule, be a fitter Judgment for them, than that they ſhould be meaſured with the ſame Meaſure, wherewith they thought to meaſure us: And that the ſame Place and Perſons, whom they thought to deſtroy, ſhould be the juſt Avengers of their ſo unnatural a Parricide. Yet, not knowing that I will have Occaſion to meet with you myſelf, in this Place, at the Beginning of the next Seſſion of this Parliament (becauſe, if it had not been for delivering of the Articles, agreed upon by the Commiſſioners of the Union, which was thought moſt convenient to be done in my Preſence, where both Head and Members of the Parliament were met together, my Preſence had not otherwiſe been requiſite here, at this Time) I have, therefore, thought good, for Concluſion of this Meeting, to diſcourſe to you ſomewhat about the true Nature and Definition of a Parliament, which I will remit to your Memories, till your next Sitting down, that you may then make Uſe of it, as Occaſion ſhall be miniſtered.

For albeit it be true, that, at the firſt Seſſion of my firſt Parliament, which was not long after my Entry into this Kingdom, it could not become me to inform you of any Thing belonging to Law or State here (for all Knowledge muſt either be infuſed or acquired; and ſeeing the former Part thereof is now, with Prophecy, ceaſed in the World, it could not be poſſible for me, at my firſt Entry here, before Experience had taught it me, to be able to underſtand the particular Myſteries of this State;) yet, now that I have reigned almoſt three Years amongſt you, and have been careful to obſerve thoſe Things, that belong to the Office of a King; albeit that Time be but a ſhort Time for Experience in others, yet, in a King, may it be thought a reaſonable long Time, eſpecially in me, who, although I be but, in a Manner, a new King here, yet have been long acquainted with the Office of a King in ſuch another Kingdom, as doth, neareſt of all others, agree with the Laws and Cuſtoms of this State. Remitting to your Conſideration, to judge of that which hath been concluded by the Commiſſioners of the Union, wherein I am, at this Time, to ſignify unto you, That as I can bear Witneſs to the aforeſaid Commiſſioners, that they have not agreed nor concluded therein any Thing, wherein they have not foreſeen as well the Wealth and Commodity of the one Country, as of the other; ſo can they all bear me Record, that I was ſo far from preſſing them to agree to any Thing, which might bring with it any Prejudice to this People; as, by the Contrary, I did ever admoniſh them, never to conclude upon any ſuch Union, as might carry Hurt or Grudge with it to either of the ſaid Nations; for the Leaving of any ſuch Thing could not but be the greateſt Hinderance that might be to ſuch an Action, which God, by the Laws of Nature, had provided to be in his own Time, and hath now, in Effect, perfected in my Perſon; to which Purpoſe, my Lord Chancellor hath hath better ſpoken, than I am able to relate.

And, as to the Nature of this High Court of Parliament, it is nothing elſe but the King's great Council, which the King doth aſſemble, either upon Occaſion of interpreting, or abrogating old Laws, or making of New, according as ill Manners ſhall deſerve, or for the publick Puniſhment of notorious evil Doers, or the Praiſe and Reward of the Virtuous and well Deſervers, wherein theſe four Things are to be conſidered:

Firſt, Whereof this Court is compoſed.
Secondly, What Matters are proper for it.
Thirdly, To what End it is ordained.
And, *Fourthly*, What are the Means and Ways, whereby this End ſhould be brought to paſs.

As for the Thing itſelf, it is compoſed of a Head and a Body; the Head is the King, the Body are the Members of the Parliament; this Body again is ſubdivided into two Parts, the Upper and Lower Houſe; the Upper compounded partly of Nobility, temporal Men, who are heritable Counſellors to the High Court of Parliament, by the Honour of their Creation and Lands, and partly of Biſhops, ſpiritual Men, who are likewiſe, by the Virtue of their Place and Dignity, Counſellors, Life-renters, or *Ad vitam* of this Court: The other Houſe is compoſed of Knights for the Shires, and Gentry and Burgeſſes for the Towns. But becauſe the Number would be infinite, for all the Gentlemen and Burgeſſes to be preſent at every Parliament, therefore a certain Number is ſelected, and choſen out of that great Body, ſerving only for that Parliament, where their Perſons are the Repreſentation of that Body.

Now the Matters, whereof they are to treat, ought therefore to be general, and rather of ſuch Matters, as cannot well be performed without the Aſſembling of that general Body, and no more of theſe Generals neither, than Neceſſity ſhall require; for, as in *Corruptiſſima Republica ſunt plurimæ leges*, ſo doth the Life and Strength of the Law conſiſt, not in heaping up infinite and confuſed Numbers of Laws, but in the right Interpretation, and good Execution of good and wholſome Laws. If this be ſo then, neither is this a Place, on the one Side, for every raſh and hare-brained Fellow to propoſe new Laws of his own Invention; nay, rather, I could wiſh theſe buſy Heads to remember that Law of the *Lacedemonians*, That whoſoever came to propoſe a new Law to the People, behoved publickly to preſent himſelf with a Rope about his Neck, that, in Caſe the Law were not allowed, he ſhould be hanged therewith; ſo wary ſhould Men be of propoſing Novelties, but moſt of all, not to propoſe any bitter or ſeditious Laws, which can produce nothing but Grudges and Diſcontentment between the Prince and his People. Nor yet is it, on the other Side, a convenient Place for private Men, under the Colour of general Laws, to propoſe nothing, but their own particular Gain, either to the Hurt of their private Neighbours, or to the Hurt of the whole State in general; which, many Times, under fair and pleaſing Titles, are ſmoothly paſſed over, and ſo, by Stealth, procure without Conſideration, that the private Meaning of them tendeth to nothing, but either to the Wreck of a particular Party, or elſe under the Colour of a publick Benefit to pill the poor People, and ſerve, as it were, for a general Impoſt upon them, for filling the Purſes of ſome private Perſons.

And as to the End for which the Parliament is ordained, being only for the Advancement of God's Glory, and the Eſtabliſhment and Wealth of the King and his People: It is no Place then for particular Men to utter there their private Conceipts, nor for Satisfaction of their Curioſities, and leaſt of all to make Shew of their Eloquence by tyning the Time with long ſtudied and eloquent Orations. No, the Reverence of God, their King, and their Country being well ſettled in their Hearts, will make them aſhamed of ſuch Toys, and remember that they are there as ſworn Counſellors to their King, to give their beſt Advice for the Furtherance of his Service, and the flouriſhing Weal of his Eſtate.

And *laſtly*, if you will rightly conſider the Means and Ways how to bring all your Labours to a good End, you muſt remember, That you are here aſſembled by your lawful King, to give him your beſt Advices, in the Matters propoſed by him unto you, being of that Nature, which I have already told; wherein you are gravely to deliberate, and, upon your Conſciences, plainly to determine how far thoſe Things propounded do agree with the Weal, both of your King and of your Country, whoſe Weals cannot be ſeparated. And as for myſelf, the World ſhall ever bear me Witneſs, That I never ſhall propoſe any Thing unto you, which ſhall not as well tend to the Weal publick, as to any Benefit for me: So ſhall I never oppoſe myſelf to that which may tend to the Good of the Commonwealth, for the which I am ordained, as I have often ſaid. And as you are to give your Advice in ſuch Things as ſhall by your King be propoſed: So is it on your Part your Duties to propoſe any Thing that you can after mature Deliberation judge to be needful, either for theſe Ends already ſpoken of, or otherwiſe, for the Diſcovery of any latent Evil in the Kingdom, which, peradventure, may not have come to the King's Ear. If this then ought to be your grave Manner of Proceeding in this Place, Men ſhould be aſhamed to make Shew of the Quickneſs of their Wits here, either in taunting, ſcoffing, or detracting the Prince or State in any Point, or yet in breaking Jeſts upon their Fellows, for which the Ordinaries, or Alehouſes, are fitter Places, than this honourable and high Court of Parliament.

In Concluſion then, ſince you are to break up, for the Reaſons I have already told you, I wiſh ſuch of you, as have any Charges in your Countries, to haſten you Home for the Repreſſing of the Inſolencies of theſe Rebels, and Apprehenſion of their Perſons, wherein as I heartily pray to the Almighty for your proſperous Succeſs: So do I not doubt, but we ſhall ſhortly hear the good News of the ſame; And that you ſhall have an happy Return, and Meeting here to all our Comforts.

Here the Lord Chancellor ſpoke touching the Proroguing of the Parliament. And having done his Majeſty roſe again, and ſaid:

Since it pleaſed God to grant me two ſuch notable Deliveries upon one Day of the Week, which was *Tueſday*, and likewiſe one Day of the Month, which was the Fifth; thereby to teach me, that as it was the ſame Devil that ſtill perſecuted me: So it was one and the ſame God that ſtill mightily delivered me; I thought it therefore not amiſs, that the twenty-firſt Day of *January*, which fell to be upon *Tueſday*, ſhould be the Day of Meeting of this next Seſſion of Parliament, hoping and aſſuring myſelf, that the ſame God, who hath now granted me and you all ſo notable and gracious a Delivery, ſhall proſper all our Affairs at that next Seſſion, and bring them to an happy Concluſion. And now I conſider God hath well provided it, that the Ending of this Parliament hath been ſo long continued; for as for my own Part, I never had any other Intention, but only to ſeek ſo far my Weal, and Proſperity, as might conjunctly ſtand with the flouriſhing State of the whole Commonwealth, as I have often told you: So on the other Part I confeſs, if I had been in your Places at the Beginning of this Parliament, which was ſo ſoon after my Entry into this Kingdom, wherein you could not poſſibly have ſo perfect a Knowledge of my Inclination, as Experience ſince hath taught you, I could not but have ſuſpected and miſinterpreted divers Things, in the Trying whereof, now I hope, by your Experience of my Behaviour and Form of Government, you are well enough cleared and reſolved.

A Diſcourſe of the Manner of the Diſcovery of this late intended Treaſon, joined with the Examination of ſome of the Priſoners.

THere is a Time, when no Man ought to keep Silence. For it hath ever been held as a general Rule, and undoubted Maxim, in all well governed Common-wealths, whether Chriſtian, and ſo guided by the divine Light of God's Word; or Ethnick, and ſo led by the glimmering Twilight of Nature; yet howſoever their Profeſſion was, upon this Ground have they all agreed, that when either their Religion, their King, or their Country was in any extreme Hazard, no good Countryman ought then to with-hold either his Tongue or his Hand, according to his Calling and Faculty, from aiding to repel the Injury, repreſs the Violence, and avenge the Guilt upon the Authors thereof. But if ever any People had ſuch an Occaſion miniſtered unto them, it is ſurely this People now, nay this whole Iſle, and all the reſt belonging to this great and glorious Monarchy. For if, in any heatheniſh Republick, no private Man could think his Life more happily and glorioully beſtowed, than in the Defence of any one of theſe Three, that is, either *pro Aris*, *pro Focis*, or *pro Patre patriæ*; and that the Endangering of any one of theſe would at once ſtir the whole Body of the Commonwealth, not any more as divided Members, but as a ſolid and individual Lump: How much more ought we the truly Chriſtian People that inhabit this united and truely happy Iſle, under the Wings of our gracious and religious Monarch? Nay, how infinitely greater Cauſe have we to feel and reſent ourſelves of the Smart of that Wound, not only intended and execrated, nor conſecrated, for the utter extinguiſhing of our true Chriſtian Profeſſion, nor jointly therewith, only for the Cutting off of our Head and Father Politick, *Sed ut nefas & ſacrilegioſum Parricidium omnibus modis abſolutum reddi poſſit?* And, that nothing might be wanting for making this ſacrilegious Parricide a Pattern of Miſchief, and a Crime (nay, a Mother or Store-houſe of all Crimes) without Example, they ſhould have joined the Deſtruction of the Body to the Head, ſo as *Grex cum Rege*, *Aræ cum focis*, *Lares cum Penatibus*, ſhould all at one Thunder-clap have been ſent to Heaven together: The King our Head, the Queen our fertile Mother, and thoſe young and hopeful Olive Plants, not theirs, but ours: Our Reverend Clergy, our honourable Nobility, the faithful Counſellors, the grave Judges, the greateſt Part of the worthy Knights and Gentry, as well as of the wiſeſt Burgeſſes; the whole Clerks of the Crown, Council, Signet, Seals, or of any other principal Judgment-ſeat; all the learned Lawyers, together with an infinite Number of the common People; nay, their furious Rage ſhould not only have lighted upon reaſonable and ſenſible Creatures without Diſtinction either of Degree, Sex, or Age; but, even the inſenſible Stocks and Stones ſhould not have been free of their Fury: The Hall of Juſtice; the Houſe of Parliament; the Church, uſed for the Coronation of our Kings; the Monuments of our former Princes; the Crown, and other Marks of Royalty; all the Records, as well of Parliament, as of every particular Man's Right, with a great Number of Charters and ſuch like, ſhould all have been comprehended under that fearful Chaos. And ſo the Earth, as it were opened, ſhould have ſent forth out of the Bottom of the *Stygian* Lake ſuch ſulphured Smoke, furious Flames, and fearful Thunder, as ſhould have, by their diabolical Doomſday, deſtroyed and defaced, in the Twinkling of an Eye, not only our preſent living Princes and People, but even our inſenſible Monuments reſerved for future Ages: So as not only ourſelves that are mortal, but the immortal Monuments of our ancient Princes and Nobility, that have been ſo preciouſly preſerved from Age to Age, as the remaining Trophies of their eternal Glory, and have ſo long triumphed over envious Time, ſhould now have been all conſumed together; and ſo not only we, but the Memory of us and ours, ſhould have been thus extinguiſhed in an Inſtant. The true Horror therefore of this deteſtable Device hath ſtirred me up to bethink myſelf, wherein I may beſt diſcharge my Conſcience in a Cauſe ſo general and common, if it were to bring but one Stone to the Building, or, rather with the Widow, one Mite to the common Box. But, ſince to ſo hateful and unheard of Invention, there can be no greater Enemy than the Self, the ſimple Truth thereof being once publickly known and divulged; and that there needs no ſtronger Argument to bring ſuch a Plot in univerſal Deteſtation, than the Certainty that ſo monſtrous a Thing could once be deviſed, nay, concluded upon, wrought in, in full Readineſs, and within twelve Hours of the Execution. My threefold Zeal to thoſe Bleſſings, whereof they would have ſo violently made us all Widows, hath made me reſolve to ſet down here the true Narration of that monſtrous and unnatural intended Tragedy, having better Occaſion, by the Means of my Service, and continual Attendance in Court, to know the Truth thereof, than others, that, peradventure, have it only by Relation at the third or fourth Hand: So that, whereas thoſe worſe than *Catilines* thought to have extirpated us and our Memories, their infamous Memory ſhall by theſe Means, remain to the End of the World, upon the one Part; and, upon the other, God's great and merciful Deliverance of his Anointed, and us all, ſhall remain in never-dying Records; and God grant that it may be in Marble Tables of Thankfulneſs, engraven in our Hearts.

While this Land and whole Monarchy flouriſhed in a moſt happy and plentiful Peace, as well at Home, as Abroad, ſuſtained and conducted by theſe two main good Pillars of all good Government, Piety and Juſtice, no foreign Grudge, nor inward Whiſpering of Diſcontentment any Way appearing: The King being upon his Return from his Hunting Exerciſe at *Royſton*, upon Occaſion of the drawing near of the Parliament-time, which had been twice prorogued already, partly in regard of the Seaſon of the Year, and partly of the Term: As the Winds are ever ſtilleſt immediately before a Storm; and, as the Sun bleaks often hotteſt to foretel a following Shower; ſo, at that Time of greateſt Calm, did this ſecretly-hatched Thunder begin to caſt forth the firſt Flaſhes, and flaming Lightnings of the approaching Tempeſt. For, the *Saturday* of the Week immediately preceding the King's Return, which was upon a *Thurſday* (being but ten Days before the Parliament) the Lord *Monteagle*, Son and Heir to the Lord *Morley*, being in his own Lodging ready to go to Supper, at Seven of the Clock at Night, one of his Footmen (whom he had ſent of an Errand over the Street) was met by a Man of a reaſonable tall Perſonage, who delivered him a Letter, charging him to put it in my Lord his Maſter's Hands; which my Lord no ſooner received, but that, having broken it up, and perceiving the ſame to be of an unknown, and ſomewhat unlegible Hand, and without either Date or Superſcription, did call one of his Men unto him, for helping him to read it. But no ſooner did he conceive the ſtrange Contents thereof, although he was ſomewhat perplexed what Conſtruction to make of it (as whether of a Matter of Conſequence, as indeed it was, or whether ſome fooliſh deviſed Paſquil by ſome of his Enemies to ſcare him from his Attendance at the Parliament) yet did he, as a moſt dutiful and loyal Subject, conclude not to conceal it, whatever might come of it. Whereupon, notwithſtanding the Lateneſs and Darkneſs of the Night in that Seaſon of the Year, he preſently repaired to his Majeſty's Palace at *Whitehall*, and there delivered the ſame to the Earl of *Saliſbury*, his Majeſty's principal Secretary. Whereupon, the ſaid Earl of *Saliſbury* having read the Letter, and heard the Manner of the coming of it to his Hands, did greatly encourage and commend my Lord for his Diſcretion, telling him plainly, that, whatſoever the Purport of the Letter might prove hereafter, yet did this Accident put him in Mind of divers Advertiſements he had received from beyond the Seas, wherewith he had acquainted, as well the King himſelf, as divers of his Privy-counſellors, concerning ſome Buſineſs the Papiſts were in, both at Home and Abroad, making Preparations for ſome Combination amongſt them againſt this Parliament-time, for enabling them to deliver at that Time to the King ſome Petition for Toleration of Religion, which ſhould be delivered in ſome ſuch Order, and ſo well backed, as the King ſhould be loth to refuſe their Requeſts; like the ſturdy Beggars, craving Alms with one open Hand, but carrying a Stone in the other, in Caſe of Refuſal. And therefore did the Earl of *Saliſbury* conclude with the Lord *Monteagle*, that he would, in regard of the King's Abſence, impart the ſame Letter to ſome more of his Majeſty's Council, whereof my Lord *Monteagle* liked well, only adding this Requeſt, by Way of Proteſtation, That whatſoever the Event hereof might prove, it ſhould not be imputed to him, as proceeding from too light and too ſudden an Apprehenſion, that, he delivered this Letter; being only moved thereunto for Demonſtration of his ready Devotion, and Care for Preſervation of his Majeſty and the State. And thus did the Earl of *Saliſbury* preſently acquaint the Lord Chamberlain with the ſaid Letter. Whereupon they two, in Preſence of the Lord *Monteagle*, calling to Mind the former Intelligence already mentioned, which ſeemed to have ſome Relation with this Letter; the tender Care which they ever carried to the Preſervation of his Majeſty's Perſon, made them apprehend, that ſome perilous Attempt did thereby appear to be intended againſt the ſame, which did the more nearly concern the ſaid Lord Chamberlain to have a Care of, in regard that it doth belong to the Charge of his Office to overſee, as well all Places of Aſſembly where his Majeſty is to repair, as his Highneſs's own private Houſes. And therefore did the ſaid two Counſellors conclude, that they ſhould join unto themſelves three more of the Council, *to wit*, the Lord Admiral, the Earls of *Worceſter* and *Northampton*, to be alſo particularly acquainted with this Accident, who, having all of them concurred together to the Re-examination of the Contents of the ſaid Letter, they did conclude, That, how ſlight a Matter it might at the firſt appear to be, yet was it not abſolutely to be contemned, in reſpect of the Care which it behoved them to have of the Preſervation of his Majeſty's Perſon: But, yet reſolved for two Reaſons, firſt, to acquaint the King himſelf with the ſame, before they proceeded to any further Inquiſition in the Matter, as well for the Expectation and Experience they had of his Majeſty's fortunate Judgment, in clearing and ſolving obſcure Riddles and doubtful Myſteries; as alſo, becauſe the more Time would, in the mean Time, be given for the Practiſe to ripen, if any was, whereby the Diſcovery might be more clear and evident, and the Ground of Proceeding thereupon more ſafe, juſt, and eaſy. And ſo according to their Determination did the ſaid Earl of *Saliſbury* repair to the King in his Gallery upon *Friday*, being *Allhallow*'s-day, in the Afternoon, which was the Day after his Majeſty's Arrival, and none but himſelf being preſent with his Highneſs at that Time, where, without any other Speech, or Judgment given of the Letter, but only relating ſimply the Form of the Delivery thereof, he preſented it to his Majeſty. The Contents whereof follow:

'My Lord,

'OUT of the Love I bear to ſome of your Friends, I have a Care of your Preſervation: Therefore I would adviſe you, as you tender your Life, to deviſe ſome Excuſe, to ſhift off your Attendance at this Parliament. For God and Man have concurred to puniſh the Wickedneſs of this Time. And think not ſlightly of this Advertiſement, but retire yourſelf into your Country, where you may expect the Event in Safety. For, though there be no Appearnce of any Stir, yet I ſay, they ſhall receive a terrible Blow this Parliament, and yet they ſhall not ſee who hurts them. This Counſel is not to be contemned, becauſe it may do you Good, and can do you no Harm, for the Danger is paſt ſo ſoon as you have burnt the Letter; and I hope God will give you Grace to make good Uſe of it; to whoſe holy Protection I commend you.'

The King no ſooner read the Letter, but, after a little Pauſe, and then Reading it once again, he delivered his Judgment of it in ſuch Sort, as he thought it was not to be contemned, for that the Stile of it ſeemed to be more quick and pithy, than is uſual to be in any Paſquil or Libel, the Superfluities of idle Brains. But the Earl of *Saliſbury*, perceiving the King to apprehend it deeplier than he looked for, knowing his Nature, told him, that he thought, by one Sentence in it, that it was like to be written by ſome Fool, or Madman, reading to him this Sentence in it: *For the Danger is paſt, as ſoon as you have burnt the Letter*; which, he ſaid, was likely to be the Saying of a Fool; for, if the Danger was paſt, ſo ſoon as the Letter was burnt, then the Warning behoved to be of little Avail, when the Burning of the Letter might make the Danger to be eſchewed. But the King, on the Contrary, conſidering the former Sentence in the Letter, *That they ſhould receive a terrible Blow at this Parliament, and yet ſhould not ſee who hurt them*, joining it to the Sentence immediately following, already alledged, did thereupon conjecture, that the Danger mentioned ſhould be ſome ſudden Danger by Blowing up of Powder; for no other Inſurrection, Rebellion, or whatſoever other private and deſperate Attempt could be committed, or attempted, in Time of Parliament, and the Authors thereof unſeen, except only if it were by a Blowing up of Powder, which might be performed by one baſe Knave in a dark Corner: Whereupon he was moved to interpret and conſtrue the latter Sentence in the Letter, alledged by the Earl of *Saliſbury*, againſt all ordinary Senſe and Conſtruction in Grammar, as if by theſe Words, *For the Danger is paſt, as ſoon as you have burnt the Letter*, ſhould be cloſely underſtood the Suddenneſs and Quickneſs of the Danger, which ſhould be as quickly performed and at an End, as that Paper ſhould be a blazing up in the Fire; turning that Word of *as ſoon* to the Senſe of *as quickly*; and therefore wiſhed, that, before his Going to the Parliament, the Under-Rooms of the Parliament-houſe might be well and narrowly ſearched. But, the Earl of *Saliſbury* wondering at this his Majeſty's Commentary, which he knew to be ſo far contrary to his ordinary and natural Diſpoſition, who did rather ever ſin upon the other Side, in not apprehending, nor truſting due Advertiſements of Practices and Perils, when he was truly informed of them, whereby he had many Times drawn himſelf into many deſperate Dangers; and interpreting rightly this extraordinary Caution at this Time to proceed from the vigilant Care he had of the whole State, more than of his own Perſon, which could not but have all periſhed together, if this Deſignment had ſucceeded, he thought good to diſſemble ſtill unto the King, that there had been any juſt Cauſe of ſuch Apprehenſion; and, ending the Purpoſe with ſome merry Jeſt upon this Subject, as his Cuſtom is, took his Leave for that Time. But, though he ſeemed ſo to neglect it to his Majeſty, yet, his cuſtomable and watchful Care of the King and the State ſtill boiling within him, and having, with the bleſſed Virgin *Mary*, laid up in his Heart the King's ſo ſtrange Judgment and Conſtruction of it, he could not be at Reſt, till he acquainted the foreſaid Lords what had paſſed between the King and him in Private. Whereupon they were all ſo earneſt to renew again the Memory of the ſame Purpoſe to his Majeſty, that it was agreed, that he ſhould the next Day, being *Saturday*, repair to his Highneſs; which he did in the ſame privy Gallery, and renewed the Memory thereof, the Lord Chamberlain then being preſent with the King. At which Time it was determined, That the ſaid Lord Chamberlain ſhould, according to his Cuſtom and Office, view all the Parliament-houſes, both above and below, and conſider what Likelihood or Appearance of any ſuch Danger might poſſibly be gathered by the Sight of them: But yet, as well for Staying of idle Rumours, as for being the more able to diſcern any Myſtery, the nearer that Things were in Readineſs, his Journey thither was ordained to be deferred till the Afternoon before the Sitting down of the Parliament, which was upon the *Monday* following. At which Time he (according to this Concluſion) went to the Parliament-houſe, accompanied with my Lord *Monteagle*, being, in Zeal to the King's Service, earneſt and curious to ſee the Event of that Accident, whereof he had the Fortune to be the firſt Diſcoverer; where, having viewed all the lower Rooms, he found, in the Vault, under the upper Houſe, great Store and Proviſion of Billets, Faggots, and Coals; and, inquiring of *Whyneard*, Keeper of the Wardrobe, To what Uſe he had put thoſe lower Rooms and Cellars? He told him, That *Thomas Percy* had hired both the Houſe, and Part of the Cellar, or Vault, under the ſame; and that the Wood and Coal therein were the ſaid Gentleman's own Proviſion. Whereupon, the Lord Chamberlain, caſting his Eye aſide, perceived a Fellow ſtanding in a Corner there, calling himſelf the ſaid *Percy's* Man, and Keeper of that Houſe for him, but indeed was *Guido Fawkes*, the Owner of that Hand, which ſhould have acted that monſtrous Tragedy.

The Lord Chamberlain, looking upon all Things with a heedful indeed, yet, in outward Appearance, with but a careleſs and rackleſs Eye, as became ſo wiſe and diligent a Miniſter, he preſently addreſſed himſelf to the King in the ſaid privy Gallery; where, in the Preſence of the Lord Treaſurer, the Lord Admiral, the Earls of *Worceſter*, *Northampton*, and *Salisbury*, he made his Report what he had ſeen and obſerved there; noting, that *Monteagle* had told him, That he no ſooner heard *Thomas Percy* named to be the Poſſeſſor of that Houſe, but, conſidering both his Backwardneſs in Religion, and the old Dearneſs in Friendſhip between himſelf and the ſaid *Percy*, he did greatly ſuſpect the Matter, and that the Letter ſhould come from him. The ſaid Lord Chamberlain alſo told, That he did not wonder a little at the extraordinary great Proviſion of Wood and Coal in that Houſe, where *Thomas Percy* had ſo ſeldom Occaſion to remain; as likewiſe it gave him in his Mind, that his Man looked like a very tall and deſperate Fellow.

This could not but increaſe the King's former Apprehenſion and Jealouſy; whereupon, he inſiſted, as before, That the Houſe was narrowly to be ſearched, and *that* thoſe Billets and Coals ſhould be ſearched to the Bottom, it being moſt ſuſpicious, that they were laid there only for Covering of the Powder. Of this ſame Mind alſo were all the Counſellors then preſent; but upon the Faſhion of making of the Search was it long debated: For, upon the one Side, they were all ſo jealous of the King's Safety, that they all agreed, That there could not be too much Caution uſed for preventing his Danger; and yet, upon the other Part, they were all extreme loth and dainty, that, in Caſe this Letter ſhould prove to be nothing but the Evaporation of an idle Brain, then a curious Search being made, and nothing found, ſhould not only turn to the general Scandal of the King and the State, as being ſo ſuſpicious of every light and frivolous Toy, but likewiſe lay an ill-favoured Imputation upon the Earl of *Northumberland*, one of his Majeſty's greateſt Subjects and Counſellors, this *Thomas Percy* being his Kinſman and moſt confident Familiar. And the rather were they curious upon this Point, knowing how far the King deteſted to be thought ſuſpicious or jealous of any of his good Subjects, though of the meaneſt Degree; and therefore, though they all agreed upon the main Ground, which was to provide for the Security of the King's Perſon, yet did they much differ in the Circumſtances, by which this Action might be beſt carried with leaſt Din and Occaſion of Slander. But, the King himſelf ſtill perſiſting, that there were divers ſhrewd Appearances, and that a narrow Search of thoſe Places could prejudge no Man that was innocent, he at laſt plainly reſolved them, That either muſt all the Parts of thoſe Rooms be narrowly ſearched, and no Poſſibility of Danger left unexamined, or elſe he and they all muſt reſolve not to meddle in it at all, but plainly to go the next Day to the Parliament, and leave the Succeſs to Fortune; which, he believed, they would be loth to take upon their Conſcience; for, in ſuch a Caſe as this, an Half-doing was worſe than no Doing at all. Whereupon it was at laſt concluded, That nothing ſhould be left unſearched in thoſe Houſes; and yet, for the better Colour and Stay of Rumour, in Caſe nothing were found, it was thought meet, that, upon a Pretence of *Whyneard*'s Miſſing ſome of the King's Stuff, or Hangings, which he had in Keeping, all thoſe Rooms ſhould be narrowly ripped for them. And, to this Purpoſe, was Sir *Thomas Knevet*, (a Gentleman of his Majeſty's Privy-chamber) employed, being a Juſtice of Peace in *Weſtminſter*, and one, of whoſe ancient Fidelity both the late Queen and our now Sovereign have had large Proof; who, according to the Truſt committed unto him, went, about the Midnight next after, to the Parliament-houſe, accompanied with ſuch a ſmall Number as was fit for that Errand: But, before his Entry in the Houſe, finding *Thomas Percy*'s alledged Man ſtanding, without the Doors, his Clothes and Boots on, at ſo dead a Time of the Night, he reſolved to apprehend him; as he did, and thereafter went forward to the Searching of the Houſe, where, after he had cauſed to be overturned ſome of the Billets and Coals, he firſt found one of the ſmall Barrels of Powder, and afterwards all the reſt, to the Number of thirty-ſix Barrels, great and ſmall; and thereafter, ſearching the Fellow, whom he had taken, found three Matches, and all other Inſtruments fit for Blowing up the Powder, ready upon him; which made him inſtantly confeſs his own Guiltineſs; declaring alſo unto him, That, if he had happened to be within the Houſe, when he took him, as he was immediately before (at the Ending of his Work) he would not have failed to have blown him up, Houſe and all.

Thus, after Sir *Thomas* had cauſed the Wretch to be ſurely bound, and well guarded by the Company he had brought with him, he himſelf returned back to the King's Palace, and gave Warning of his Succeſs to the Lord Chamberlain, and Earl of *Saliſbury*, who immediately warning the reſt of the Council, that lay in the Houſe; as ſoon as they could get themſelves ready, came, with their fellow Counſellors, to the King's Bedchamber, being, at that Time, near Four of the Clock in the Morning. And at the firſt Entry of the King's Chamber-door, the Lord Chamberlain, being not any longer able to conceal his Joy for the Preventing of ſo great a Danger, told the King, in a confuſed Haſte, That all was found and diſcovered, and the Traitor in Hands and faſt bound.

Then, Order being firſt taken for ſending for the reſt of the Council that lay in the Town, the Priſoner himſelf was brought into the Houſe, where, in reſpect of the Strangeneſs of the Accident, no Man was ſtayed from the Sight, or Speaking with him. And, within a While after, the Council did examine him; who, ſeeming to put on a *Roman* Reſolution, did, both to the Council, and to every other Perſon that ſpoke with him that Day, appear ſo conſtant and ſettled upon his Grounds, as we all thought we had found ſome new *Mutius Scævola* born in *England*. For, notwithſtanding the Horror of the Fact, the Guilt of his Conſcience, his ſudden Surpriſing, the Terror which ſhould have been ſtruck in him, by coming into the Preſence of ſo grave a Council, and the reſtleſs and confuſed Queſtions, that every Man, all that Day, did vex him with; yet was his Countenance ſo far from being dejected, as he often ſmiled in ſcornful Manner, not only avowing the Fact, but repenting only, with the ſaid *Scævola*, his Failing in the Execution thereof, whereof, he ſaid, the Devil, and not God, was the Diſcoverer; anſwering quickly to every Man's Objection, ſcoffing at any idle Queſtions which were propounded unto him, and jeſting with ſuch as he thought had no Authority to examine him. All that Day could the Council get nothing out of him, touching his Accomplices, refuſing to anſwer to any ſuch Queſtions, which he thought might diſcover the Plot, and laying all the Blame upon himſelf; whereunto, he ſaid, he was moved, only for Religion and Conſcience Sake, denying the King to be his lawful Sovereign, or the Anointed of God, in reſpect he was an Heretick, and giving himſelf no other Name, than *John Johnſon*, Servant to *Thomas Percy*. But, the next Morning, being carried to the *Tower*, he did not there remain above two or three Days, being twice or thrice, in that Space, re-examined, and the Rack only offered and ſhewed unto him, when the Maſk of his *Roman* Fortitude did viſibly begin to wear and ſlide off his Face; and then did he begin to confeſs Part of the Truth, and, thereafter, to open the whole Matter, as doth appear, by his Depoſitions immediately following.

The true Copy of the Depoſition of Guido Fawkes, *taken in the Preſence of the Counſellors, whoſe Names are underwritten.*

I Confeſs, that a Practice, in general, was firſt broken unto me, againſt his Majeſty, for Relief of the Catholick Cauſe, and not invented or propounded by myſelf. And this was firſt propounded unto me about *Eaſter* laſt was Twelve-month, beyond the Seas, in the *Low-Countries*, of the Archduke's Obeiſance, by *Thomas Winter*, who came, thereupon, with me into *England*, and there we imparted our Purpoſe to three other Gentlemen more, namely, *Robert Catesby*, *Thomas Percy*, and *John Wright*, who, all five, conſulting together, of the Means how to execute the ſame; and taking a Vow, among ourſelves, for Secrecy, *Catesby* propounded to have it performed by Gunpowder, and by making a Mine under the Upper Houſe of Parliament; which Place we made choice of, the rather, becauſe, Religion have been unjuſtly ſuppreſſed there, it was fitteſt that Juſtice and Puniſhment ſhould be executed there.

This being reſolved amongſt us, *Thomas Percy* hired an Houſe at *Weſtminſter* for that Purpoſe, near adjoining to the Parliament-Houſe, and there we began to make our Mine, about the Eleventh of *December*, 1604.

The five, that firſt entered into the Work, were *Thomas Percy*, *Robert Catesby*, *Thomas Winter*, *John Wright*, and myſelf, and, ſoon after, we took another unto us, *Chriſtopher Wright*, having ſworn him alſo, and taken the Sacrament for Secrecy.

When we came to the very Foundation of the Wall of the Houſe, which was about three Yards thick, and found it a Matter of great Difficulty, we took unto us another Gentleman, *Robert Winter*, in like Manner, with the Oath and Sacrament as aforeſaid.

It was about *Chriſtmas*, when we brought our Mine unto the Wall, and, about *Candlemas*, we had wrought the Wall half through: And, whilſt they were in Working, I ſtood as Sentinel, to deſcry any Man that came near, whereof I gave them Warning, and ſo they ceaſed, until I gave Notice again to proceed.

All we ſeven lay in the Houſe, and had Shot and Powder, being reſolved to die in that Place, before we ſhould yield or be taken.

As they were working upon the Wall, they heard a Ruſhing in a Cellar, of Removing of Coals; whereupon we feared we had been diſcovered; and they ſent me to go to the Cellar, who finding that the Coals were a Selling, and that the Cellar was to be let, viewing the Commodity thereof for our Purpoſe, *Percy* went and hired the ſame for yearly Rent.

We had, before this, provided and brought into the Houſe twenty Barrels of Powder, which we removed into the Cellar, and covered the ſame with Billets and Faggots, which were provided for that Purpoſe.

About *Eaſter*, the Parliament being prorogued till *October* next, we diſperſed ourſelves, and I retired into the *Low-Countries*, by Advice and Direction of the reſt; as well to acquaint *Owen* with the Particulars of the Plot, as alſo, leſt, by my longer Stay, I might have grown ſuſpicious, and ſo have come in Queſtion.

In the mean Time, *Percy*, having the Key of the Cellar, laid in more Powder and Wood into it. I returned, about the Beginning of *September* next, and, then, receiving the Key again of *Percy*, we brought in more Powder, and Billets to cover the ſame again, and ſo I went, for a Time, into the Country, till the Thirtieth of *October*.

It was further reſolved amongſt us, That, the ſame Day, that this Act ſhould have been performed, ſome other of our Confederates ſhould have ſurpriſed the Perſon of the Lady *Eliſabeth*, the King's eldeſt Daughter, who was kept in *Warwickſhire*, at the Lord *Harrington*'s Houſe, and preſently have proclaimed her Queen, having a Project of a Proclamation ready for that Purpoſe; wherein we made no Mention of altering Religion, nor would have avowed the Deed to be ours, until we ſhould have had Power enough to make our Party good, and then we would have avowed both.

Concerning Duke *Charles*, the King's ſecond Son, we had ſundry Conſultations, how to ſeize on his Perſon: But, becauſe we found no Means how to compaſs it (the Duke being kept near *London*, where we had not Force enough) we reſolved to ſerve our Turn with the Lady *Eliſabeth*.

The Names of other principal Perſons, that were made privy afterwards to this horrible Conſpiracy.

Everard Digby, *Knt.*
Ambroſe Rookwood.
Francis Treſham.
John Grant.
Robert Keyes.

Commiſſioners.

Nottingham, Suffolk, Worceſter, Devonſhire, Northampton, Saliſbury, Marre, Dunbarr, Popham.

Edward Coke.
W. Waad.

And in regard, that, before this Diſcourſe could be ready to go to the Preſs, *Thomas Winter*, being apprehended, and brought to the *Tower*, made a Confeſſion, in Subſtance agreeing with this former of *Fawkes*, only larger in ſome Circumſtances: I have thought good to inſert the ſame likewiſe in this Place, for the further Clearing of the Matter, and greater Benefit of the Reader.

Thomas Winter's *Confeſſion, taken, the Twenty-third of* November 1605, *in the Preſence of the Counſellors, whoſe Names are underwritten.*

My moſt honourable Lords,

NOT out of Hope to obtain Pardon; for, ſpeaking of my temporal Part, I may ſay, the Fault is greater than can be forgiven; nor affecting hereby the Title of a good Subject; for I muſt redeem my Country from as great a Danger, as I have hazarded the Bringing of her into, before I can purchaſe any ſuch Opinion; only at your Honours Command I will briefly ſet down my own Accuſation, and how far I have proceeded in this Buſineſs; which I ſhall the faithfuller do, ſince I ſee ſuch Courſes are not pleaſing to Almighty God, and that all, or the moſt material Parts, have been already confeſſed.

I remained with my Brother in the Country from *Allhallow's-tide*, until the Beginning of *Lent*, in the Year of our Lord 1603, the firſt Year of the King's Reign; about which Time Mr. *Cateſby* ſent thither, intreating me to come to *London*, where he, and other my Friends, would be glad to ſee me. I deſired him to excuſe me; for I found myſelf not very well diſpoſed; and, which had happened never to me before, returned the Meſſenger without my Company. Shortly I received another Letter, in any wiſe to come. At the ſecond Summons, I preſently came up, and found him with Mr. *John Wright*, at *Lambeth*, where he broke with me, how neceſſary it was not to forſake our Country, for he knew I had then a Reſolution to go over, but to deliver her from the Servitude in which ſhe remained, or at leaſt to aſſiſt her with our uttermoſt Endeavours. I anſwered, that I had often hazarded my Life upon far lighter Terms, and now would not refuſe any good Occaſion, wherein I might do Service to the Catholick Cauſe; but for myſelf, I knew no Mean probable to ſucceed. He ſaid that he had bethought him of a Way at one Inſtant to deliver us from all our Bonds, and without any foreign Help to replant again the Catholick Religion; and withal told me in a Word, it was to blow up the Parliament-houſe with Gunpowder; for ſaid he, in that Place have they done us all the Miſchief, and perchance God hath deſigned that Place for their Puniſhment. I wondered at the Strangeneſs of the Conceit, and told him that true it was, this ſtruck at the Root, and would breed a Confuſion fit to beget new Alterations; but if it ſhould not take Effect, as moſt of this Nature miſcarried, the Scandal would be ſo great which the Catholick Religion might hereby ſuſtain, as not only our Enemies, but our Friends alſo would with good Reaſon condemn us. He told me, the Nature of the Diſeaſe required ſo ſharp a Remedy, and aſked me if I would give my Conſent. I told him Yes, in this or what elſe ſoever, if he reſolved upon it, I would

I would venture my Life. But I propoſed many Difficulties, as Want of an Houſe, and of one to carry the Mine, Noiſe in the Working, and ſuch like. His Anſwer was, Let us give an Attempt, and where it faileth, paſs no further. But *firſt*, quoth he, becauſe we will leave no peaceable and quiet Way untried, you ſhall go over and inform the Conſtable of the State of the Catholicks here in *England*, intreating him to ſollicit his Majeſty, at his Coming hither, that the Penal Laws may be recalled, and we admitted into the Rank of his other Subjects; withal, you may bring over ſome confident Gentleman, ſuch as you ſhall underſtand beſt able for this Buſineſs, and named unto me Mr. *Fawkes*. Shortly after, I paſſed the Sea, and found the Conſtable at *Bergen* near *Dunkirk*, where, by Help of Mr. *Owen*, I delivered my Meſſage; whoſe Anſwer was that he had ſtrict Command from his Maſter, to do all good Offices for the Catholicks, and for his own Part, he thought himſelf bound in Conſcience ſo to do, and that no good Occaſion ſhould be omitted, but ſpoke to him nothing of this Matter.

Returning to *Dunkirk* with Mr. *Owen*, we had Speech, whether he thought the Conſtable would faithfully help us, or no. He ſaid he believed nothing leſs, and that they ſought only their own Ends, holding ſmall Account of Catholicks. I told him that there were many Gentlemen in *England*, who would not forſake their Country, until they had tried the uttermoſt, and rather venture their Lives, than forſake her in this Miſery. And to add one more to our Number, as a fit Man both for Counſel and Execution of whatſoever we ſhould reſolve, wiſhed for Mr. *Fawkes*, whom I had heard good Commendations of; he told me the Gentleman deſerved no leſs, but was at *Bruſſels*, and that, if he came not, as happily he might, before my Departure, he would ſend him ſhortly after into *England*. I went ſoon after to *Oſtend*, where Sir *William Stanley*, as then, was not, but came two Days after. I remained with him three or four Days, in which Time I aſked him, if the Catholicks in *England* ſhould do any Thing to help themſelves, whether he thought the Archduke would ſecond them? He anſwered, No, for all thoſe Parts were ſo deſirous of Peace with *England*, as they would endure no Speech of other Enterpriſe; neither were it fit, ſaid he, to ſet any Project a-foot, now the Peace is upon concluding. I told him there was no ſuch Reſolution, and ſo fell to diſcourſe of other Matters, until I came to ſpeak of Mr. *Fawkes*, whoſe Company I wiſhed over into *England*; I aſked of his Sufficiency in the Wars, and told him we ſhould need ſuch as he, if Occaſion required; he gave very good Commendations of him. And as we were thus diſcourſing, and ready to depart for *Newport*, and taking my Leave of Sir *William*, Mr. *Fawkes* came into our Company, newly returned, and ſaluted us. This is the Gentleman, ſaid Sir *William*, that you wiſhed for, and ſo we embraced again. I told him, ſome good Friends of his wiſhed his Company in *England*, and that, if he pleaſed to come to *Dunkirk*, we would have further Conference, whither I was then going; ſo taking my Leave of them both, I departed. About two Days after came Mr. *Fawkes* to *Dunkirk*, where I told him that we were upon a Reſolution to do ſomewhat in *England*, if the Peace with *Spain* helped us not, but as yet reſolved upon nothing; ſuch or the like Talk we paſſed at *Graveling*, where I lay for a Wind, and when it ſerved, came both in one Paſſage to *Greenwich*, near which Place we took a Pair of Oars, and ſo came up to *London*, and came to Mr. *Cateſby*, whom we found in his Lodging; he welcomed us into *England*, and aſked me what News from the Conſtable. I told him, Good Words, but I feared the Deeds would not anſwer. This was the Beginning of *Eaſter* Term, and about the *Midſt* of the ſame Term; whether ſent for by Mr. *Cateſby*, or upon ſome Buſineſs of his own, up came Mr. *Thomas Percy*. The firſt Word he ſpoke, after he came into our Company, was, Shall we always, Gentlemen, talk, and never do any Thing? Mr. *Cateſby* took him aſide, and had Speech about ſomewhat to be done, ſo as firſt we might all take an Oath of Secrecy, which we reſolved within two or three Days to do; ſo as there we met behind St. *Clement's*, Mr. *Cateſby*, Mr. *Percy*, Mr. *Wright*, Mr. *Guy Fawkes*, and myſelf; and having upon a Primer given each other the Oath of Secrecy, in a Chamber where no other Body was, we went after into the next Room and heard Maſs, and received the bleſſed Sacrament upon the ſame. Then did Mr. *Cateſby* diſcloſe to Mr. *Percy*, and I, together with *Jack Wright*, tell to Mr. *Fawkes*, the Buſineſs for which we took

took this Oath, which they both approved. And then was Mr. *Percy* ſent to take the Houſe, which Mr. *Cateſby* in my Abſence had learned did belong to one *Ferris*, which with ſome Difficulty, in the End, he obtained, and became, as *Ferris* before was, Tenant to *Whinniard*. Mr. *Fawkes* underwent the Name of Mr. *Percy*'s Man, calling himſelf *Johnſon*, becauſe his Face was the moſt unknown, and received the Keys of the Houſe, until we heard the Parliament was adjourned to the Seventh of *February*. At which Time, we all departed ſeveral Ways into the Country to meet again at the Beginning of *Michaelmas* Term. Before this Time alſo, it was thought convenient to have a Houſe that might anſwer to Mr. *Percy*'s, where we might make Proviſion of Powder and Wood for the Mine, which being there made ready, ſhould in a Night be conveyed by Boat to the Houſe by the Parliament, becauſe we were loth to ſoil that with often Going in and out. There was none that we could deviſe ſo fit as *Lambeth*, where Mr. *Catesby* often lay, and to be Keeper thereof, by Mr. *Catesby*'s Choice, we received into the Number *Keys*, as a truſty honeſt Man; this was about a Month before *Michaelmas*.

Some Fortnight after towards the Beginning of the Term, Mr. *Fawkes* and I came to Mr. *Catesby* at *Morcrofts*, where we agreed that now was Time to begin and ſet Things in Order for the Mine. So as Mr. *Fawkes* went to *London*, and the next Day ſent for me to come over to him; when I came, the Cauſe was, for that the *Scottiſh* Lords were appointed to ſit in Conference of the Union in Mr. *Percy*'s Houſe. This hindered our Beginning until a Fortnight before *Chriſtmas*, by which Time both Mr. *Percy* and Mr. *Wright* were come to *London*, and we, againſt their Coming, had provided a good Part of the Powder; ſo as we all five entered with Tools fit to begin our Work, having provided ourſelves of Baked-meats, the leſs to need ſending Abroad. We entered late in the Night, and we never ſaw, ſave only Mr. *Percy*'s Man, until *Chriſtmas-Eve*. In which Time we wrought under a little Entry to the Wall of the Parliament-houſe, and underpropped it, as we went, with Wood.

Whilſt we were together, we began to faſhion our Buſineſs, and diſcourſed what we ſhould do after this Deed was done. The firſt Queſtion was how, we might ſurpriſe the next Heir; the Prince haply would be at the Parliament with the King his Father, how ſhould we then be able to ſeize on the Duke? This Burthen Mr. *Percy* undertook, that by his Acquaintance, he, with another Gentleman, would enter the Chamber without Suſpicion, and having ſome Dozen others at ſeveral Doors to expect his Coming, and two or three on Horſeback at the Court-gate to receive him, he would undertake (the Blow being given, until which he would attend in the Duke's Chamber) to carry him ſafe away; for he ſuppoſed moſt of the Court would be abſent, and ſuch as were there not ſuſpecting, or unprovided for any ſuch Matter. For the Lady *Eliſabeth*, it were eaſy to ſurpriſe her in the Country by drawing Friends together at an Hunting, near the Lord *Harrington*'s, and *Aſhby*, Mr. *Catesby*'s Houſe, being not far off, was a fit Place for Preparation.

The next was for Money and Horſes, which if we could provide in any reaſonable Meaſure, having the Heir apparent, and the firſt Knowledge by four or five Days, was Odds ſufficient.

Then what Lords we ſhould ſave from the Parliament, which was firſt agreed in general, as many as we could that were Catholicks, or ſo diſpoſed: But after we deſcended to ſpeak of Particulars.

Next, what foreign Princes we ſhould acquaint with this before, or join with after. For this Point we agreed, that firſt we could not enjoin Princes to that Secrecy, nor oblige them by Oath, ſo to be ſecure of their Promiſe; beſides, we knew not whether they will approve the Project, or diſlike it. And, if they do allow thereof, to prepare before might beget Suſpicion; and, not to provide until the Buſineſs were acted, the ſame Letter, that carried News of the Thing done, might as well intreat their Help and Furtherance. *Spain* is too ſlow in his Preparations, to hope any Good from in the firſt Extremities, and *France* too near and too dangerous, who with the Shipping of *Holland*, we feared of all the World, might make away with us.

But, while we were in the Middle of theſe Diſcourſes, we heard that the Parliament ſhould be a-new adjourned until after *Michaelmas*; upon which Tidings, we broke off both Diſcourſe and Working until after *Chriſtmas*. About *Candlemas*, we brought over in a Boat the Powder which we had provided at *Lambeth*, and laid it in Mr. *Percy*'s Houſe, becauſe we were willing to have all Danger in one Place.

We wrought alſo another Fortnight in the Mine againſt the Stone Wall, which was very hard to beat thorough; at which Time we called in *Kit Wright*, and near to *Eaſter*, as we wrought the third Time, Opportunity was given to hire the Cellar, in which we reſolved to lay the Powder, and leave the Mine.

Now, by Reaſon that the Charge of maintaining us all ſo long together, beſides the Number of ſeveral Houſes, which, for ſeveral Uſes, had been hired, and buying of Powder, *&c.* had lain heavy on Mr. *Catesby* alone to ſupport, it was neceſſary for him to call in ſome others to eaſe his Charge; and to that End deſired Leave, that he, with Mr. *Percy*, and a third, whom they ſhould call, might acquaint whom they thought fit and willing to the Buſineſs; for many, ſaid he, may be content that I ſhould know, who would not therefore that all the Company ſhould be acquainted with their Names: To this we all agreed.

After this, Maſter *Fawkes* laid into the Cellar (which he had newly taken) a thouſand Billets, and five hundred Faggots, and with that covered the Powder, becauſe we might have the Houſe free, to ſuffer any one to enter that would. Mr. *Catesby* wiſhed us to conſider, whether it were not now neceſſary to ſend Mr. *Fawkes* over, both to abſent himſelf for a Time, as alſo to acquaint Sir *William Stanley* and Mr. *Owen* with this Matter. We agreed that he ſhould (provided that he gave it them with the ſame Oath that we had taken before) *viz.* To keep it ſecret from all the World. The Reaſon, why we deſired Sir *William Stanley* ſhould be acquainted herewith, was, to have him with us as ſoon as he could: And for Mr. *Owen*, he might hold good Correſpondency after with foreign Princes. So Mr. *Fawkes* departed about *Eaſter* for *Flanders*, and returned, the latter End of *Auguſt*. He told me, that, when he arrived at *Bruſſels*, Sir *William Stanley* was not returned from *Spain*, ſo as he uttered the Matter only to *Owen*, who ſeemed well pleaſed with the Buſineſs, but told him, that ſurely Sir *William* would not be acquainted with any Plot, as having Buſineſs now a-foot in the Court of *England*; but he himſelf would be always ready to tell it him, and ſend him away as ſoon as it were done.

About this Time did Mr. *Percy* and Mr. *Catesby* meet at the *Bath*, where they agreed, that, the Company being yet but few, Mr. *Catesby* ſhould have the others Authority to call in whom he thought beſt; by which Authority he called in after Sir *Everard Digby*, though at what Time I know not, and laſt of all Maſter *Francis Treſham*. The firſt promiſed, as I heard Mr. *Catesby* ſay, Fifteen-hundred Pounds; the ſecond Two-thouſand Pounds; Mr. *Percy* himſelf promiſed all that he could get out of the Earl of *Northumberland*'s Rents, which was about Four-thouſand Pounds, and to provide many galloping Horſes, to the Number of ten.

Mean while Mr. *Fawkes*, and myſelf alone, bought ſome new Powder, as ſuſpecting the firſt to be dank, and conveyed it into the Cellar, and ſet it in Order, as we reſolved it ſhould ſtand. Then was the Parliament a-new prorogued until the Fifth of *November*, ſo as we all went down until ſome ten Days before, when Mr. *Catesby* came up with Mr. *Fawkes* to an Houſe by *Enfield-Chace*, called *White-Webbes*, whither I came to them, and Mr. *Catesby* willed me to enquire, whether the young Prince came to the Parliament. I told him, that I heard that his Grace thought not to be there. Then muſt we have our Horſes, ſaid Mr. *Catesby*, beyond the Water, and Proviſion of more Company to ſurpriſe the Prince, and leave the Duke alone.

Two Days after, being *Sunday* at Night, in came one to my Chamber, and told me, that a Letter had been given to my Lord *Monteagle*, to this Effect: That he wiſhed his Lordſhip's Abſence from the Parliament, becauſe a Blow would there be given. Which Letter he preſently carried to my Lord of *Saliſbury*.

On the Morrow I went to *White-Webbes*, and told it Mr. *Catesby*, aſſuring him withal, that the Matter was diſcloſed; and wiſhing him in any Caſe to forſake his Country. He told me, he would ſee further as yet, and reſolved to ſend Mr. *Fawkes* to try the uttermoſt, proteſting, if the Part belonged to himſelf, he would try the ſame Adventure.

On *Wedneſday* Maſter *Fawkes* went, and returned at Night, of which we were very glad.

Thurſday I came to *London*, and *Friday* Maſter *Catesby*, Maſter *Treſham*, and I met at *Barnet*, where we queſtioned how this Letter ſhould be ſent to my Lord *Monteagle*, but could not conceive, for Maſter *Treſham* forſwore it, whom we only ſuſpected.

On *Saturday* Night I met Mr. *Treſham* again in *Lincoln*'s-*Inn* Walks; wherein he told ſuch Speeches, that my Lord of *Saliſbury* ſhould uſe to the King, as I gave it loſt the ſecond Time, and repeated the ſame to Mr. *Catesby*, who hereupon was reſolved to be gone, but ſtaid to have Maſter *Percy* come up, whoſe Conſent herein we wanted. On *Sunday* Mr. *Percy*, being dealt with to that End, would needs abide the uttermoſt Trial.

The Suſpicion of all Hands put us into ſuch Confuſion, as Maſter *Catesby* reſolved to go down into the Country, the *Monday* that Maſter *Percy* went to *Sion*, and Maſter *Percy* reſolved to follow the ſame Night, or early the next Morning. About Five of the Clock, being *Tueſday*, came the younger *Wright* to my Chamber, and told me, of a Nobleman, called the Lord *Monteagle*, ſaying, Ariſe, and come along to *Eſſex* Houſe, for I am going to call up my Lord of *Northumberland*; ſaying withal, the Matter is diſcovered. Go back, Maſter *Wright* (quoth I) and learn what you can about *Eſſex* Gate. Shortly he returned, and ſaid, ſurely all is loſt; for *Lepton* is got on Horſeback at *Eſſex* Door, and, as he parted, he asked, if their Lordſhips would have any more with him; and being anſwered, No, is rode faſt up *Fleetſtreet* as he can ride. Go you then (quoth I) to Mr. *Percy*, for ſure it is for him they ſeek, and bid him be gone, I will ſtay and ſee the uttermoſt. Then I went to the Court-Gates, and found them ſtraightly guarded, ſo as no Body could enter. From thence I went down towards the Parliament-Houſe, and, in the Middle of *King-ſtreet*, found the Guard ſtanding, that would not let me paſs. And, as I returned, I heard one ſay, There is a Treaſon diſcovered, in which the King and the Lords ſhould have been blown up. So then I was fully ſatisfied that all was known, and went to the Stable where my Gelding ſtood, and rode into the Country. Mr. *Catesby* had appointed our Meeting at *Dunchurch*, but I could not overtake them until I came to my Brother's, which was *Wedneſday* Night. On *Thurſday* we took the Armour at my Lord *Windſor*'s, and went that Night to one *Stephen Littleton*'s Houſe, where the next Day (being *Friday*) as I was early Abroad to diſcover, my Man came to me, and ſaid, that an heavy Miſchance had ſevered all the Company, for that Mr. *Catesby*, Mr. *Rookwood*, and Mr. *Grant* were burnt with Gunpowder, upon which Sight the reſt diſperſed. Maſter *Littleton* wiſhed me to fly, and ſo would he. I told him, I would firſt ſee the Body of my Friend, and bury him, whatſoever befel me. When I came, I found Mr. *Catesby* reaſonable well, Maſter *Percy*, both the *Wrights*, Mr. *Rookwood*, and Maſter *Grant*. I asked them what they reſolved to do. They anſwered, We mean here to die. I ſaid again, I would take ſuch Part as they did. About Eleven of the Clock came the Company to beſet the Houſe, and, as I walked into the Court, I was ſhot into the Shoulder, which loſt me the Uſe of my Arm; the next Shot was the elder *Wright* ſtruck dead; after him the younger Mr. *Wright*; and fourthly, *Ambroſe Rookwood*. Then ſaid Mr. *Catesby* to me, (ſtanding before the Door they were to enter) Stand by me, *Tom*, and we will die together. Sir (quoth I) I have loſt the Uſe of my Right Arm, and I fear that will cauſe me to be taken. So, as we ſtood cloſe together, Mr. *Catesby*, Mr. *Percy*, and myſelf, they two were ſhot (as far as I could gueſs, with one Bullet) and then the Company entered upon me, hurt me in the Belly with a Pike, and gave me other Wounds, until one came behind, and caught hold of both my Arms. And ſo I remain

Yours, &c.

Commiſſioners.

Nottingham, *Suffolk*, *Worceſter*, *Devonſhire*, *Northampton*, *Saliſbury*, *Marr*, *Dunbar*, *Popham*.

Edw. Coke. W. Waad.

The Names of thoſe that were firſt in the Treaſon, and laboured in the Mine.

Robert Catesby, *Robert Winter*, Eſqrs. *Thomas Percy*, *Thomas Winter*, *John Wright*, *Chriſtopher Wright*, *Guido Fawkes*, Gentlemen. And *Bates*, *Catesby*'s Man.

Thoſe that were made acquainted with it, though not perſonally labouring in the Mine, nor in the Cellar.

Everard Digby, Knt. *Ambroſe Rookwood*, *Francis Treſham*, Eſqrs. *John Graunt*, Gent. *Robert Keyes.*

But here let us leave *Fawkes* in a Lodging fit for ſuch a Gueſt, and taking Time to adviſe upon his Conſcience, and turn ourſelves to that Part of the Hiſtory, which concerns the Fortune of the reſt of their Partakers in that abominable Treaſon. The News was no ſooner ſpread Abroad that Morning, which was upon a *Tueſday*, the Fifth of *November*, and the firſt Day deſigned for that Seſſion of Parliament; the News, I ſay, of this ſo ſtrange and unlooked-for Accident was no ſooner divulged, but ſome of thoſe Conſpirators, namely, *Winter*, and the two Brothers of *Wrights*, thought it high Time for them to haſten out of the Town (for *Catesby* was gone the Night before, and *Percy* at Four of the Clock in the Morning the ſame Day of the Diſcovery) and all of them held their Courſe, with more Haſte than good Speed, to *Warwickſhire* toward *Coventry*, where the next Day Morning, being *Wedneſday*, and about the ſame Hour that *Fawkes* was taken in *Weſtminſter*, one *Graunt*, a Gentleman, having aſſociated unto him ſome others of his Opinion, all violent Papiſts, and ſtrong Recuſants, came to a Stable of one *Benocke*, a Rider of great Horſes, and, having violently broken up the ſame, carried along with them all the great Horſes that were therein, to the Number of ſeven or eight, belonging to divers Noblemen and Gentlemen of that Country, who had put them into the Rider's Hands to be made fit for their Service. And ſo both that Company of them which fled out of *London*, as alſo *Graunt*, and his Accomplices, met all together at *Dunchurch*, at Sir *Everard Digby*'s Lodging, the *Tueſday* at Night, after the Diſcovery of this treacherous Attempt; the which *Digby* had likewiſe, for his Part, appointed a Match of Hunting, to have been hunted the next Day, which was *Wedneſday*, though his Mind was, *Nimrod*-like, upon a far other Manner of Hunting, more bent upon the Blood of reaſonable Men than brute Beaſts.

This Company, and helliſh Society, thus convened, finding their Purpoſe diſcovered, and their Treachery prevented, did reſolve to run a deſperate Courſe; and, ſince they could not prevail, by ſo private a Blow, to practiſe, by a publick Rebellion, either to attain to their Intents, or, at leaſt, to ſave themſelves in the Throng of others. And, therefore, gathering all the Company they could unto them, and pretending the Quarrel of Religion, having intercepted ſuch Proviſion of Armour, Horſes, and Powder, as the Time could permit, thought, by running up and down the Country, both to augment Piece and Piece their Number (dreaming to themſelves, that they had the Virtue of a Snow-ball, which, being little at the firſt, and tumbling down from a great Hill, groweth to a great Quantity, by increaſing itſelf with the Snow that it meeteth by the Way) and alſo, that they, beginning firſt this brave Shew, in one Part of the Country, ſhould, by their Sympathy and Example, ſtir up and encourage the reſt of their Religion, in other Parts of *England*, to riſe, as they had done there. But, when they had gathered their Force to the greateſt, they came not to the Number of Fourſcore; and yet were they troubled, all the Hours of the Day, to keep and contain their own Servants from ſtealing from them; who, notwithſtanding all their Care, daily left them, being far inferior to *Gideon*'s Hoſt in Number, but far more, in Faith or Juſtneſs of Quarrel.

And ſo, after that this Catholick Troop had wandered a While through *Warwickſhire* to *Worceſterſhire*, and from thence to the Edge and Borders of *Staffordſhire*, this gallantly armed Band had not the Honour, at the laſt, to be beaten with a King's Lieutenant, or extraordinary Commiſſioner, ſent down for the Purpoſe, but only by the ordinary Sheriff of *Worceſterſhire* were they all beaten, killed, taken, and diſperſed. Wherein ye have to note this following Circumſtance ſo admirable, and ſo lively diſplaying the Greatneſs of God's Juſtice, as it could not be concealed, without betraying, in a Manner, the Glory due to the Almighty for the ſame.

Although divers of the King's Proclamations were poſted down after theſe Traytors with all the Speed poſſible, declaring the Odiouſneſs of that bloody Attempt, the Neceſſity to have had *Percy* preſerved alive, if it had been poſſible, and the Aſſembly together of that rightly damned Crew, now no more darkened Conſpirators, but open and avowed Rebels; yet the far Diſtance of the Way, which was above an hundred Miles, together with the extreme Deepneſs thereof, joined alſo with the Shortneſs of the Day, was the Cauſe that the hearty and loving Affections of the King's good Subjects, in thoſe Parts, prevented the Speed of his Proclamations. For, upon the third Day after the Flying down of theſe Rebels, which was upon the *Friday* next after the Diſcovery of their Plot, they were moſt of them all ſurpriſed by the Sheriff of *Worceſterſhire*, at *Holbeech*, about the Noon of the Day, and that in Manner following:

Graunt, of whom I have made mention before, for taking the great Horſes, who had not, all the preceding Time, ſtirred from his own Houſe till the next Morning, after the Attempt ſhould have been put in Execution; he then laying his Accounts without his Hoſt, as the Proverb is, that their Plot had, without failing, received the Day before their hoped-for Succeſs; took, or rather ſtole, out thoſe Horſes, as I ſaid before, for enabling him, and ſo many of that fouleſt Society, that had ſtill remained in the Country near about him, to make a ſudden Surpriſe upon the King's elder Daughter, the Lady *Eliſabeth*, having her Reſidence near by that Place, whom they thought to have uſed for the Colour of their treacherous Deſign (his Majeſty, her Father, her Mother, and male Children being all deſtroyed above) and to this Purpoſe, alſo, had that *Nimrod*, *Digby*, provided his Hunting-match againſt that ſame Time, that, Numbers of People being flocked together, upon the Pretence thereof, they might the eaſilier have brought to paſs the ſudden Surpriſe of her Perſon.

Now the violent Taking away of thoſe Horſes, long before Day, did ſeem to be ſo great a Riot, in the Eyes of the common People, that knew of no greater Myſtery: And the bold Attempting thereof did ingender ſuch a Suſpicion of ſome following Rebellion in the Hearts of the wiſer Sort, as both Great and Small began to ſtir and arm themſelves, upon this unlooked-for Accident. But, before twelve or ſixteen Hours paſt, *Catesby*, *Percy*, the *Winters*, *Wrights*, *Rookwood*, and the reſt, bringing then the Aſſurance, that their main Plot was failed and bewrayed, whereupon they had built the golden Mountain of their glorious Hopes: They then took their laſt deſperate Reſolution, to flock together in a Troop, and wander, as they did, for the Reaſons aforetold. But as, upon the one Part, the zealous Duty to their God, and their Sovereign, was ſo deeply imprinted in the Hearts of all the meaneſt and pooreſt Sort of the People (although then knowing of no further Myſtery, than ſuch publick Miſbehaviours, as their own Eyes taught them) as, notwithſtanding of their fair Shews and Pretences of their Catholick Cauſe, no Creature, Man or Woman, through all the Country, would, once, ſo much as give them, willingly, a Cup of Drink, or any Sort of Comfort or Support, but, with Execrations, deteſted them: So, on the other Part, the Sheriffs of the Shires, through which they wandered, conveying their People with all Speed poſſible, hunted as hotly after them, as the Evilneſs of the Way, and the Unprovidedneſs of their People, upon that Sudden, could permit them. And ſo at laſt, after Sir *Richard Verney*, Sheriff of *Warwickſhire*, had carefully and ſtraightly been in Chace of them to the Confines of his County, Part of the meaner Sort being alſo apprehended by him; Sir *Richard Walſh*, Sheriff of *Worceſterſhire*, did likewiſe dutifully and hotly purſue them through his Shire: And, having gotten ſure Trial of their taking Harbour at the Houſe abovenamed, he did ſend Trumpeters and Meſſengers to them, commanding them, in the King's Name, to render unto him, his Majeſty's Miniſter; and knowing no more, at that Time, of their Guilt, than was publickly viſible, did promiſe, upon their dutiful and obedient Rendering unto him, to intercede, at the King's Hands, for the Sparing of their Lives; who received only, from them, this ſcornful Anſwer (they being better Witneſſes to themſelves of their inward evil Conſciences) 'That he had need of better Aſſiſtance, than 'of thoſe few Numbers that were with him, 'before he could be able to command or 'controul them.'

But here fell the wonderous Work of God's Juſtice, that, while this Meſſage paſſed between the Sheriff and them, the Sheriff's and his People's Hearts being juſtly kindled and augmented by their arrogant Anſwer; and ſo, they preparing themſelves to give a furious Aſſault, and the other Party making themſelves ready, within the Houſe, to perform their Promiſe by a Defence as reſolute; it pleaſed God, that, in the Mending of the Fire in their Chamber, one ſmall Spark ſhould fly out, and light among leſs than two Pound-weight of Powder, which was drying a little from the Chimney; which, being thereby blown up, ſo maimed the Faces of ſome of the principal Rebels, and the Hands and Sides of others of them (blowing up with it alſo a great Bag full of Powder, which, notwithſtanding, never took Fire) as they were not only diſabled and diſcouraged hereby, from any further Reſiſtance, in reſpect *Catesby* * himſelf, *Rookwood*, *Grant*, and divers others of greateſt Account among them, were, thereby, made unable for Defence, but, alſo, wonderfully ſtruck with Amazement in their guilty Conſciences, calling to Memory, how God had juſtly puniſhed them with that ſame Inſtrument, which they ſhould have uſed for the Effectuating of ſo great a Sin, according to the old *Latin* Saying, *In quo peccamus, in eodem plectimur*; as they preſently (ſee the wonderful Power of God's Juſtice upon guilty Conſciences) did all fall down upon their Knees, praying God to pardon them for their bloody Enterpriſe; and, thereafter, giving over any further Debate, opened the Gate, ſuffered the Sheriff's People to ruſh in furiouſly among them, and deſperately ſought their own preſent Deſtruction: The three Specials of them joining Backs together, *Catesby*, *Percy*, and *Winter*, whereof two, with one Shot, *Catesby* and *Percy*, were ſlain, and the third, *Winter*, taken and ſaved alive.

And thus theſe reſolute and high aſpiring Catholicks, who dreamed of no leſs than the Deſtruction of Kings and Kingdoms, and promiſed to themſelves no lower Eſtate, than the Government of great and ancient Monarchies, were miſerably defeated, and quite overthrown in an Inſtant, falling in the Pit which they had prepared for others; and ſo fulfilling that Sentence, which his Majeſty did, in a Manner, propheſy of them, in his Oration to the Parliament; ſome preſently ſlain, others deadly wounded, ſtripped of their Clothes, left lying miſerably naked, and ſo dying, rather of Cold, than of the Danger of their Wounds; and the reſt, that either were whole, or but lightly hurt, taken and led Priſoners by the Sheriff, the ordinary Miniſter of Juſtice, to the Jail, the ordinary Place, even of the baſeſt Malefactors, where they remained till their Sending up to *London*, being met with a huge Confluence of People of all Sorts, deſirous to ſee them, as the rareſt Sort of Monſters; Fools to laugh at them, Women and Children to wonder, all the common People to gaze, the wiſer Sort to ſatisfy their Curioſity, in ſeeing the outward Caſes of ſo unheard of a Villainy; and, generally, all Sorts of People, to ſatiate and fill their Eyes with the Sight of them, whom, in their Hearts, they ſo far admired and deteſted; ſerving ſo for a fearful and publick Spectacle of God's fierce Wrath and juſt Indignation.

What, hereafter, will be done with them, is to be left to the Juſtice of his Majeſty and the State; which, as no good Subject needs to doubt, will be performed in its own due Time, by a publick and exemplary Puniſhment; ſo have we, all that are faithful and humble Subjects, great Cauſe to pray earneſtly to the Almighty, that it will pleaſe him, who hath the Hearts of all Princes in his Hands, to put it in his Majeſty's Heart, to make ſuch a Concluſion of this Tragedy to the Traytors, but Tragi-comedy to the King, and all his true Subjects, as, thereby, the Glory of God, and his true Religion, may be advanced, the future Security of the King, and his Eſtate, procured and provided for, all hollow and diſhoneſt Hearts diſcovered and prevented, and this horrible Attempt, lacking due Epithets, to be ſo juſtly avenged; that whereas they thought, by one Catholick indeed, and univerſal Blow, to accompliſh the Wiſh of that *Roman* Tyrant, who wiſhed all the Bodies, in *Rome*, to have but one Neck, and ſo, by the violent Force of Powder, to break up, as with a Petard, our triple-locked peaceful Gates of *Janus*, which, God be thanked, they could not compaſs by any other Means; they may juſtly be ſo recompenſed, for their truly viperous intended Parricide *, as the Shame and Infamy that, otherwiſe, would light upon this whole Nation, for having unfortunately hatched ſuch Cockatrice-eggs, may be repaired, by the Execution of famous and honourable Juſtice upon the Offenders, and ſo the Kingdom purged of them may, hereafter, perpetually flouriſh in Peace and Proſperity, by the happy Conjunction of the Hearts of all honeſt and true Subjects, with their juſt and religious Sovereign.

---

* *Catesby*, who was the firſt Inventor of this Treaſon in general, and of the Manner of working the ſame by Powder, in ſpecial, himſelf now firſt maimed with the Blowing up of Powder, and, next, he and *Percy* both killed with one Shot proceeding from Powder.

And thus, whereas they thought to have effaced our Memories, the Memory of them ſhall remain, but to their perpetual Infamy; and we, as I ſaid in the Beginning, ſhall, with all Thankfulneſs, eternally preſerve the Memory of ſo great a Benefit. To which let every good Subject ſay *Amen*.

---

* As *Æneas Sylvius* doth notably write concerning the Murder of King *James the Firſt* of *Scotland*, and the following Puniſhment of the Traytors, whereof himſelf was an Eye-Witneſs. *Europa*, Cap. xlvi.

The Advice * of that worthy Commander, Sir *Edward Harwood*, Colonel. Written by King *Charles*'s Command, upon Occaſion of the *French* King's Preparation; and preſented in his Life-time, by his own Hand, to his Majeſty: Hitherto, being a private Manuſcript. Alſo a Relation of his Life and Death. Whereunto is alſo annexed divers remarkable Inſtructions, written by the late, and ever-famous, Earl of *Eſſex*. All tending to the Securing and Fortifying of this Kingdom, both by Sea and Land, and now ſeaſonably publiſhed for the Benefit of theſe Times.

A Word ſpoken in Seaſon is like Apples of Gold in Pictures of Silver. PROV. XXV. 11.

Printed at *London*, for *R. Harford*. 1642. *Quarto*, containing forty Pages.

In Memoria Col. *Harw.* Equitis Aurati.

CArmina quid canerem? Triſtes imitantia Muſas,
Carmina ſunt meritis inferiora ſuis.
Vixit, quem dederat curſum Deus, ille peregit,
Gentis honos obiit, gloria, fama, decus.
Multa fides, pietaſque viri, ſic multa recurſat
Nobilitas animi; plurima nota loquor.

---

* This is the 88th Number in the Catalogue of Pamphlets in the *Harleian* Library.

Though *Holland* honour'd be, to keep the Duſt
  Of ſuch a Soldier, valiant, wiſe, and juſt:
The Baſis of the Univerſe not great,
  Nor vaſt enough, his Merits on to ſeat:
Mars, *Hermes*, *Phœbus*, and chaſte *Theſeu's* Son,
  In Col'nel *Harwood* did meet all in one.
But, ſhould I write his Praiſe, it would be thought,
  A Nephew will commend the Work, though nought.
I rather leave it, to each Reader's Mind,
  To judge thereof, as he the Work ſhall find:
And, if they ſay, that he hath not done well,
  Bid him, that blames him, ſhew his Parallel.

M. Draper.

To the Right Honourable the Lords and Commons, aſſembled in the High Court of Parliament.

R*IGHT Honourable Lords, and worthy Gentlemen, we are all embarked in the Ship, the Commonwealth; and as, in a Ship, there are divers Agents, whereof ſome of the chiefeſt ſit at the Stern to govern; others of an inferior Rank climb the Maſt, hoiſt Sails, and do inferior Works in it, all of them according to their ſeveral Ranks, as they do the Duties of their ſeveral Places; ſo have Intereſt in the common Good, and either do, or ought to mind the publick Welfare of it: And as, in Building of the Tabernacle, ſome of the chief Sort brought Gold, Silver, and precious Stones, others of inferior Sort, Goats Hair and Badgers Skins, every Man, according to his Ability, did contribute to the ſame. I, though but of the inferior Rank in this Ship, even the meaneſt of all others, yet embarked therein, ſee not but I ought to endeavour, though but in inferior Works, the Good of it, who, though I have not Gold, Silver, or precious Stones, nor any Thing beſides my poor Prayers to advance the glorious Tabernacle, yet would, with* Ahimaaz, *run alſo, as one willing and deſirous to do Good, if I had any Ability in myſelf, or Opportunity: But having Nothing of my own, finding this little Manuſcript among the Papers of my dear deceaſed Brother, and conſidering the Troubleſomeneſs of the Times, the Fears of the better Sort, and Hopes of the worſe: I have adventured to make it publick, which though written ſome Time ſince, and upon another Occaſion, yet there may ſomething be gathered out of it, if I miſtake not myſelf, which may be of good Uſe for theſe preſent Times of our Fears, and ſad Apprehenſions; wherein if there be any Thing, which in your grave Wiſdoms, you may think fit to put in Execution, it ſhall much rejoice me, that I brought it to the Light, or at leaſt, if it may but occaſion your Wiſdoms to take into your ſerious Conſideration the Subject-matter of it, which is the Securing of the Kingdom againſt all Dangers, that may come to it, and in your Wiſdoms to think upon better Directions, that may remove the Fears and Apprehenſions of moſt Men in theſe tumultuous Times, by Reaſon of the Inſurrection of our neighbouring Kingdom, and the juſt Fears we have of theſe peſtilent Enemies of our Church and Commonwealth, the Papiſts in this Kingdom, and their Adherents, the Prelates: Now as concerning my Brother's Manuſcript, as it was penned in Time of a great Sea Preparation made by the* French *King ſome ten Years paſt,*

paſt, ſo, as I had it from his own Mouth, it gained the Approbation and good Liking of his Majeſty, who commanded him to write his Judgment and Opinion of thoſe Preparations, and by what Means, if they were intended againſt us, we might ſecure ourſelves both for the preſent, and in future; which though, for ſome Reaſons, was not thought fit to be put in Execution, yet I have been encouraged by ſome of good Judgment, now to publiſh it in theſe Times, wherein we have ſome more Apprehenſion of Danger than formerly, partly by the actual Riſing of theſe many ill-affected to Religion in Ireland, *and alſo thoſe proud threatening Speeches lately given forth by the Papiſts here at Home, which if not by ſome ſuch Courſe, as is here propounded, prevented, may breed more Danger, than moſt are ſenſible of.*

Elijah's *Cloud roſe but like a Hand, which after overſpread the whole Heaven; what this may do, if ſuffered to enlarge itſelf; how far reach, we cannot directly ſay; but even to our own Horiſon we may well preſume, if not repelled, or diſperſed by a ſtrong and ſwift Gale. The Miſchief they carry with them cannot be contained in the Neighbour Kingdom, if they thus grow in their Progreſs. What Combination there may be with foreign States I leave to deeper Judgments; but, for my own Part, I ſhall ever ſubſcribe unto the Opinion of that noble Lord, concerning an old Enemy the* Spaniard: *That, if he ever find an Opportunity, and Advantage againſt us, he will not baulk it: I cannot eaſily be drawn to a Belief, that that great Fleet they ſent two Years ſince upon our Coaſt, when we and our true-hearted Brethren, the* Scots, *were ready to enter into a bloody Battle, was to guard only his Soldiers, or Treaſure; but that there was a Deſign in it upon this Kingdom, though by God's Mercy prevented. Never came ſuch a Fleet upon our Coaſt, ſave in 88, when they intended a real Invaſion. But if it be objected, Was he not in League with us? But alas! What Security can we have thereby, in being in League with him, or any of that Religion? When* firſt *they hold that it is no Fault to break Faith with Hereticks.* Secondly, *If it be, the Pope's Diſpenſation will take it away.* Thirdly, *If the Pope find it for his Advantage, he will ſo charge them to break with us, that ſo Conſcience and Obedience ſhall cure their Malice and Perfidiouſneſs: I am bold to add to what my Brother wrote, what once, long ſince, I read in a little Treatiſe, which may ſomething conduce to this, of that brave Lord, the late Earl of* Eſſex, *expreſſed in an Apology in the late Queen's Time of happy Memory; which may ſomething ſtrengthen my Brother's Opinion for making Sea Preparations, which, with my Brother's, I humbly offer to your Conſiderations, there being none under Heaven, to whom we can addreſs ourſelves, for Power and Fitneſs to correct the malignant Aſpect of theſe Influences, beſides your Honours: And now, moſt noble and grave Senators, the true and ever renowned Patriots of your Country, if my Zeal, for my Country's Freedom and Proſperity, have born me beyond my Bounds, impute it to my Error of Judgment, and let your Candor cloſe with the good Intentions of him, who is more in Wiſhes, and hearty Deſires, than in Parts and Abilities, for the Felicity of his Country. And he ſhall ever remain*

Your Honour's moſt humble

and obſequious Servant,

George Harwood.

The Life and Death of Colonel Harwood.

Gentle Reader,

THIS little Manuſcript, penned by my honoured Friend Sir *Edward Harwood*, Colonel of an *Engliſh* Regiment in the *Low-Countries*, was intended for the Preſs, and ready thereunto, when, by God's gracious Providence I coming over (having had ſome Experience of his Worth) and, in ſome reſpect, obliged unto him, was not a little glad to meet with an Opportunity to ſhew my Love and Reſpects to him. I therefore deſired Leave of his Brother, of whom I have now obtained it, though with ſome Difficulty, to offer to the World ſome Teſtimony of it, wherein I will forbear to ſay what I may, neither is there Need for me in that Kind to ſay any Thing at all, in reſpect to thoſe that knew him, and have been converſant with him; they have been Eye-Witneſſes to more than I write; but, for their Sakes, who did not know him, I deſire a little to acquaint them with his Worth, to the End, that they, who have a Love to that honourable Profeſſion, may have a worthy Example to excite their Imitation.

It being my Portion to travel with him one whole Night, not long before his Deceaſe, he was (beyond his Cuſtom) kept awake all that Time by his own Spirit; which conſtrained him to open his Boſom to me, and to give me an Epitome of his Time, and God's Dealing with him, of which, and my own Obſervations concerning him, you may pleaſe to take this brief Extract.

His Birth was genteel, and from a Root fit to ingraft his future Education and Excellency: Furniſhed he was with ſuch Learning as his Age was capable of, and grew up in an eſpecial Reſpect unto the faithful Diſpenſers of the Goſpel, and accordingly reaped the Fruits of it in God's Seaſon. His Spirit (though ſad enough) yet accompanied with much natural Mettle and Courage, and looked above other Callings, to that which narrow-minded and effeminate Men cloſe not with.

He ſoon attended the School of War of thoſe Times, where quick and curious Deſigns iſſued into daily Action and Execution. There my Lord *Vere*, who could well diſtinguiſh Men, caſt his Eye upon him, by whoſe Favour, exhaled by his own Worth, he was not long aſcending the uſual Step whereon the Wars placeth Reward for its Followers: As he grew ſkilful in his Trade, ſo was he amiable to others. They live who know how dear he was to that juſtly lamented Prince *Henry*, who took ſuch Delight in him, that his Cloſet Thoughts were open to my noble Friend, from whom that noble Prince got no ſmall Advantage in his Military Way. He was alſo ever precious to King *James*, of bleſſed Memory; ſo alſo no leſs in the Eſteem of our now gracious Sovereign, witneſſing their royal Affection towards him in ſeveral Expreſſions of their Favours. To the illuſtrious Princeſs, the Queen of *Bohemia*, who, hearing of his Death, cried out in a great Paſſion, *Oh! that ugly Town of* Maeſtricht, *that hath bereaved me of ſo faithful a Servant.* Alſo to that Mirrour of his Time, the laſt Lord *Harrington*, to whom he was ſo endeared, that he offered to hazard Eſtate, Liberty, and Life for his Good, as by divers of his Letters, ſtill extant, appears. To the late Duke of *Buckingham*, who, after the Defeat at the Iſle of *Ree*, remembering what Service he did at *Cadiz* Voyage, in bringing off the Retreat, cried out, *Oh!* Ned Harwood! Ned Harwood! *that I had had thee here:* To the laſt Lord Steward, to the old Earl of *Southampton*, to the late Earl of *Bedford*, to this now Earl of *Eſſex*, and to the now Earl of *Leiceſter*, who was ſome Time his Colonel; to the Earl of *Warwick*, to the Lord *Carlton*, and to moſt of the chief Nobility of this Kingdom; whoſe Letters, found amongſt his Papers, mention ſuch real Affection, as is ſcarcely credible, from Men of their Quality. Neither was he a little dear to that highly honoured Lord, the Lord *Craven* (who, beſides the late real Expreſſion of Love to his Brother, and, for his many, great, noble, and pious Works, deſerves to have his Name written upon Pillars of Braſs) who, when he heard of his Death (as was related to his Brother) caſt himſelf on his Bed, crying out, He had loſt his Father; ſuch was his Love and Opinion of him.

Moreover, when his Death was noiſed in the Army, there was ſuch a general Lamentation for his Loſs, that his Excellency was fain to ſend ſpecial Command to ſtill it, leſt the Enemy ſhould take Courage, as thinking it were for ſome of greater Quality: And his Excellency himſelf, in my own Hearing, I, being appointed to go before his Excellency after the Hearſe, heard him ſay, to Count *Erneſt*, *He had loſt his Right Hand, in the Loſs of Monſieur* Harwood. To be brief, his Name amongſt Soldiers was, *In omni ore, tanquam mel ſuavis, & tanquam inſtrumenta muſica in convivio lauto.* He lived, deſired; and died, lamented.

He ſoon aſcended (in the States Service) to the higheſt Step that *Engliſhmen* uſually tread, and that was a Colonel, in which Condition, I had my Knowledge of him; and theſe Things my Eye obſerved, that Religion, Fidelity, and Proweſs ſo met in him, that there ſeemed a conſtant Strife amongſt them, which ſhould moſt appear, and often ſhewed themſelves together, by which he broke the Back of that Proverb, *Nulla fides pietaſque viris qui caſtra ſequuntur.*

The Firſt of theſe ſhewed itſelf in Attendance upon the Word, intimate Acquaintance with, and Reſpect unto the faithfulleſt Diſpenſers of it; the Exerciſe of his Family therein, his Purſe ſtanding open to the Advancement of every Work of that Nature, in *England* and *Holland*: He gave a large Sum annually to the redeeming Impropriations, the Ruin whereof was none of his leaſt Griefs, together with the many Souls that ſuffer by it; his Conceit was, that Nothing leſs than Atheiſm and helliſh Malice could blaſt it. He kept a Diary of his inward Man, wherein he wrote his own Slips, Infirmities, and God's ſeveral Ways of Providence towards him, which ſtood him in no ſmall Stead. He was very often in Humiliations, and loved thoſe Days in his Life-time, and to his Death, being ſlain in a publick Day of Faſting. In all his Actions, he gave Teſtimony, that he thought as much of Dying, as of Living. For the Second, he was famous and precious to both the Princes of *Orange*, in that Reſpect.

In the quelling the *Arminian* Faction, he alone was truſted with a Meſſage to King *James*, and, upon his Return, *Barnevelt* went to his laſt Home. In the Leaguer of the *Buſſe*, he had the Charge of the *Velloe*, when *Piccolomini* was in the Bowels of the Country with ten-thouſand Men: His Excellency intruſted him with the ſole Truſt, Managing, and Ordering of that Service; without limiting his Commiſſion, left it, though a Matter of main Concernment, to his Wiſdom and Fidelity; in which Service, he watched thirty whole Nights on Horſeback, and never in that Time came to Bed; and, in Concluſion, by his Providence and Vigilancy, diſcharged that great Truſt, and fully ſecured the Country.

At *Cadiz* Voyage, which was a Matter of Truſt and great Difficulty, he had impoſed him the Charge of bringing up the Rear, where, the Enemy ſetting upon many ſcattered Troops, he brought them off with Safety, by an honourable Retreat; for Want of which, at the Iſle of *Ree*, how many brave *Engliſh* loſt their Lives, and our Nation, much of their Honour?

Laſtly, his Valour was unſtained, as all the Services he was in can bear large Teſtimony thereof. To be ſhort, He was firſt hurt by a Granado in the Foot, at *Maeſtricht* (a ſufficient Warrant to have exempted him from the Service for that Day) yet would he not leave the Proſecution of the Deſign, though often diſſuaded and adviſed of the great Danger he adventured, by the worthy Gentleman, Capt. *Skippon*, now Serjeant Major-General, for the City of *London*; but, going often into the Trenches, to view the Enemy's Works, in a Scarlet Coat, gave the Enemy ſo fair a Mark, that he received from the Wall a ſudden Shot out of a ſmall Braſs Piece, which ſtruck him through the Heart, and was from thence, by Command of the Prince of *Orange*, carried to the *Hague*, where he was interred with as much Honour, as ever was any that died in thoſe Parts, of his Quality. In fine, thus much I muſt ſay of him, He was true to his Principles (a rare Virtue in this Age.) He was neither above, nor beneath his Calling, but very adequate and true unto it. So ſad, ſerious, and ſkilful in his Way, that you may do well to believe what he writes. He was a good Man, a good Soldier, a good Chriſtian, and is now wearing his Crown. Much more I might have ſaid, but I muſt not make the Porch greater than the Building, and therefore I conclude,

Sic O precabor, uſque vivere
Me poſſe, dein ſic mori,
Mori me poſſe, dein ſic vivere.

So I deſire of God, to live and die,
And ſo to die, to live eternally.

EPITAPH.

IF Rhimes might raiſe him Columns, I believe,
Nor Hearts, nor Heads, nor Pens would wanting be;
But, ſure, ſuch Varniſh can ſmall Luſtre give
To blaze his Worth, his Friends may ſpare that Fee:
For leſs Deſert, we may ſuch Pains yet keep;
Let's now remember *Harwood*, and then weep.

HUGH PETERS.

Colonel *Harwood*'s Advice to King *Charles*: Or, A Diſcourſe on the Rumour of the *French* King's Preparation at Sea.

THE Particulars of his Preparations not being certainly known, there is no certain Judgment to be made of them; I will therefore only take the Caſe, as I ſuppoſe it will be granted, That the *French* King endeavours to make himſelf ſtrong at Sea, and that by two Means; one, encouraging his Subjects to trade at Sea, giving his Merchants great Privileges and Immunities; another, of his own proper Coſt, buying, and building many great and good Ships, and ordaining a yearly and brave Proportion out of his Revenue, for the Increaſing and Maintaining his Navy, as ſome ſay Three-hundred-thouſand Pounds Sterling; others, but Three-hundred-thouſand Crowns; one or other are conſiderable, and may prove of Danger to this State: For this Diſpoſition of his argues, that he intends either to enter into a new War with his Majeſty, or, at leaſt, to put himſelf into ſuch a Condition, as, when he ſhall think fit, he may do ſo, without his Diſadvantage. That this his Arming at Sea muſt be intended, in Emulation of his Majeſty's Lordſhip of the narrow Seas, to equal, or overtop him at Sea, is probable. For againſt whom elſe? Not againſt the *Hollanders*, they are his obſequious Friends, deſirous of his Friendſhip, fearful of his Diſpleaſure: Not againſt the King of *Spain*, for he can more eaſily invade him by Land, when he will, as *Spain* can him; beſides, the *French* King ſhews no Diſpoſition to enter into open War with him, for, having taken on him the Protection of *Mantua*, and not well dealt with by him in the laſt Treaty for *Italy*, making a Peace in Shew, and yet after, taking his Advantage, renewing the War in the Emperor's Name; yet doth he not enter into open War with him, but will only be an Aſſiſtant, elſe had it not been more eaſy for him to have invaded *Flanders*, or *Artois*, and, ſo by Diverſion aided the Duke of *Mantua*, than by ſending an Army into *Italy* in the Winter? Therefore this Preparation of the *French* King, for the Sea, hath his chief Aim, in preſent, or future, at his Majeſty: I ſuppoſe, not to invade *England*, or it may be none of his Majeſty's Iſlands, though that is more than we can be aſſured of: Some of his Ships of War were this Winter on his Majeſty's Coaſt, went from Harbour to Harbour, doubtleſs to diſcover them, and not for any Good to his Majeſty: Beſides, who can tell, ſince the Iſlands of *Guernſey* and *Jerſey* are the only Remainders of the large Dominions his Majeſty's Predeceſſors formerly have poſſeſſed in *France*, if he have not an Itching to join them to *France* again; or, if not them, nor *Wight*; yet to ſhare the Dominion of the narrow Seas with his Majeſty, and that is to take it from him, if he can? To which hitherto he hath not pretended, as not being able to match his Majeſty at Sea; but, if he continue theſe his Preparations, and that his Majeſty, out of Hand, prepare not alſo againſt it, he will in ſhort Time undoubtedly effect it. It will be ſaid, it may be, he hath no good Ports or Havens. That is an Error; it is true, he hath not ſo many good Harbours, as his Majeſty hath, yet ſome he hath, not inferior to any of his Majeſty's; it may be alſo ſaid, that his Subjects are not ſo proper for the Sea, nor ſo affected to Trade, as his Majeſty's are. It is true, but if he continues to encourage his Merchants, turn Merchant himſelf, Will not his Princes, great Lords, and Gentlemen follow his Example? For Sailors, if he gives great Pay, and pay well, he will not want them of other Nations; nay, if his Majeſty's own Subjects have not the like great and good Payment, it is to be feared, he may draw many of his, to his Service, at firſt, until there be open Wars betwixt the Kingdoms; for do not, at this preſent many Hundreds, I might ſay, Thouſands of his Majeſty's Subjects, ſerve other States at Sea, as the *Hollanders*, nay, the *Turks*, without either Leave, or Knowledge of his Majeſty?

Now, if the *French* King ſhould come to be as powerful, or more, than his Majeſty, at Sea, he will be a more dangerous and fearful Neighbour to *England*, than *Spain*, whom hitherto this Kingdom has of latter Years only had Cauſe to fear; for that, againſt *Spain*, the *Low-Countries* will ever be a good Bulwark; who, if the King of *Spain* at any Time make any great Preparations at Sea, will be ever jealous it is intended againſt them, and ſo ever arm againſt him, and be always ready to join with, and to aſſiſt his Majeſty againſt *Spain*; which, it may be doubted, they will not ſo readily do againſt *France*, with whom they are in League, and not jealous of. Beſides, the King of *Spain* hath not ſo populous a Country, that he can eaſily prepare either a great Fleet, or Land-army, and much leſs both, without long Time; and ſo his Majeſty may have the more Warning thereof: Then *Spain* is further from *England*, and ſo the Journey is the longer, and from thence cannot come many Horſe, which are the Forces moſt to be feared in *England:* Whereas, *France* being ſo near us, and ſo full of Soldiers, both Horſe and Foot, if it once come to be able to equal *England* at Sea, by ſudden and quick Preparations, ſtealing Opportunities, he may overtop *England* at Sea, and then tranſport ſuch an Army of Horſe and Foot, as we might juſtly be afraid of; for old Soldiers, both Horſe and Foot, *France* abounds in, and the *French* have a Virtue proper to them, That not a Gentleman thinks himſelf any Thing, until he has ſeen the Wars, and learned at leaſt good and perfect Uſe of his Arms; and naturally they are all good Horſemen: Their Land affords Horſes fit for Service, and every Man almoſt knows how to uſe Piſtol and Carabine; whereas in *England*, unleſs thoſe which have been Soldiers, few or none can uſe their Arms, and, of thoſe which have been Soldiers, it may be, not all can well uſe their Arms, eſpecially the Muſquet, which is of moſt Offence, which our Nation are not naturally ſo prompt to learn the Uſe of, as the *French* are: And, for Horſe, this Kingdom is ſo deficient, that it is a Queſtion, Whether or not the whole Kingdom could make Two-thouſand good Horſe, that might equal Two-thouſand *French*.

To redreſs theſe Deficiencies, in all Humility, I here preſent my poor and ſlender Advice, under Correction, and with Submiſſion to better Judgments.

Firſt, and principally, I would adviſe that his Majeſty would arm at Sea, for that is the ſureſt Defence, for we can never be hurt by a foreign Enemy by Land, till we be firſt beaten at Sea; and therein I cannot give better Advice, than to do what the *French* King doth; as, To repair and increaſe his own royal Navy, which is the greateſt and beſt-aſſured Strength of *England*; and, to that End, to ſet a-part ſome certain large Proportion of his Revenue, that his Seamen may have good Pay, and be well paid; and, if there be good and ſtrict Courſes taken, that there be no Abuſes in the Muſters, Victualling, and Conſumption of Ammunition (which, without good Payment, cannot well be executed) his Majeſty will be a Gainer thereby in Matter of Profit, beſides the Reputation and Advantage of his Service: And it is my Opinion, that there is no Prince or State, but had better give Forty in the Hundred, for Monies to pay his Militia well, than not to pay well: Then to encourage his Merchants and other Subjects to trade, and in making new Plantations. For his Land-forces, That his Majeſty would take Order, that the Numbers of trained Men were increaſed, or rather that the whole Kingdom, from Eighteen or Twenty, to Thirty-five or Forty, as many Men, as were able of Body, were armed; one Third with Pikes and Armours, another with Muſquets, and the third with Calivers: That there were Powder, Bullets, and Match through the whole Kingdom; Magazines thereof in ſundry Places of the Kingdom in ſuch a Quantity, as that, if it were invaded in one, or divers Parts, there might be no Want of Ammunition in any Place; for it would be then too late to fetch it elſewhere, and much worſe than to make it, or ſend over Seas for it. That there were Care taken, that theſe Men, then armed, might be well exerciſed; and, to that End, that there be in every Hundred, or Wapentake, ſome old Soldier, Serjeant, or other inferior Officer had out of the *Low-countries* well choſen, that might teach Men the Uſe of their Arms; and that there were certain Days ſet and appointed for the Shewing their Arms and Exerciſing them: And, if the Statutes, which were formerly for Shooting in the Long-bow, were revived, or converted (with Deliberation) for the Muſquet and Calivert to practiſe by ſhooting at Marks on ordinary Holidays, and ſuch like Times, and at ſome Times ſome ſmall Prize for them that ſhoot neareſt; under Correction, I think it were much for the Strength of the Kingdom. Then, that there were good Choice of the Muſter-maſters; none to be, but ſuch as had borne Office in ſome actual War of Reputation for better there were none, and their Allowances divided unto ſundry inferior Men, than for one to draw a great Pay, that either knows not to do, or doth not any Thing for it: And, becauſe there are, or may be, ſuch as have borne Office in the Wars, and yet diſcontinue ſo long, that they have forgotten their Trade, or that the Faſhion of the Wars and Exerciſing be changed, ſince they were laſt Soldiers, that every Muſter-maſter ſhall not only at his firſt

Entrance be approved, by ſuch as are able to judge him, to be fit for that Charge ; but, to the End he may continue ſo, he be injoined, once in four or five Years to go perſonally, for the Summer-time, into ſome actual War Abroad, if any be, to retain and renew his Knowledge. That the Captains of the Trained-bands be injoined themſelves to paſs the Seas to learn the Duties of their Places, or at leaſt to keep, at their own Charge, one that can diſcharge their Place; and, if neither, to quit their Commands to ſuch, as will do the one, or the other.

By this Means, his Majeſty may have an Army of Foot on a ſudden, in any Part of *England*, to anſwer all Occaſions, without drawing his Forces much far out of their proper Countries; for an Enemy may make a Shew of Landing in one Place, and, having drawn the greateſt Strength of the Kingdom thither (Winds ſerving for it) ſuddenly tranſport himſelf to another, before that Army can, by Land, come thither.

Now, for Horſe, wherein this Kingdom is more defective, than, I think, is any other, it were a Work worthy of his Majeſty ſeriouſly to take it it into Conſideration how to amend it ; and, though on a ſudden it is not to be hoped to bring the Work to any great Perfection, yet, a good Foundation once well laid, in Proceſs of Time it may be effected, and for the Preſent be much helped: It is ſo great a Work, and my Experience being not ſo much that Way, as in Foot, I will not take upon me to deliver any certain Grounds for it, but will only point at ſome Ways, whereby, I conceive, it may be reformed. The Defects conſiſt chiefly in Want of fit Horſes, and fit Men to be Horſemen, which I take to be the greater Want of the two, and can but wonder, that ſo great a Kingdom ſhould be ſo defective in ſo brave and noble a Strength, wherein our neareſt Neighbours ſo abound. In ancient Times we were not ſo; it may be, one Reaſon is, That now our Nation is more addicted to Running and Hunting-horſes, than in thoſe elder Times.

For Remedy, under Correction, *Firſt*, that there were Care taken, that there were a ſtronger Breed of Horſes through the Kingdom; then that his Majeſty would begin at his Court, and there convert his Bands of Penſioners into a brave Troop of Cuiraſſiers; their Horſes at leaſt ſo ready, as to give and charge a Piſtol on, ſometimes to exerciſe them, by ſhooting at a Mark on Horſeback with their Piſtols, and always to keep this Band ſo. To admit none to thoſe Places, but ſuch as before were known to be Horſemen, and could uſe a Piſtol on Horſeback: Then that the Lords, and others of his Majeſty's great Officers, and Council, did follow this Example, and every one to keep ſome great Horſes, to have Arms, and Piſtols, and ſome ſuch Servants as were fit to be Horſemen, and to induce other Lords, and Gentlemen of great Eſtates, to do the like; and encourage them thereto; to reſerve all perſonal Honours (except experienced Soldiers that had borne good Command) for ſuch Noblemen and Gentlemen as did in this conform themſelves to do his Majeſty and Country Service, whereby thoſe, which never intended to make the Wars their Trade, might be brought ſo far, as to be enabled to do ſomething for the Defence of their King and Country: If the Noblemen and Gentlemen would take this to Heart, as they have done Running of Races for Bells (which, I could wiſh, were converted to Shooting at a Mark, with Piſtols on Horſeback for the ſame Bell) they would be ſufficient for Cuiraſſiers. Now, for other Kinds of Horſe, I would that the Trained-bands were increaſed, and all reformed to Harquebuſiers, but whether their Pieces to be with Firelocks or Snaphaunces, is queſtionable; the Firelock is more certain for giving Fire, the other more eaſy for Uſe. For the Preſent, my Opinion is, at firſt, it were beſt to take up the Snaphaunce, until Piſtols be more frequent, which, being more difficult to uſe, are fitteſt, as before, for Gentlemen to begin firſt to bring into Uſe. When they have once brought them to be ordinary, it will be more eaſy to bring them into Uſe amongſt the inferior Sort; and, for the Preſent, this Kingdom hath not (except in *London*, and it may be ſome few Towns beſides) Artificers, that can make or mend Firelocks: Then I would have a Muſter-maſter a-part, for the Horſe, as well as for the Foot, well choſen, ſome old Horſeman out of the *Low-Countries*; for that it is ſcarce poſſible to find Men that are fit and able for both Horſe and Foot. The Kingdom thus armed and exerciſed, an Enemy cannot land in any Part of it, but (without unfurniſhing the other Parts) there will be a competent Army preſently found to make Reſiſtance.

It may be ſaid, theſe Advices will be found not practicable, or very difficult; ſo are all great Works at firſt; but, I conceive, if his Majeſty would take it to Heart, and give Encouragement of Honour and Preferments, to ſuch as conform themſelves to his Pleaſure herein, and make this the Way of Advancement, it would not be difficult; but if, without this Way, Honour and Advancement may be had, well may many think, why ſhould they take ſuch Pains, or be at ſuch Charge, for that which may more eaſily be had. And here I cannot but blame our Nation in the general, for, I believe, the moſt glorious of our Neighbours will grant it as valiant a Nation as is on the Earth) that they ſhould not be more addicted to Arms, but give themſelves, for the moſt, to expenſive Pleaſures, altogether unſerviceable for King and Country: Whereas there is not a *French* Gentleman, that ſo ſoon as he begins to write Man, but learns to ride, to uſe his Arms on Foot and Horſeback, and, whether younger or elder Brother, puts himſelf into ſome actual War for ſome Time, to learn the Trade of a Soldier, though he never intend to make it his Profeſſion. I would further adviſe, that all the principal Harbours and good Landing-places were ſo fortified, as far as is poſſible, that no Enemies Fleet ſhould anchor in them, or much leſs land in them, without remarkable Diſadvantage. The Command of which Places I would have given to none, but experienced Soldiers, and ſuch, as are found in Religion, and had borne Commands in the Wars for many Years, and they to reſide in them: Not unto Noblemen, or Gentlemen of great Eſtates, which ſeldom, or never, come at them; and much leſs to meaner Men that are no Soldiers; for Maintenance whereof the Charge once arreſted, to repartite them on ſome Revenue near adjoining, and, being well paid, to have ſtrict Overſight had, that there be always ſuch, and ſo many able Gunners and Soldiers preſent in them, at his Majeſty's Pay, on all Occaſions to be uſed; if leſs will ſerve, then why ſhould his Majeſty be charged to pay more?

To conclude: If his Majeſty would reſerve the Places properly belonging to the Wars (whereof he hath the feweſt of any great Prince of *Chriſtendom*) as, the Governments of his Iſlands, the Keeping of the Forts and Caſtles, and Places of Command in *Ireland*, only for Soldiers, and worthy Soldiers, and Men ſound in Religion: It would be a great Encouragement to his Subjects to follow the Wars, to enable themſelves to do him Service, though to their Coſt and Charge, when they have to hope, that, though they ſerve a ſtrange Prince or State, to their no Advantage, yet, thereby enabling themſelves to do their own King Service, they may, in Time, be provided for in their own Country; whereas, if Charges of Command, Advancements of Honour, may be had better cheap, by ſtaying at Home and following their Pleaſures, there will but few ever take the Pains and Labour, or be at the Charges to enable themſelves, by following the Wars Abroad, all Men being led, either by Honour, or Profit, or both.

The late Earl of Eſſex'*s Inſtructions for* England'*s Safety.*

AFTER I had reſolved to publiſh this Manuſcript of my Brother's, I remembered I had read ſomething long ſince, in a little Treatiſe, written by that brave and worthy Commander, the late Earl of *Eſſex*, concerning Sea Preparations (though then written in a Time when we had an open Enemy, and now no ſuch Occaſion, yet we know not how ſoon we may); which, though but ſhort, yet my Brother's Judgment concurring with it, which was, that the ſafeſt and ſureſt Defence for this Kingdom was our Navy, and that we could never be hurt by Land by a foreign Enemy, unleſs we were firſt beaten at Sea: I thought it not amiſs to annex it to this of my Brother's, and, by that Occaſion, reading the whole Diſcourſe from which I had it, I found in it, beſides, what concerns this Point, which was, Directions for the Securing of this Kingdom, ſome ſuch worthy Expreſſions, which, as they did much affect me in the Reading, ſo, I conceive, they might be of ſome Uſe alſo for theſe Times; as, ſome for Imitation, others for other Purpoſes. I thought it not amiſs to revive and bring them again to Light; ſome Things were ſpoken by that great Lord of himſelf, ſome others are related by him of thoſe ancient and renowned *Romans*, where we may ſee a Braveneſs of Spirit, even in thoſe that were but Heathens. Now, if there were ſuch brave Spirits in them that had nothing but the Light of Nature to direct them, what ſhould be then in Chriſtians, that have a Sun to their Candle? Shall they come ſhort of them, in Love and Affection to their Country? Will it not one Day riſe up in Judgment againſt us, as our Saviour ſaith of *Tyre* and *Sidon*, that have ſuch Principles and ſuch Encouragements of Rewards above them? They had but Honour and Reputation, I may ſay, a vain and windy Motive: We have the Command of God, and a heavenly Reward promiſed, even a Kingdom, and that everlaſting; and ſhall we come ſo ſhort of them, as not to venture any thing for God, his Goſpel, and our Religion? Did a *Roman* ſay, he cared not to leave to bury him, ſo the Commonwealth might flouriſh? What ſhall a Chriſtian do for his Country? Shall he not lay aſide all private Reſpects of his own, and only ſeek God's Honour, in his Care of the common Good.

Now, moſt noble Lords and Gentlemen, God having called you unto it, let your Country ſee, and all the World know, that there is more Power in Religion, than in Heatheniſh Principles: Join all your Forces together to promote his Goſpel, and your Country's Good.

O that the Reviving of theſe few Sparks that I have, by this Occaſion, brought to Light, might add Fervour to your brave *Engliſh* Spirits: What though there be ſome ſo degenerate, as, to raiſe their Fortunes, and keep their Honours, care not what becomes of the Commonwealth, and Goſpel of Chriſt: Yet we have found there are many, yea, many, that ſtill retain that ancient Virtue in them, and do, even at this Time, practiſe it; to ſuch I will ſay, Go on, noble Lords and Gentlemen, do worthily in *Bethlehem*, and you ſhall be famous in *Ephrata*; ſet aſide all private Reſpects, and, as you have begun with unwearied Pains and Patience (which in all due Thankfulneſs we do humbly acknowledge) go on ſtill to continue your Care of us, and our Country's Good, and for all others contrarily minded, the Lord either convert them, or ſuddenly confound them.

In this enſuing Relation, I ſhall only uſe that honourable Lord's own Words. I leave their Application to all true-hearted *Engliſhmen*. The Heads are theſe:

Firſt, His Advice for Sea Preparations, which are not (as I conceive) unuſeful for this preſent Time.

Secondly, His Proteſtation of his Affection to his Country, worthy the Imitation of Men of his Quality.

Thirdly, His extraordinary Affection to Soldiers and Men of War, the Favouring and Cheriſhing of whom will be no ſmall Security to this Kingdom.

Fourthly, His Judgment concerning Pluralities of Religion, tolerated in a State; a Thing worthy of due Conſideration.

Fifthly, The ſweet Harmony betwixt a loving Prince, and loyal Subjects, a deſireable and imitable Thing.

Laſtly, A ſweet Reprehenſion of the ſuperfluous Expence of theſe Times, which, if ſome Courſe were taken therein to limit them, I ſee not, but it would make much to the general Good of this Commonwealth.

Firſt, For his Advice for Sea Preparations, it was this, that, if her Majeſty would be pleaſed but to raiſe up a Sum of a Hundred and fifty thouſand Pounds a Year, and put it into the Hands of an honeſt and ſufficient Treaſurer, for the Wars, and to be iſſued by a Council of War well choſen, it would fully and ſufficiently maintain the War with *Spain*; yea, ſuch a Force ſhould be maintained thereby, as, her Majeſty having a convenient Number of her own Ships, and repairing and furniſhing them, as yearly ſhe doth, the Enemy ſhould bring no Fleet into the Seas for *England*, or *Ireland*, or *Low-Countries*, but ſhould be beaten, nor ſeek to gather one into *Spain*, but the Parts of it ſhould be defeated, before the Whole could be aſſembled; yea, thoſe Services ſhould be done upon the Enemy, that the pooreſt Prince or State in *Chriſtendom* ſhould have little Cauſe to fear his Malice.

Secondly, For his Proteſtation of his Affection to his Country, it was, that the Reputation of a moſt faithful Subject, and zealous Patriot, with the Hazard of his Life, and Decay of his Eſtate, he had ſought to purchaſe; and when he was offered by the King of *Spain*, what Title, Sum of Money, or Penſion he would deſire, ſo as he might be won to take their Part, he did profeſs, that, if God had not put him back, and arreſted him by contrary Winds,

Winds and Tempeſts that Summer, he would have taught that proud King what Effects his Proffer had wrought in him; and, the longer the Will of God and his Sovereign did reſtrain him, with the greater Intereſt he hopes to pay him in the End, that had ſought him out as a fit Man to betray his Queen and Country.

Thirdly, For his Reſpect to Soldiers, and Men of War, he profeſſed he did intirely love them. *Firſt*, for his own Sake; for he found Sweetneſs in their Converſations, ſtrong Aſſiſtance in their Employments with him, and Happineſs in their Friendſhip: That he loved them for their Virtue's Sake, and for their Greatneſs of Mind (for little Minds, though never ſo full of Virtue, can be but little virtuous) and for their great Underſtanding; for to underſtand little Things, or Things not of Uſe, is little better than to underſtand nothing at all: That he loved them for their Affections, for ſelf-loving Men love Eaſe, Pleaſure, and Profit; but they that love Pains, Danger, and Fame, ſhew that they love publick Profit, more than themſelves: That he loved them for his Country's Sake, for they are *England*'s beſt Armour of Defence, and Weapons of Offence; if we have Peace, they have purchaſed it; if we ſhould have War, they muſt manage it: Yea, while we are doubtful, and in Treaties, we muſt value ourſelves by what may be done; and the Enemy will value us, by that which hath been done by our chief Men of Action. Before Action, Providence made him cheriſh them for the Service they can do; and, after Action, Experience, and Thankfulneſs, made him love them for the Service they had done.

Fourthly, Concerning Plurality of Religion, profeſſed, in one Eſtate, that it was againſt the Policy of all States; becauſe, where there is no Unity or Order in the State, it is the manifeſt Ruin of that State; for as the Mingling of Poiſon with wholſome Liquor, in one Veſſel, doth not correct that which is lethal, but corrupts that which is wholſome; ſo the poiſoned Doctrine of thoſe *Hiſpanioliſed* Jeſuits, once brought in that State, will not endure any Profeſſion, ſave their own.

Fifthly, For the ſweet Harmony, betwixt a loving Prince and loyal Subjects; thus doth he ſay, We, Thanks be to God, have a Queen, who hath never been waſteful in her private Expence; yet will ſhe ſell her Plate, and Jewels in the *Tower*, before her People ſhall be undefended. We are a People that will turn our ſilken Coats into iron Jacks, and our ſilver Plate into Coats of Plate, rather than our Sovereign ſhall be unſerved.

Sixthly, and *Laſtly*, His pleaſing Reprehenſion of the ſuperfluous Expences of thoſe Times, it is, by Way of Objection that was made in thoſe Times, that they could neither have a good Peace, or juſt War; and, of two Evils, it were better to have a patched Peace, than an inſupportable War. To which he anſwers, That thoſe, that did ſo think, were injurious; *firſt*, to our Men of War, that fight for them, and defend them, in thinking their Arms (which have ever done Honour to our Nation, and ſtruck Terror into the Hearts of our Enemies) leſs able to defend our Country than their Treaties, which have never been free from Scorn and Diſadvantage. Injurious they are to the Country that bred them, which, being one of the braveſt, ſtrongeſt, and happieſt States in *Chriſtendom*, is judged, by theſe Men, to be as weak as their own weak Hearts. Injurious they are to her Majeſty, who, being ſo great, ſo glorious, and ſo victorious a Queen, ſhall be judged unable to maintain War, when ſhe cannot have Peace, but at the Pleaſure of her Enemy. Yea, injurious, and moſt unthankful they are to God himſelf, who hath hitherto fought for them, in that, for an unſafe Peace, with an idolatrous and irreligious Nation, they would leave an honourable and juſt War. But when ſome Objections might be made, that her Majeſty's Treaſure was drawn deep into, and, if there were any Weakneſs in our Means, to make War, it was in our Treaſure: To this he anſwers, That though her Majeſty's Treaſure be drawn deep into, and the poor Huſbandman, by the late hard Years paſt, hath now left ſcarce any Means to live; yet, if our ſumptuous Buildings, our ſurfeiting Diet, our Prodigality in Garments, our infinite Plate, and coſtly Furniture of our Houſes, be well conſidered, *England* cannot be thought poor: Can we exceed all Nations, in *Chriſtendom*, in waſteful Vanities, and can we not arm ourſelves againſt one Nation, whom we have ever beaten, for our neceſſary Defence? Was *Rome* ſo brave a State, that the very Ladies, to ſupply the common Treaſure, and to maintain the Wars, ſpoiled themſelves of their Jewels, and rich Ornaments: And is *England* ſo baſe a State, as that the People therein will not beſtow ſome Part of their ſuperfluous Expences, to keep themſelves from Conqueſt and Slavery? Did the godly Kings, and religious People, which we read of in the old Teſtament, to maintain War againſt the Enemies of God, ſell the Ornaments of the Temple, and the Things conſecrated to holy Uſes? And ſhall not we, that have as holy a War, ſpare thoſe Things we have dedicated to our own idle and ſenſual Pleaſures? Could our own Nation, in thoſe gallant former Ages, when our Country was far poorer, than now it is, levy Armies, maintain Wars, atchieve great Conqueſts in *France*, and make our powerful Armies known, as far as the *Holy-Land?* And is this ſuch a degenerate Age, as we ſhall not be able to defend *England!* No, no, there is yet left ſome Seed of that ancient Virtue: I remember, with what Spirit and Alacrity, the Gentlemen of *England* have put themſelves voluntarily into our late Actions; there will ever be found ſome *Valerii*, which, ſo the State may ſtand and flouriſh, care not, though they leave not wherewith to bury themſelves, though others bury their Money, not caring in what Caſe they leave the State.

The Concluſion.

THUS far are his own Words; and here I intended to have finiſhed this Diſcourſe, but my Thoughts preſſed me to a new Taſk; and what ſhall I ſay, moſt noble Lords and worthy Gentlemen? I will ſay to you, even as *Abraham* did to God: ‘Seeing, *ſaith he*, I have begun to ſpeak unto my Lord, that am but Duſt and Aſhes, let not my Lord be angry, I will ſpeak but this once.’ Seeing I have taken upon me to publiſh ſomething, that, I hope, may tend to the Good of our Bodies; give me Leave now to add ſomething, which, I hope, may be no leſs for the Good of Souls, and that is this: Moſt humbly to crave, that you will be pleaſed to take to your moſt wiſe and grave Conſiderations that noble and pious Work happily begun, and ſucceſſively proceeded in, of the Feoffees for redeeming in Impropriations, of which Body, before it was ſuppreſſed, I was, though unworthy, a Member, and, therefore, can ſay the more; of which I dare be bold to ſay, It was one of the moſt glorious Works that ever was undertaken in this Kingdom of late Years, and did more conduce to the Spreading abroad of the glorious Goſpel of *Jeſus Chriſt*, than any I ever underſtood or heard of. Of which I may truly ſay, as *Solomon* of the virtuous Houſwife, *Many Daughters have done virtuouſly, but thou ſurmounteſt them all.* I deny not, but it is good to give to Hoſpitals, to Repairing of Churches, Setting up of Free-ſchools, Building of Alms-houſes, and the like; but I have ever thought, ſuch, as concern Souls, to be as far above them, as the Soul is above the Body.

This pious Work, it was well approved by his Majeſty, as we were informed, at our firſt Undertaking of it; and, I am ſure, of all his beſt Subjects, only the *Diotrephes's*, that St. *John* ſpeaks of, that love Preheminence, and thruſt their Brethren out of the Church; the Prelates of our Time, that never did further, but ever hinder any good Work, that tended to the Advancement of the Goſpel of Chriſt, if it did not comply with their Ambitions. But of them I will ſay no more, you have ſaid ſo much and ſo well; but, for this pious Work, I dare be bound to ſay, if it had continued, and not been ſuppreſſed, by their Means, That, by this Time, moſt of the Impropriations of this Kingdom had been brought in, and laid unto the Church again. A Work fit for ſuch an Age as this, that hath enjoyed the Goſpel ſo long, to have propagated it to the dark Corners of this Kingdom; and this to be effected and done, not by a forced and ſtrained Exaction, but by a free and willing Contribution of ſuch as underſtand the Nature of it, and ſaw the preſent good Fruits and Effect of it, which adds much to the Glory of it. The Contributions, at firſt, were very encouraging and ſome underwrit yearly good Sums; others, to every Impropriation we brought, certain Sums; but, towards the Time of our unhappy Diſſolution, the Contribution grew much greater; for, not a Week before we were ſuppreſſed, a Lady, yet living, ſent us Word, ſhe would give a thouſand Pounds preſently, to the Furtherance of the Work; and many Wills have ſince been altered, that we heard of, that gave brave Proportions to it.

I never heard of, nor can yet ſee any ſuch Way, to ſpread the Goſpel to the remote and blind Corners of this Kingdom; neither can we, for aught I know, ever hope to ſee Popery quelled, till a godly painful Miniſtry be eſtabliſhed; and that will never be, till competent Means be provided; both theſe had been effected, and the Effects, in Time, would have manifeſted what I have ſaid, and the Benefit thereof would not only have extended to the Church, but alſo to the Commonwealth; for, where a good Miniſtry is placed in a Town, there Idleneſs will be aboliſhed, the poor and impotent Children, and Vagrant ſet on work, and his Majeſty have gained true and loyal Subjects, ſuch as he may repoſe himſelf in their Loves and Fidelities. It is the Glory of our Religion, it was never ſtained with thoſe helliſh Plots, Maſſacres, and Treacheries againſt their Sovereign; and, if ever Popery be put down to Purpoſe, it muſt be by the Means of Eſtabliſhment of a powerful Miniſtry; then ſhall we ſee Satan fall down like Lightning; it muſt be the Breath of the Lord that muſt aboliſh the Man of Sin. I deny not, but good Laws do well, but, what through Favour, Conniving, and Want of Execution, we daily ſee they have not ſuch good Effect, as were to be wiſhed; that I am confident, it muſt be the powerful conſcionable Preaching Miniſtry of the Goſpel, that muſt eſpecially effect it; and, to procure that, nothing will more conduce, than a full, free, and plentiful Proviſion for the Diſpenſers of it, and not for ſuch as do leaſt to have moſt. The Lord, in Mercy, direct you, bleſs and proſper your Proceedings, and, in his good Time, give us to enjoy the happy Fruits and Effects of your great, long, and unwearied Pains.

The Proceſs and Pleadings * in the Court of *Spain*, upon the Death of *Anthony Aſcham*, Reſident for the Parliament of *England*, and of *John Baptiſta Riva*, his Interpreter, who were killed by *John Guillim*, *William Spark*, *Valentine Progers*, *Jo. Halſal*, *William Arnet*, and *Henry Progers*. Who are all in cloſe Priſon in *Madrid* for the ſaid Fact, except *Henry Progers*, who fled to the *Venetian* Ambaſſador's Houſe, and ſo eſcaped. Sent from *Madrid* from a Perſon of Quality and made *Engliſh*. *London*, printed by *William Dugard*, Printer to the Council of State, 1651. *Quarto*, containing twenty Pages.

To his truly honoured Friend Sir *W. Butler*, Knight.

SIR,

YOUR Deſires to me are equivalent to Decrees, which I ſhall be always ready to put in Execution, as far as I can, and never be found in Contempt: Therefore, according to the Contents of your laſt, I have ſent you by this Poſt the Plea, concerning the Engliſh *Gentlemen that are under cloſe Reſtraint here in the King's Priſon, for the Death of Mr.* Aſcham, *and your old Acquaintance* John Baptiſta Riva, *his Interpre-*

---

* This is the 38th Number in the Catalogue of Pamphlets in the *Harleian* Library.

ter; we cannot conjecture yet what will become of them, for the Church ſtands firm for them; and you well know what predominant Influences the Church hath in this Clime.

The Lord Cottington *and Sir* Edward Hyde *are parted, and departed from this Court, the firſt to* Valladolid, *the other for* Flanders; *and ſince that Time Mr.* Fiſher *appears Abroad in ſome Luſtre with his Coach and Lacquies, whereas, before, he kept retired and inviſible;* Catalonia *is like to be reduced this Summer, for there are mighty Forces both by Land and Sea, to that Purpoſe.*

Madrid, this 8th of *May,*
1651.

No more but that I am always

Your ready and moſt real Servant,

R. W.

The whole Diſcourſe analyſed

This Plea doth partition itſelf into ſundry Particulars.

Firſt. THE Manner and Circumſtance of the Fact is punctually related, with the Names and Diſtinction of the Actors.

Secondly, The Atrocity and Heinouſneſs of the Fact is aggravated, being committed upon the Perſon of a publick Miniſter of State, *viz.* the Ambaſſador or Reſident of *England,* whoſe Perſon ſhould merit more particular Reſpect in the Catholick Court, in Regard of the Precedencies which were always given in *England* to the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadors.

Thirdly, Divers Teſtimonies are produced how that the Perſons and Office of Ambaſſadors are ſacred, *&c.*

Fourthly, It is proved that this publick Miniſter had the ſafe Conduct, and conſequently the Protection of his Catholick Majeſty; which makes the Offence reflect upon him, and is puniſhable by his own royal Juſtice, and ſo the Delinquents are not to be tranſmitted elſewhere for their Puniſhment.

Fifthly, A Parallel betwixt the Death of *Aſcham* and *Abner,* who had King *David*'s ſafe Conduct.

Sixthly, The Holy Church cannot protect ſo proditorious a Murther, as it is proved by forcible Reaſons.

Seventhly, Important Arguments for a ſudden Execution of Juſtice upon the Offenders, *&c.*

The learned and elaborate Charge of Dr. Don Auguſtin de Hierro, *Knight of the Order of* Calatrava, *and* Fiſcal, *or Attorney-General, of the Council-Royal, againſt Don* John Guillim, William Spark, Valentine Progers, William Arnet, *and* Jo. Halſal, Engliſhmen, *who ſay they are, and are detained in the Royal-Priſon of this Court, for having traiterouſly, and upon prepenſe Malice, killed* Anthony Aſcham *Ambaſſador, or Reſident of the Parliament of* England, *who came and entered into this Court by Virtue of the ſafe Conduct of the King our Lord, whom God preſerve, and* John Baptiſta Riva, *a* Genoeſe,

noeſe, *being Interpreter, or Secretary of the ſaid Reſident. The Immunity of the Church, which they pretend, cannot avail them, nor ought the Plea of that Immunity hinder the Impoſing and Executing upon the ſaid Delinquents the Puniſhment that correſponds with their Offences, as will be proved in the enſuing Charge.*

The Accuſation or Charge.

1. THE Diſaſter and Death of *Charles Stuart*, King of *England*, happened the Ninth of *February*, N. S. 1649. The Parliament of *England*, governing the Kingdom afterwards, ſent an Ambaſſage to the King our Lord, whom God guard; and *Beſoldus* ſaith, that *qui à belli Ducibus Gubernatoribúſque provinciarum liberis mittuntur, ſunt Legati.* Thoſe, who from Generals of War and free Governors of Provinces are ſent any where, are Ambaſſadors. I could produce a Cloud of Authors upon this Argument, who treat of, and declare, who have Capacity to ſend Ambaſſadors, as the Earl of *Fontanar*, Don *Chriſtoval de Benevente*, in his Advertencies to Princes and Ambaſſadors; the Diſſertations of Don *John Vella*, *Conrado Bruno*, and the Count Don *Juan Antonio de Vera* in his Book, called, *The Ambaſſador*, do amply aver: But whether the Perſon ſent lately by the Parliament of *England* was an Ambaſſador or Agent, or Reſident, as the Delinquents term him, or moſt properly an Orator, for he came to deprecate Peace; whether he was all theſe, or any of theſe, it matters not; for any of theſe may ſtile him a Legate, and make him deſerve that Title; and the ſame Security is due to all thoſe Titles, as *Hotoman* upon his Theme reſolves the Point, with others.

2. This Ambaſſador, or Reſident, ſent by the Parliament of *England*, called *Anthony Aſcham*, arrived at the Bay of *Calais* the Twenty-fourth of *March*, 1650, with an Interpreter, and three or four Servants; and not meeting there with the Duke of *Medina Celi*, he went in Queſt of him to the Port *Santa Maria*, and did let him know that he was ſent by the Parliament of *England*, in Quality of an Agent to the Court of *Spain*. The Duke lodged him thereupon, and according to his accuſtomed Attention and Prudence, by which he always operates, ſent to tell him, that in Regard it was the firſt Negotiation between *Spain* and the Parliament of *England*, he could do nothing in the Buſineſs, till he had firſt given an Account to his Majeſty, as he did the Twenty-ſeventh of *March*, which came to *Madrid*, the Second of *April* and the ſame Day the King referred the Letter to his Council; and the Fourth of *April*, there was Order ſent to the Duke, to treat him as Reſident, and ſee him conveighed to the Court accordingly in Safety. The Twentieth of *April*, the Reſident, having been ſick before, began his Journey, being accompanied by the Camp-Maſter, Don *Diego de Moreda*, and the Second of *June* they came to *Toledo*, whence the Camp-Maſter ſent to the Court for further Order; and Order was ſent that he ſhould purſue his Journey, and that the Reſident might take a Houſe where he pleaſed in the Court; ſo they arrived at Court the *Sunday* following at Five in the Evening; and *Monday* next after, at Six in the Morning, *John Baptiſta Riva*, who was, he ſaid, a *Genoeſe*, went in Company of a Servant of the Camp-maſter, to *Hieronymo de la Torre*, Knight of the Order of *Calatrava*, and Secretary of State; the ſaid *Riva* complained of the Illneſs and Incommodity of the Lodging: But when the Reſident and his Train lighted at their Lodging, it was obſerved there paſſed by ſome that went muffled, thereabouts, who were over-heard to ſay, *Eſſos ſon*, Theſe are they; ſo *Riva* delivered the Secretary two Letters from the Parliament, ſaying that the Reſident came under the Protection of his Majeſty. The Secretary anſwered, that they had done ill, not to have given Account at the very Point of their Arrival; the Reſident being the Perſon he was, and being in the Catholick Court he was ſecure enough; and he would advertiſe his Majeſty of his Coming accordingly, which he did within a Quarter of an Hour, charging the Camp-Maſter's Servant, that he ſhould tell his Maſter, to continue in aſſiſting the Reſident; but an Hour and Half before this, the fore-men-

tioned Delinquents did proditoriouſly, out of prepenſe Malice, murther the ſaid Reſident, and the ſaid *John Baptiſta Riva*, according to the Circumſtances, which ſhall follow. Now theſe Men well knew, that the ſaid Reſident came to treat of Peace, and they ſpontaneouſly confeſs they knew it, and that he entered into this Court, by Order from his Majeſty, and with his Paſſport; ſo that, beſides the Treachery and Malice of the Act, they committed capital Treaſon, *Crimen læſæ Majeſtatis in primo capite*; now for every Offence there is a correſponding Puniſhment, and for this certainly there is undoubted Pain of Death; therefore they have made themſelves unworthy of the Immunity of the Church, which they pretend.

The Buſineſs briefly doth branch itſelf into two Articles:

Firſt, The Grievouſneſs of the Delict is to be conſidered, and the Quality of the Perſon upon whom it was committed, one, who had a ſafe Conduct from his Majeſty; therefore it is *crimen læſæ Majeſtatis*, and perpetrated in a moſt treacherous and malicious Manner.

Secondly, The Church cannot give them Sanctuary, therefore the Pain of Death is to be executed upon them according to the Merit of the Delict; in declaring the Circumſtances whereof I will leave all Curioſities, and go to the Pinch of the Buſineſs, without extending myſelf to any extravagant Impertinencies.

The Firſt Article.

Touching the Neceſſity and Utility of Embaſſies, *Beſoldus* proſecutes this Subject at large, together with *Paſcalio Benavente* & *Marſellaert*, in their learned Diſſertations. But *Pedro Ærodo* may be ſaid to comprehend all, in theſe elegant Words: ‘Legatorum munus ‘perquam utile eſt, ac perquam neceſſarium, ‘nam ſine iis nec fœdera iniri poſſunt, nec ‘belli leges paciſq; dici; inimicitiæ eſſent immortales, inſidiæ, cædes, incendiáq; ubiq; ‘eſſent.’ The Function of Ambaſſadors is moſt profitable and neceſſary, for without them there can no Confederation be made, nor any Laws of Peace or War enacted; Enmities would prove immortal, Slaughterings, Perfidiouſneſs; Deceit and Combuſtions would be every where. This ſo neceſſary and profitable a Miniſtry was juſtly called, *Santo oficio y miniſterio de los Angelos*, the Holy Office and Miniſtry of Angels; and the Perſons of thoſe, who did exerciſe it, were held for ſacred in all Men's Opinions. *Sancti habebantur Legati, eorúmq; corpora ſancta ſunt.* Ambaſſadors were held Holy, and their Bodies Holy, ſaith *Marcus Varro*; therefore they ſhould be protected from all human Injury. *Cicero* alſo ſaith, ‘Sentio jus Legatorum tum ‘hominum præſidio munitum eſſe, tum etiam ‘divino jure vallatum:’ I hold the Right of Ambaſſadors not only to be fortified with human Safe-guard, but intrenched with divine Safety; I could muſter up a whole Squadron of Authors, both Modern and Ancient, upon this Subject, eſpecially King Don *Alonſo*, who makes this Security of Ambaſſadors his own, and defends it ſo; and this Security is due to any Ambaſſador, though he be ſuſpected and falſe, as Friar Don *Goncalez* reſolves the Point in his Hiſtory of *China*; and *Beſoldus* alſo; and although the ſaid Ambaſſador come to deceive and collude, or that he be an Enemy, yet having a ſafe Conduct, he is to be protected, as the Count *de la Roca* ſaith, ‘Fides enim, ‘quando promittitur, etiam hoſti ſervanda eſt ‘contra quem bellum geritur, quantò magis ‘Amico pro quo pugnatur.’ And if this Security be due to an Ambaſſador, that comes to intrap, yea, to an Enemy, How much more to an *Engliſh* Friend, in whoſe Country the Ambaſſador of *Spain* hath, and always hath had the Pre-eminence of the Ambaſſadors of all other Princes?

Now that *England* ſhould ſtill be our Friend, *in ſtatu quo nunc*, and that Peace ſhould be continued with her, proceeds from Right, for Peace is not only made with the King, but with the Kingdom alſo, and, although the Firſt expires, the Laſt remains. For, put the Caſe that a Peace be concluded with a Country, without including the King, either by Careleſneſs, or ſome other Accident, yet the Peace ſtands good; for ſo the *Poliſh* Magiſtrates anſwered the Emperor *Ferdinand the Second*, *Faltando el Rey, ſe conſervan con el reyno*: The King failing, yet Peace is to be conſerved with the Kingdom. So *Bodin* holds, and urgeth a pregnant Example to this Purpoſe, *Lib. de Repub. cap.* iv. *fol.* 63. where he alledgeth the Anſwer which the Ambaſſadors of *France* made to *Edward the Fourth*, King of *England*, deſiring Aid from *France* againſt ſome riſing Subjects of his, by Virtue of the League between them; which Anſwer was, ‘That the

'King of *France* could not help him; for Confederations betwixt *France* and *England* were made betwixt the Kings and Kingdoms; ſo that, though King *Edward* was diſpoſſeſſed thereof, yet the League and Amity remained ſtill with the Kingdom, and with the King regnant.' Juſt ſo the Peace betwixt the Kings and Kingdoms of *Spain* with *England*, though *Charles Stuart*, the King, be wanting, yet it may be kept intire with the Kingdom: And his Majeſty himſelf inſinuates ſo much unto us, continuing ſtill his Ambaſſador in *England*; for, when a Peace is eſtabliſhed betwixt Kings and Kingdom, People, Perſons, and Vaſſals, though the King fail, and the Kingdom receive a differing Form of Government, yet the Peace holds good ſtill, becauſe it aimed principally at the People and Perſons of both Nations; and upon theſe Terms the Peace was renewed betwixt *Spain* and *England*, 1630, as the *French Mercury* relates.

Therefore theſe Delinquents failed much in the foreſaid Reverence due to the ſacred Perſons of Ambaſſadors, as alſo to the ſafe Conduct of his Majeſty, by laying violent Hands upon his Perſon, much more by murdering him. *Joab* did treacherouſly kill *Abner*, who came with *David*'s ſafe Conduct; whereupon *David* ſaid to all the People that were about him, *Scindite veſtimenta veſtra*, and, reinforcing his Sorrow, *Levavit David vocem ſuam, & flevit ſuper tumulum Abner, flevit autem & omnis populus*; *David* lifted up his Voice upon *Abner*'s Tomb, and wept, yea, all the People wept: Moreover, *David* erected a Tomb for *Abner*, being ſo treacherouſly killed, notwithſtanding that he had his ſafe Conduct, and the Privilege of an Ambaſſador. The *Romans* raiſed Statues to Ambaſſadors that were killed. *Interfecto legato ſtatua debetur*, ſaith *Beſoldus*, through all his Chapter of *Legations*.

Moreover, it is obſervable that *David* did not only weep, but he burſt out into this Deprecation, *Si ante occaſum ſolis guſtavero panem vel aliud quidquam*; If, before the Setting of the Sun, I taſte Bread, or any Thing elſe, *&c.* Now, this Sorrow of *David* did much pleaſe the People, *Populus audivit, & placuerunt iis cuncta quæ fecerat rex in conſpectu totius populi*; as the holy Text hath it, The People heard, and were pleaſed with every Thing that *David* did.

Here it is to be obſerved, that the People were to be ſatisfied herein; nor was a bare Sorrow only ſatisfactory for this Murder, but a due Puniſhment muſt expiate the Offence, which, in Regard that *David* himſelf could not do it in his Life-time, he left it in his Charge to his Son *Solomon*, in theſe Words: *Facies ergo juxta ſapientiam tuam, & effudit ſanguinem belli in pace*; Thou ſhalt do according to thy own Wiſdom (exaggerating his Speech with a Reaſon) and he ſhed the Blood of War in Peace.

So his Catholick Majeſty (God guard him) hath done out of a Reſentment he had of this treacherous Murder, by recommending the Buſineſs to ſo great a Tribunal: *Facietis ergo juxta ſapientiam veſtram, effudit ſanguinem belli in pace*; Proceed according to your own high Prudence, by puniſhing theſe Delinquents, who have murdered the Ambaſſador of the Parliament of *England*, though he came with a Royal Paſſport, and ſo ſhed the Blood of War in Time of Peace.

Moreover, this Death of the Ambaſſador, by hindering the Procedure of his Ambaſſy, is no ſingle Offence, but it reflects upon many. As the great Civilian ſaith, *Si quis autem legationem impedit, non unius, ſed multorum profectum avertit, & ſicut multis nocet, à multis arguendus eſt.* Whoſoever ſhall impede an Ambaſſy, he averts not the Benefit of one Man, but of many, and, as he hurts many, ſo he is to be argued by many. Now, many are the Accuſers of theſe Men; many are intereſted in the Buſineſs, and moſt eſpecially the King, our liege Lord, who gave a Paſſport, and allowed of the Ambaſſador, and of the Parliament of *England* that ſent him: Therefore theſe Men had need to have many Lives to loſe, for to ſatisfy ſo many whom the Buſineſs concerns; ſo *Magalotti* hath it, that the Puniſhment is to be double, in Regard of the Perſons concerned.

But hence may reſult a Queſtion, Whether the Puniſhment be to be inflicted where the Delict was perpetrated, and the King's Security violated, or whether the Murderers be to be ſent to the Ambaſſador's Maſter, whom he repreſents? This was an old Difference betwixt *Romulus* and *Tacius*, who reigned together, as *Pedro Ærodo* relates the Buſineſs briefly, yet elegantly. *Romulus* was of Opinion, that the Offenders were to be ſent to the Ambaſſador's Maſter. But this Tranſfer-ing of the Offender to the Party offended was always held to proceed rather from Urbanity than Juſtice, as it appears in the Caſe of *Rincon* and *Fregoſo*, which is amply related in the Annals of the Emperor *Charles the Fifth*; it was a loud clamorous Buſineſs, whereof all the Corners of *Chriſtendom* do ring, and every Chronicler hath it, therefore I will not moleſt you with ſo trite a Thing.

Tacius was of a differing Sentiment; for he would have the Delict to be puniſhed where it was perpetrated; and the Reaſons, which the Doctors give, are, becauſe the Lord of the Territory is the more intereſted, and obliged to puniſh the Offence on the Party, to vindicate his own Wrongs, as, in this Cauſe his Catholick Majeſty is moſt injured, becauſe his Royal Paſſport is violated; and why ſhould he have Recourſe to a foreign Power to deſire Juſtice, when, by the Law of Nations, he may avenge the Affront at Home by his own? And, it is moſt fitting, they ſhould receive Puniſhment in this Court rather than any where elſe, where, in Regard of the Greatneſs of our King, there are continually ſo many Ambaſſadors reſiding, whoſe Security may be much confirmed by the exemplary Puniſhment of theſe Delinquents, and, in particular, the very Ambaſſadors of *England* themſelves, who are ſojourning here now, though Oppoſites to the dead Ambaſſador, in Regard of the Diſſenſions now in *England*; all which muſt be done by a juſt Infliction of Puniſhment.

But the Delinquents think to eſcape, by the Immunities of the Church, where they fled, and ſheltered themſelves from ſo grievous and atrocious a Crime, aggravated by ſo many Circumſtances, by ſo many Accuſers and intereſted Perſons; nor, according to their Defence, do they confeſs to have committed any Offence or Sin at all, but they vaunt to have performed an Heroick Act. Now, it is a Rule, that *Jactantia aggravat peccatum*; Boaſting of Miſchief makes the Sin the worſe. St. *Auguſtin*, in defining Sin, ſaith, that it is *Dictum, factum vel concupitum contra legem æternam*; a Thing ſpoken, done, or wiſhed againſt the eternal Law. Him followed *Thomas Aquinas*; and, citing *Gregorio de Valentia*, Father *Granados* purſueth the Opinion, and *Vaſquez*. Sin alſo is defined *Trangreſſio legis*, a Tranſgreſſion of the Law: Now the Delict of Murder is oppoſite to all Laws, both divine and human; as alſo to violate the Security of an Ambaſſador, much more to murder, is condemned by all Laws of Heaven and Earth; therefore this can be no other than a Delict, and much more preciſely a Sin, and a Sin *non nominandum*, an Infandous Sin, much leſs an Heroick Action, or Exploit of Gallantry.

The Second Article.

That theſe Delinquents cannot make themſelves capable of the Protection of any Sanctuary, will be juſtified by two Mediums, in Form of a ſyllogiſing Argument.

He who commits *Crimen læſæ majeſtatis*, a Crime of High Treaſon, cannot have the Protection of the Church.

But theſe Delinquents have committed a Crime of High Treaſon.

Ergò, They cannot have the Protection of the Church.

The ſecond Argument is of no leſs Force.

He, who commits a treacherous Murder, cannot have the Protection of the Church.

But theſe Delinquents have committed a treacherous Murder.

Ergò, They cannot have the Benefit of the Church.

For Proof of the firſt, *Ambroſinus*'s, *Boſius*'s, and *Julius Clarus*'s Opinions are clear; *Gambacarta*, *Diana*, and others concur with them; among other High-treaſons, they inſtance in Killing the King's eldeſt Son, his Brother, or any of the Race royal; or the King's Wife (becauſe ſhe is the one Half of him) or a Privy-counſellor of his, *&c.* as alſo, he who violates the King's *Salvo Conducto*, whereon they inſiſt much. Now, touching that large Bull of *Gregory the Fourteenth*, touching the Immunities of the Church, it is the Opinion of all the Civil Doctors on this Side the *Alps*, That it is not available in all Provinces; nay, it hath been petitioned againſt by divers; and to this Day it is not put generally in Practice. They are the Words of *Evia de Bolanos*, in his *Curia Filippica*. It was petitioned againſt in *Portugal*; nor could this Bull take Footing in *Spain*, which never had ſuch exorbitant Privileges, but obſerved the common Canonical Right, which makes more for the Reverence of the Church. And, whereas it may be alledged, That the ſaid ſafe Conduct was not to be obſerved by the ſaid Delinquents, becauſe it was not publiſhed, and that it binds only from that

Time; whereas it may be alledged alſo, That the King's ſafe Conduct is only by royal Letters, or ſome publick Inſtrument, all this is of little or no Validity at all; for the Delinquents voluntarily confeſs, that they had Notice, by Letters from *England*, that this Reſident was to come to treat of Peace, and correſpond with *Spain*. The Delinquents, beſides, may aver, That the Obſervation of this *Salvo Conducto* did not aim at them, being no Vaſſals here: But this Argument is of little Vigour likewiſe; for all People, whether Vaſſals, or not Vaſſals, are obliged to obſerve the Laws, in the Territories of that Prince where they ſojourn; and, if this Law takes Hold on the natural Vaſſals of any Country, much more on Strangers, who muſt not be encouraged, by any Immunity, to come and offend in another Country, without incurring the ſame Severity of Law.

Nor will it ſerve their Turn to ſay, That all Treaſons are either *in odium*, or *contemptum regis*; neither whereof could induce them to that Act, becauſe they were militant in his Majeſty's Army, and ſerved him with all exact Fidelity; for all this concurred in *Joab*; for he was ever faithful, and a Confident of King *David*'s, and Son to his Siſter *Serviah*.

For Proof of the ſecond Argument of our Diſcourſe, *viz.* That he, who commits a treacherous or proditorious Murder, cannot have the Protection of the Church, the Determination of his Holineſs *Clement the Eighth* ſhall ſerve; who ſaith, That 'not only he who kills one proditoriouſly, but he who kills a reconciled Enemy, is deprived of the Benefit of Sanctuary.' Now, theſe Delinquents deſtroyed this publick Miniſter of State *per inſidias*, *appenſatè*, *animo deliberato*, *&* *proditoriè*, fraudulently, by Forecaſt, with a deliberate Mind, and proditoriouſly; therefore they are far from deſerving the Shelter of the holy Church.

The ſacred Scripture takes us out of all Doubt, by the Act of holy and religious *Solomon*, when, in Execution of the juſt Commandment of *David* his Father, he conſulted how to puniſh *Joab* for having ſlain *Abner*, who had *David*'s ſafe Conduct, for which he fled to the Church and to the Altar: *Fugit ergo Joab in tabernaculum Domini, & apprehendit cornu altaris:* And *Benaias*, who had the Charge of executing him, returning with this News to *Solomon*, he anſwered, *Vade, interfice eum*, Go and kill him. *Benaias*, going again to *Joab*, told him the King's Command, and bid him come out: *Joab* replied, I will not come out, but I will die here. Thereupon, *Benaias* going back to *Solomon* to inform him what *Joab* had ſaid, the King rejoined, *Fac ſicut locutus eſt, & interfice eum:* Do as he hath ſaid, and kill him. So *Benaias*, the Son of *Jehoiada*, went up to the Altar, and, aſſaulting *Joab*, he killed him. Now, it is a great Queſtion among the Theologues, Whether *Solomon* ſinned in doing this? *Abulenſis* excuſeth him, giving this Reaſon: *Quia non illi profecit tenuiſſe aram, quia nullum homicida inſidiator habet præſidium:* Becauſe the Altar could not profit him, in Regard that no treacherous Man-ſlayer hath any Protection. Add hereunto what *Gaſpar Sanchez* and *Ruperto* alledge touching the ſame Fact: *Nihil debet illi fides altaris, qui per dolum occidendo proximum omnem fidem perdidit:* The Faith of the Altar oweth him nothing, who loſt all Faith in ſlaying his Neighbour feloniouſly. But *Cajetan*, with others, find no Way how to excuſe *Solomon* touching this Buſineſs, in Regard that he might, by his pretorian Troops and veteran Soldiers, have taken him both from the Altar and the Tabernacle; and ſo, without any Note of violating Religion, he might have diſpatched him in ſome profane Place, as the Prieſt *Jehoiada* commanded *Athaliah* to be taken out of the Temple, and killed without. This is a great and preciſe Leſſon for the Lords *Alcaldes*, for they need not fear to put theſe Men to Death, in Regard they are not now materially in the Church.

To prove the Minor of the ſecond Syllogiſm, *viz.* That theſe Men did voluntarily, of ſet Purpoſe, with a deliberate Mind, and proditoriouſly murder the Ambaſſador of the Parliament of *England*, ſhall be thus proved:

Certain Men eſpied the ſaid Ambaſſador lighting at his Lodging the ſame Night he came; the next Day, *William Spark* and *Henry Progers* (who is fled) ſpoke with *John Baptiſta Riva*, the Ambaſſador's Servant, and *Henry*, going down, ſaid to *William*, Let us go here below (where the other three Delinquents were) and ſaid, Let us kill the Reſident for a Deſtroyer of our Nation: So they ſwore among themſelves, That, if one died, all would die with him in ſo heroick an Act: Whence this Circumſtance may be drawn, That this Murder was committed by former Conſultation and with a deliberate Mind.

What is formerly related is confeſſed by the Delinquents themſelves, and that they came to perform this Exploit two by two; for, being come to the Lodging, two remained at the Foot of the Stairs, two on the Top, and two entered. *William Spark* went in firſt; ſeeing two ſitting at the Table, he pulled off his Hat, and ſaid, I kiſs your Hands: Which is the Reſident? And, when they knew who he was, Don *John Guillim* came, and, ſnatching him by the Hair, with a naked Dagger he gave him a Thruſt, that overthrew him; then came *William Spark* and gave him another, ſo that they gave him five Stabs in all; *John Baptiſta Riva* thinking to retire to his Chamber, there went four of them after him and gave him four Wounds, whereof he preſently expired; whereby it appears moſt evidently, that the Murder of the Ambaſſador was committed *per inſidias, appenſatè, animo deliberato, & proditoriè*; therefore the Church cannot protect them. It was done proditoriouſly, in Regard that *Prodere eſt unum actibus oſtendere, & aliud in mente gerere*; *unde homicidium proditorium eſt cædes hominis nihil tale ſuſpicantis*, as *Auguſtine Barboſa* affirms. Juſt ſo was *Abner* killed by *Joab*; according to the Text, he killed *Abner* in a diſhonourable Way, *viz.* fraudulently, when he ſpoke to him peaceably, therefore *Joab* deſerved to be deprived of the Immunity of the Temple; and juſt ſo was this Ambaſſador killed, and, it may be thought, they deſerve not the Shelter of the Sanctuary, as *Joab* did not.

But, methinks, I hear the Delinquents, to extenuate their Delict, whiſper, That they killed the ſaid Ambaſſador for an Heretick, for a Diſturber of the publick Peace, who particularly fomented the Death of the King, and the Change of Government; and they did operate this to vindicate the Death of their King upon a Regicide, an Enemy to his Country, and on an Impoſtor. Moreover, one of the Delinquents ſaith, That, in this Rebellion, he killed a Brother of his, with whom he had a particular Enmity. To theſe Arguments I may ſay, as *John Garcia* ſaid, in his *Gloſſ. Nobilit. Adducuntur leviuſcula quædam argumenta, quæ meritò ſubtaceri poterant; ſed ſatiſfaciendum eſt doctis pariter ac indoctis:* Certain light Arguments are alledged, which might have been ſpared; but we muſt ſatisfy the Unlearned, as well as the Learned. And, concerning the Firſt,

They ſay, they killed the Ambaſſador for an Heretick; ſo was their King, whom, they pretend, he had helped to murder: But the Catholick Church never held yet, That it was lawful to kill a Man only for his Religion; beſides, this Ambaſſador had a royal Paſſport, snd was attended all the Way, from the Sea-ſide, by his Majeſty's Servants; and Miniſters of any Religion may have Paſſports for their Safety, as *John Huſs* had, and as *Charles* the Emperor gave *Luther*.

They ſay, this Ambaſſador came to ſeduce and deceive by a Book of his, which was found among his Papers, and a Medal which he had, which had, on the one Side, *Nebart*, and on the other, XII. and the Word *Obſtricti*; and they ſay it ſignifies thoſe Twelve, which gained *Nebart*, and occaſioned the Wars: Hence they infer, that he came to deceive. There was alſo found a Crown ſtabbed with a Ponyard. This ſame Argument *Joab* propounded to *David*, when he ſaid, *Ignoras Abner filium Ner, quoniam ad hoc venit ad te, ut deciperet te, ut ſciret exitum tuum, & introitum tuum, & noſſe omnia quæ agis.* Thou knoweſt not *Abner* the Son of *Ner*; for he is come hither to deceive thee, to know thy Going out and thy Coming in, and to pry into all Things thou doſt, as the ſacred Text tells us: But this could not excuſe *Joab* for Killing *Abner*, who came hither all the Way with a ſafe Conduct; and it is the Prerogative only of that Prince, who gave him the ſafe Conduct, to know the Cauſe of his Coming.

To come now to a concluſive Point, and final Period of this Plea: The Puniſhment of theſe Men, for having fraudulently, by prepenſe Malice, with a deliberate Mind, and proditoriouſly murdered the Ambaſſador of the Parliament of *England*, according to the foregoing Circumſtances, and by their own ſpontaneous Confeſſions; I ſay, the ſpeedy Chaſtiſement of theſe Men to Death (notwithſtanding the depending Proceſs, touching the Immunity of the Church) is required by ſix Parties that are intereſted therein, *viz.*

1. By God himſelf.
2. By the King.
3. By his Subjects.
4. By the publick Cauſe.
5. By the Fiſcal of the Council.

Firſt, God requires it, who watcheth over all Crimes, eſpecially thoſe of Blood, which cry for Vengeance more than any; therefore the Procraſtination hereof would be offenſive to his Divine Majeſty.

Secondly, The King (whom God preſerve) requires ſpeedy Execution, in Regard ſome grave Doctors do doubt, whether it was a Sin in *David* to delay the Puniſhment of *Joab* till after his Death, by bequeathing the Execution of Juſtice to his Son *Solomon*, as a Legacy.

Thirdly, The Subjects of the King our Lord require a Haſtening of the Puniſhment; becauſe it troubles them to ſee, hard before the King's Eyes, and in the Catholick Court, ſo horrid and ſudden a Murder committed: *Quando accidunt aliqua mala & horrenda, quæ ſunt penitus inopinata, ſolent homines nimium turbari, etiamſi ad illos mala illa non pertineant; quia ergo mors Abner erat malum quoddam rarum & inopinatum, ſubito, illo audito, turbati ſunt omnes Iſraelitæ.* When ſome horrid, unexpected, and unuſual Miſchiefs happen, People uſe to be ſtrangely troubled, though it nothing belongs unto them; therefore, becauſe *Abner*'s Death was a Kind of extraordinary, ſudden Miſchief, all *Iſrael* was troubled at it, as *Abulenſis* ſpeaks upon the Second of *Kings*.

Fourthly, The publick Cauſe requires a ſudden Execution of Juſtice upon theſe Delinquents, becauſe they murdered two Men by Fraud, *quorum opera utilis videbatur futuræ reipublicæ*, whoſe Negotiation was to be profitable to the Commonwealth, as *Gaſpar Sanchez* ſaith.

Laſtly, The Fiſcal requires Juſtice for God, for the King, for his Fellow-ſubjects, for the publick Cauſe, and for himſelf, who concludes with *Cokier*, in his Treatiſe *de Legato*,

Ac perde has animas, patriam bonus eripe noxâ.

To ſhut up all; the juſtified Cauſe cries out for ſpeedy Juſtice, in Regard that theſe Delinquents murdered an Ambaſſador of the Parliament of *England:* Now to every Ambaſſador there is owing an extraordinary Reſpect, eſpecially to the Ambaſſadors of *England*; they ſlew him, though they knew that he had his Majeſty's ſafe Conduct; they ſlew him in the Catholick Court, where the Right of Nations uſeth to be kept inviolable, and more ſolemnly than any where elſe, whereby they committed not only a foul, treacherous Murder, but Treaſon in a high Degree againſt his Majeſty; they ſurpriſed the Ambaſſador and his Secretary at Dinner, a harmleſs Hour; they came in like Friends; wherefore it may juſtly be inferred, That this Murder was committed *per inſidias, animo deliberato, appenſatè, & proditoriè*; by Fraud, with a deliberate Mind, by Forecaſt, and treacherouſly. Touching the Circumſtances, their own ſpontaneous Confeſſions make them good; therefore both God, the King, all the Vaſſals of this Court, the publick Cauſe, and the Fiſcal of the Council demand a ſpeedy and actual Execution of Juſtice upon them, notwithſtanding the depending Proceſs, and Pretenſions touching the Immunities of the Church.

Salva in omnibus, &c.

Such was the Charge in the Court of *Spain*, which was delivered, with much Aggravation, by the ſaid Dr. *Hieronymo Hierro*, Knight of the Order of *Calatrava*, againſt *John Guillim*, *William Spark*, *Valentine Progers*, *Jo. Halſal*, *William Arnet*, and *Henry Progers*, who are detained ſtill in Priſon for Killing *Anthony Aſcham*, Reſident for the Parliament of *England*, and *John Baptiſta Riva*, his Interpreter; all except *Henry Progers*, who, being formerly known to the *Venetian* Ambaſſador, fled to his Houſe for Protection, and ſo made an Eſcape. The Suit is ſtill depending, and no Reſolution taken, in Regard the Church ſtands ſo earneſtly for them; inſomuch that it is not known when it will be determined.

Killing no Murder; briefly diſcourſed in three Queſtions. By *William Allen*.

And all the People of the Land rejoiced, and the City was quiet, after that they had ſlain Athaliah *with the Sword.* 2 Chron. xxiii. 21.

Now after the Time that Amaziah *did turn away from following the Lord, they made a Conſpiracy againſt him in* Jeruſalem, *and he fled to* Lachiſh; *but they ſent to* Lachiſh *after him, and ſlew him there.* 2 Chron. xxv. 27.

Reprinted in the Year 1689. *Quarto*, containing thirty Pages.

To his Highneſs *Oliver Cromwell.*

May it pleaſe your Highneſs,

HOW I have ſpent ſome Hours of the Leiſure, your Highneſs hath been pleaſed to give me, this following Paper will give your Highneſs an Account; how you will pleaſe to interpret it, I cannot tell; but I can, with Confidence, ſay, my Intention in it, is to procure your Highneſs that Juſtice no Body yet does you, and to let the People ſee, the longer they defer it, the greater Injury they do both themſelves and you. To your Highneſs juſtly belong the Honours of dying for the People, and it cannot chuſe but be an unſpeakable Conſolation to you, in the laſt Moments of your Life, to conſider, with how much Benefit to the World you are like to leave it. It is then only, my Lord, the Titles, you now uſurp, will be truly yours; you will then be, indeed, the Deliverer of your Country, and free it from a Bondage, little inferior to that from which Moſes *delivered his: You will then be that true Reformer, which you would now be thought; Religion ſhall then be reſtored, Liberty aſſerted, and Parliaments have thoſe Privileges they have fought for: We ſhall then hope, that other Laws will have Place, beſides thoſe of the Sword, and that Juſtice ſhall be otherwiſe defined, than the Will and Pleaſure of the Strongeſt; and we ſhall then hope, Men will keep Oaths again, and not have the Neceſſity of being falſe and perfidious, to preſerve themſelves, and be like their Rulers: All this we hope from your Highneſs's happy Expiration, who are the true Father of your Country; for, while you live, we can call nothing ours, and it is from your Death that we hope for our Inheritances: Let this Conſideration arm and fortify your Highneſs's Mind againſt*

againſt the Fears of Death, and the Terrors of your evil Conſcience, that the Good you will do, by your Death, will ſomewhat balance the Evils of your Life. And, if, in the black Catalogue of high Malefactors, few can be found that have lived more to the Affliction and Diſturbance of Mankind, than your Highneſs hath done; yet your greateſt Enemies will not deny, but there are likewiſe as few that have expired more to the univerſal Benefit of Mankind, than your Highneſs is like to do. To haſten this great Good is the chief End of my writing this Paper; and, if it have the Effects I hope it will, your Highneſs will quickly be out of the Reach of Men's Malice, and your Enemies will only be able to wound you in your Memory, which Strokes you will not feel. That your Highneſs may be ſpeedily in this Security, is the univerſal Wiſh of your grateful Country; this is the Deſire and Prayer of the Good and of the Bad, and, it may be, is the only Thing wherein all Sects and Factions do agree in their Devotions, and is our only common Prayer. But, amongſt all that put in their Requeſts and Supplications, for your Highneſs's ſpeedy Deliverance from all earthly Troubles, none is more aſſiduous, nor more fervent, than he, that, with the reſt of the Nation, hath the Honour to be, may it pleaſe your Highneſs,

Your Highneſs's preſent Slave and Vaſſal,

W. A.

To all thoſe Officers and Soldiers of the Army, that remember their Engagements, and dare be honeſt.

I Heartily wiſh, for England*'s Sake, that your Number may be far greater, than I fear it is; and that his Highneſs's frequent Purgations may have left any amongſt you, that, by theſe Characters, are concerned in this Dedication. That I, and all Men, have Reaſon to make this a Doubt, your own Actions, as well as your tame Sufferings, do but too plainly manifeſt. For you, that were the Champions of our Liberty, and to that Purpoſe were raiſed, are not you become the Inſtruments of our Slavery? And your Hands, that the People employed to take off the Yoke from our Necks, are not thoſe the very Hands that now do put it on? Do you remember, that you were raiſed to defend the Privileges of Parliament, and have ſworn to do it; and will you be employed to force Elections, and diſſolve Parliaments, becauſe they will not eſtabliſh the Tyrant's Iniquity, and our Slavery, by a Law? I beſeech you, think upon what you have promiſed, and what you do; and give not Poſterity, as well as your own Generation, the Occaſion to mention your Name with Infamy, and to curſe that unfortunate Valour and Succeſs of yours, that only hath gained Victories, as you uſe them, againſt the Commonwealth. Could ever* England *have thought to have ſeen that Army, that was never mentioned without the Titles of Religious, Zealous, Faithful, Courageous, the Fence of her Liberty at Home, the Terror of her Enemies Abroad, become her Jailers? Not her Guard, but her Oppreſſors? Not her Soldiers, but a Tyrant's Executioners, drawing to Blocks and Gibbets all that dare be honeſter than themſelves: This you do, and this you are; nor can you ever redeem your own Honour, the Truſt and Love of your Country, the Eſtimation of brave Men, or the Prayers of good, if you let not, ſpeedily, the World ſee you have been deceived; which they will only then believe, when they ſee your Vengeance upon his faithleſs Head that did it: This, if you defer too long to do, you will find too late* *to attempt, and your Repentance will neither vindicate you, nor help us. To let you ſee you may do this, as a lawful Action, and to perſuade you to it, as a glorious one, is the principal Intent of this following Paper: Which, whatever Effects it hath upon you, I ſhall not abſolutely fail of my Ends; for, if it excites not your Virtue and Courage, it will yet exprobrate your Cowardice and Baſeneſs. This is from one that was once amongſt you, and will be ſo again, when you dare be as you were.*

IT is not any Ambition to be in Print, when ſo few ſpare Paper and the Preſs, nor any Inſtigations of private Revenge or Malice (though few, that dare be honeſt, now want their Cauſes) that have prevailed with me to make myſelf the Author of a Pamphlet, and to diſturb that Quiet, which, at preſent, I enjoy, by his Highneſs's great Favour and Injuſtice. Nor am I ignorant, to how little Purpoſe I ſhall employ that Time and Pains, which I ſhall beſtow upon this Paper. For to think, that any Reaſons or Perſuaſions of mine, or Convictions of their own, ſhall draw Men from any Thing, wherein they ſee Profit or Security, or to any Thing, wherein they fear Loſs, or ſee Danger, is to have a better Opinion, both of myſelf and them, than either of us both deſerve.

Beſides, the Subject itſelf is of that Nature, that I am not only to expect Danger from ill Men, but Cenſure and Diſallowance from many that are good; for theſe Opinions, only looked upon, not looked into (which all have not Eyes for) will appear bloody and cruel; and theſe Compellations I muſt expect from thoſe that have a Zeal, but not according to Knowledge. If, therefore, I had conſidered myſelf, I had ſpared whatever this is of Pains, and not diſtaſted ſo many, to pleaſe ſo few, as are, in Mankind, the Honeſt and the Wiſe. But, at ſuch a Time as this, when God is not only exerciſing us with a uſual and common Calamity, of letting us fall into Slavery, that uſed our Liberty ſo ill; but is pleaſed ſo far to blind our Underſtandings, and to debaſe our Spirits, as to ſuffer us to court our Bondage, and to place it amongſt the Requeſts we put up to him; Indignation makes a Man break that Silence, that Prudence would perſuade him to uſe; if not to work upon other Men's Minds, yet to eaſe his own.

A late Pamphlet tells us of a great Deſign, diſcovered againſt the Perſon of his Highneſs, and of the Parliament's Coming (for ſo does that Junto profane that Name) to congratulate, with his Highneſs, his happy Deliverance from that wicked and bloody Attempt. Beſides this, that they have ordered that God Almighty ſhall be mocked with a Day of Thankſgiving, as I think the World is with the Plot, and that the People ſhall give publick Thanks for the publick Calamity, that God is yet pleaſed to continue his Judgments upon them, and to fruſtrate all Means that are uſed for their Deliverance. Certainly, none will now deny, that the *Engliſh* are a very thankful People. But, I think, if we had read in Scripture, that the *Iſraelites* had cried unto the Lord, not for their own Deliverance, but the Preſervation of their Taſk-maſters; and that they had thanked God, with Solemnity, that *Pharaoh* was yet living, and that there were ſtill great Hopes of the daily Increaſe of the Number of their Bricks: Though that People did ſo many Things, not only impiouſly and prophanely, but ridiculouſly and abſurdly; yet, certainly, they did nothing, we ſhould more have wondered at, than to have found them ceremoniouſly thankful to God for Plagues, that were commonly ſo brutiſhly unthankful for Mercies; and we ſhould have thought, that *Moſes* had done them a great deal of Wrong, if he had not ſuffered them to enjoy their Slavery, and left them to their Taſks and Garlick.

I can, with Juſtice ſay, my principal Intention, in this Paper, is not to declaim againſt my Lord Protector, or his Accomplices; for, were it not more to juſtify others, than accuſe them, I ſhould think their own Actions did that Work ſufficiently, and I ſhould not take Pains to tell the World what they knew before: My Deſign is, to examine whether if there hath been ſuch a Plot as we hear of, and that it was contrived by Mr. *Sindercombe*, againſt my Lord Protector, and not by my Lord Protector, againſt Mr. *Sindercombe*, which is doubtful, whether it deſerves thoſe Epithets, Mr. Speaker is pleaſed to give it, of bloody, wicked, and proceeding from the

Prince of Darkneſs. I know very well, how uncapable the Vulgar are of conſidering what is extraordinary and ſingular in every Caſe, and that they judge of Things, and name them, by their exterior Appearances, without penetrating at all into their Cauſes or Natures: And, without Doubt, when they hear the Protector was to be killed, they ſtrait conclude, a Man was to be murdered, not a Malefactor puniſhed; for they think, the Formalities do always make the Things themſelves; and that it is the Judge and the Cryer that makes the Juſtice, and the Jail the Criminal. And, therefore, when they read, in the Pamphlet, Mr. Speaker's Speech, they certainly think, he gives theſe Plotters their right Titles; and, as readily as a High Court of Juſtice, they condemn them, without ever examining whether they would have killed a Magiſtrate, or deſtroyed a Tyrant, over whom every Man is naturally a Judge, and an Executioner, and whom the Laws of God, of Nature, and of Nations, expoſe, like Beaſts of Prey, to be deſtroyed as they are met.

That I may be as plain as I can, I ſhall, *firſt*, make it a Queſtion, which, indeed, is none, Whether my Lord Protector be a Tyrant or not? *Secondly*, if he be, Whether it is lawful to do Juſtice upon him, without Solemnity, that is, To kill him? *Thirdly*, if it be lawful, Whether it is likely to prove profitable or noxious to the Commonwealth?

The Civil Law makes Tyrants of two Sorts; *Tyrannus ſine Titulo*, and *Tyrannus Exercitio*: The one called a Tyrant, becauſe he hath no Right to govern; the other, becauſe he governs Tyrannically. We will briefly diſcourſe of them both, and ſee whether the Protector may not, with great Juſtice, put in his Claim to both Titles.

We ſhall ſufficiently demonſtrate who they are that have not a Right to govern, if we ſhew who they are that have, and what it is that makes the Power juſt, which thoſe, that rule, have over the natural Liberty of other Men. To Fathers, within their private Families, Nature hath given a ſupreme Power. Every Man, ſays *Ariſtotle*, of Right governs his Wife and Children; and this Power was neceſſarily exercifed, every where, whilſt Families lived diſperſed, before the Conſtitutions of Commonwealths; and, in many Places, is continued after, as appears by the Laws of *Solon*, and the moſt ancient of thoſe of *Rome*. And, indeed, as by the Laws of God, and Nature, the Care, Defence, and Support of the Family lies upon every Man whoſe it is; ſo, by the ſame Law, there is due unto every Man, from his Family, a Subjection and Obedience, in Compenſation of that Support. But, ſeveral Families uniting themſelves together, to make up one Body of a Commonwealth, and being independent one of another, without any natural Superiority or Obligation, nothing can introduce, amongſt them, a Diſparity of Rule and Subjection, but ſome Power that is over them, which Power none can pretend to have, but God and themſelves: Wherefore all Power, which is lawfully exerciſed over ſuch a Society of Men, which, from the End of its Inſtitution, we call a Commonwealth, muſt neceſſarily be derived, either from the Appointment of God Almighty, who is ſupreme Lord of all and every Part, or from the Conſent of the Society itſelf, who have the next Power to his, of diſpoſing of their own Liberty, as they ſhall think fit, for their own Good. This Power God hath given to Societies of Men, as well as he gave it to particular Perſons; and when he interpoſes not his own Authority, and appoints not himſelf who ſhall be his Vicegerents, and rule under him, he leaves it to none, but the People themſelves, to make the Election, whoſe Benefit is the End of all Government. Nay, when he himſelf hath been pleaſed to appoint Rulers for that People, which he was pleaſed particularly to own, he, many Times, made the Choice, but left the Confirmation and Ratification of that Choice to the People themſelves. So *Saul* was choſen by God, and anointed King by his Prophet, but made King by all the People of *Gilgal*. *David* was anointed King by the ſame Prophet; but was, afterwards, after *Saul*'s Death, confirmed by the People of *Judah*, and, ſeven Years after, by the Elders of *Iſrael*, the People's Deputies, at *Hebron*: And it is obſervable, that, though they knew that *David* was appointed King by God, and anointed by his Prophet, yet they likewiſe knew, that God allowed to themſelves, not only his Confirmation, but likewiſe the Limitation of his Power; for, before his Inauguration, they made a League with him; that is, obliged him, by Compact, to the Performance of ſuch Conditions, as they thought neceſſary for the Securing their Liberty. Nor is it leſs remarkable, that, when God gives Directions to his People, concerning their Government, he plainly leaves the Form to themſelves: For he ſays not, When thou ſhalt have come into the Land which the Lord thy God gives thee, *Statues ſuper te Regem*; but, *Si * dixeris, Statuam.* God ſays not, Thou ſhalt appoint a King over thee: But, If thou ſhalt ſay, I will appoint, leaving it to their Choice, whether they would ſay ſo or no. And it is plain, in that Place, that God gives the People the Choice of their King, for he there inſtructs them whom they ſhall chooſe, *E medio fratrum tuorum*, one out of the Midſt of thy Brethren; much more might we ſay, if it were a leſs manifeſt Truth, that all juſt Power of Government is founded upon theſe two Baſes, of God's immediate Command, or the People's Conſent. And, therefore, whoſoever arrogates to himſelf that Power, or any Part of it, that cannot produce one of thoſe two Titles, is not a Ruler, but an Invader; and thoſe, that are ſubject to that Power, are not governed, but oppreſſed.

This being conſidered, Have not the People of *England* much Reaſon to aſk the Protector this Queſtion, *Quis conſtituit te virum principem & judicem ſuper nos?* Who made thee a Prince and a Judge over us? If God made thee, make it manifeſt to us; if the People, Where did we meet to do it? Who took our Subſcriptions? To whom deputed we our Authority? And when and where did thoſe Deputies make the Choice? Sure theſe Interrogations are very natural, and, I believe, would much trouble his Highneſs, his Council, and his Junto, to anſwer. In a Word, that I may not tire my Reader (who will not want Proofs for what I ſay, if he wants not Memory) if to change the Government without the People's Conſent: If to diſſolve their Repreſentatives by Force, and diſannul their Acts: If to give the Name of the People's Repreſentatives to Confederates of his own, that he may eſtabliſh Iniquity by a Law: If to take away Men's Lives, out of all Courſe of Law, by certain Murderers of his own Appointment, whom he names, *A High Court of Juſtice*: If to decimate Men's Eſtates, and, by his own Power, to impoſe upon the People what Taxes he pleaſes; and to maintain all this by Force of Arms: If, I ſay, all this does make a Tyrant, his own Impudence cannot deny, but he is as compleat a one, as ever hath been, ſince there have been Societies of Men. He that hath done, and does all this, is the Perſon, for whoſe Preſervation the People of *England* muſt pray; but, certainly, if they do, it is for the ſame Reaſon, that the old Woman of *Syracuſe* prayed for the long Life of the Tyrant *Dionyſius*, leſt the Devil ſhould come next.

Now, if inſtead of God's Command, or the People's Conſent, his Highneſs hath no other Title but Force and Fraud, which is to want all Title: And if to violate all Laws, and propoſe none to rule by, but thoſe of his own Will, be to exerciſe that Tyranny he hath uſurped, ~~and to make~~ his Adminiſtration conformable to his Claim; then the *firſt* Queſtion we propoſed is a Queſtion no longer.

But before we come to the *ſecond*, ſeeing Things are more eaſily perceived and found by the Deſcription of their exterior Accidents and Qualities, than the defining their Eſſences: It will not be amiſs to ſee, whether his Highneſs hath not as well the outward Marks and Characters by which Tyrants are known, as he hath their Nature and eſſential Properties: Whether he hath not the Skin of the Lion, and Tail of the Fox, as well as he hath the Violence of the one, and Deceit of the other? Now, in this Delineation which I intend to make of a Tyrant, all the Lineaments, all the Colours will be found ſo naturally to correſpond with the Life, that it cannot but be doubted, whether his Highneſs be the Original or the Copy; whether I have, in drawing the Tyrant, repreſented him; or in repreſenting him, expreſſed a Tyrant: And therefore, leſt I ſhould be ſuſpected to deal unſincerely with his Highneſs, and not to have applied theſe following Characters, but made them, I ſhall not give you any of my own Stamping, but ſuch as I find in *Plato*, *Ariſtotle*, *Tacitus*, and his Highneſs's own *Evangeliſt*, *Machiavel*.

2. Almoſt all Tyrants have been firſt Captains and Generals for the People, under Pretences of vindicating and defending their Liberties: 'Ut imperium evertant, Libertatem 'præferunt; cum perverterunt, ipſam aggre-

---

* *Deut.* xvii. 14.

diuntur ; ſays *Tacitus*, to ſubvert the preſent Government, they pretend Liberty for the People ; when the Government is down, they then invade that Liberty themſelves ; this needs no Application.

2. Tyrants accompliſh their Ends much more by Fraud than Force ; neither Virtue nor Force, ſays *Machiavel*, are ſo neceſſary to that Purpoſe, as *una Aſtutia fortunata*, a lucky Craft ; which, ſays he, without Force has been often found ſufficient, but never Force without that. And in another Place he tells us, their Way is *Aggirare Icervelli de gli huomini con Aſtutia*, &c. With cunning plauſible Pretences to impoſe upon Men's Underſtandings, and in the End they maſter thoſe that had ſo little as to rely upon their Faith and Integrity.

It is but unneceſſary to ſay, that had not his Highneſs had a Faculty to be fluent in his Tears, and eloquent in his Execrations : Had he not had ſpongy Eyes, and a ſupple Conſcience ; and beſides to do with a People of great Faith, but little Wit : His Courage, and the reſt of his moral Virtues, with the Help of his Janiſaries, had never been able ſo far to advance him out of the Reach of Juſtice, that we ſhould have Need to call for any other Hand to remove him, but that of the Hangman.

3. They abaſe all excellent Perſons, and rid out of the Way all that have noble Minds. *Et terræ filios extollunt*, and advance Sons of the Earth.

To put *Ariſtotle* into other Words, they purge both Parliament and Army, till they leave few or none there, that have either Honour or Conſcience, either Wit, Intereſt, or Courage to oppoſe their Deſigns. And in theſe Purgations, ſaith *Plato*, Tyrants do quite contrary to Phyſicians ; for they purge us of our Humours, but Tyrants of our Spirits.

4. They dare ſuffer no Aſſemblies, not ſo much as Horſe-Races.

5. In all Places, they have their Spies and Dilators, that is, they have their *Fleetwoods*, their *Broghills*, and their St. *Johns* ; beſides innumerable ſmall Spies, to appear diſcontented, and not to ſide with them ; that under that Diſguiſe they may get Truſt, and make Diſcoveries ; they likewiſe have their Emiſſaries to ſend with forged Letters. If any doubt this, let him ſend to Major-general *Brown*, and he will ſatisfy him.

6. They ſtir not without a Guard, nor his Highneſs without his Life-guard.

7. They impoveriſh the People, that they may want the Power, if they have the Will to attempt any Thing againſt them. His Highneſs's Way is by Taxes, Exciſe, Decimations, *&c.*

8. They make War to divert and buſy the People ; and beſides to have a Pretence to raiſe Monies, and to make new Levies, if they either diſtruſt their old Forces, or think them not ſufficient. The War with *Spain* ſerveth his Highneſs to this Purpoſe ; and upon no other Juſtice was it begun at firſt, or is ſtill continued.

9. They will ſeem to honour and provide for good Men ; that is, If the Miniſters will be Orthodox and flatter ; if they will wreſt and torture the Scripture to prove his Government lawful, and furniſh his Title ; his Highneſs will likewiſe be then content to underſtand Scripture in their Favour, and furniſh them with Titles.

10. Things that are odious and diſtaſteful, they make others Executioners of ; and when the People are diſcontented, they appeaſe them with ſacrificing thoſe Miniſters they employ. I leave it to his Highneſs's Major-generals to ruminate a little upon this Point.

11. In all Things they pretend to be wonderful careful of the Publick ; to give general Accounts of the Money they receive, which they pretend to be levied for the Maintenance of the State, and the Proſecuting of the War. His Highneſs made an excellent Comment upon this Place of *Ariſtotle*, in his Speech to the Parliament.

12. All Things ſet aſide for religious Uſes they ſet to Sail ; that while thoſe Things laſt, they may expect the leſs of the People. The Cavaliers would interpret this of the Dean and Chapters Lands.

13. They pretend Inſpirations from Gods, and Reſponſes from Oracles to authoriſe what they do ; his Highneſs hath been ever an Enthuſiaſt. And as *Hugh Capet*, in Taking the Crown, pretended to be admoniſhed to it in a Dream by St. *Valery* and St. *Richard* ; ſo I believe will his Highneſs do the ſame, at the Inſtigation of St. *Henry* and St. *Richard*, his two Sons.

14. *Laſtly*, Above all Things they pretend a Love to God and Religion. This *Ariſtotle* calls *Artuæ Tyrannicariæ potiſſimam* ; the ſureſt and beſt of all the Arts of Tyrants ; and we all know his Highneſs hath found it ſo by Ex-

Experience. He hath found indeed, that in Godlineſs there is great Gain; and that Preaching and Praying, well managed, will obtain other Kingdoms as well as that of Heaven. His, indeed, have been pious Arms, for he hath conquered moſt by thoſe of the Church, by Prayers and Tears. But the Truth is, were it not for our Honour to be governed by by one that can manage both the Spiritual and Temporal Sword, and *Roman* like, to have our Emperor, our High Prieſt, we might have had Preaching at a much cheaper Rate, and it would have coſt us but our Tythes, which now coſts us all.

Other Marks and Rules there are mentioned by *Ariſtotle* to know Tyrants by; but they being unſuitable to his Highneſs's Actions, and impracticable by his Temper, I inſiſt not on them. As, among other Things, *Ariſtotle* would not have a Tyrant inſolent in his Behaviour, and not ſtrike People. But his Highneſs is naturally cholerick, and muſt call Men Rogues, and go to Cuffs. At laſt he concludes, he ſhould ſo faſhion his Manners, as neither to be really good, nor abſolutely bad, but half one, half the other. Now this Half good is too great a Proportion for his Highneſs, and much more than his Temper will bear.

But to ſpeak Truths more ſeriouſly, and to conclude this firſt Queſtion. Certainly whatever theſe Characters make any Man, it cannot be denied but his Highneſs is; and then, if he be not a Tyrant, we muſt confeſs we have no Definition nor Deſcription of a Tyrant left us, and may well imagine there is no ſuch Thing in Nature, and that it is only a Notion and a Name. But if there be ſuch a Beaſt, and we do at all believe what we ſee and feel, let us now enquire, according to the Method we propoſed, Whether this be a Beaſt of Game, that we are to give Law to, or a Beaſt of Prey, to deſtroy with all Means, that are allowable and fair?

In Deciding this Queſtion, Authors very much differ, as far as it concerns ſupreme Magiſtrates, who degenerate into Tyrants. Some think they are to be borne with as bad Parents, and place them in the Number of thoſe Miſchiefs, that have no other Cure, but our Patience: Others think they may be queſtioned by that ſupreme Law of the People's Safety, and that they are anſwerable to the People's Repreſentatives for the Breach of their Truſt. But none, of ſober Senſe, make private Perſons Judges of their *Actions*; which were indeed to ſubvert all good Government. But, on the other Side, I find none, that have not been frighted or corrupted out of their Reaſon, that have been ſo great Enemies to common Juſtice and the Liberty of Mankind, as to give any Kind of Indemnity to a Uſurper, who can pretend no Title but that of being ſtronger, nor challenge the People's Obedience, upon any other Obligation but that of their Neceſſity and Fear. Such a Perſon, as one out of all Bounds of human Protection, all Men make the *Iſhmael*, againſt whom, is every Man's Hand, as his is againſt every Man. To him they give no more Security, than *Cain*, his Fellow-murtherer and Oppreſſor, promiſed to himſelf, to be deſtroyed by him, that found him firſt.

The Reaſon why a Tyrant's Caſe is particular, and why in that every Man hath that Vengeance given him, which in other Caſes is reſerved to God and the Magiſtrate, cannot be obſcure, if we rightly conſider what a Tyrant is, what his Crimes are, and in what State he ſtands with the Commonwealth, and with every Member of it. And certainly, if we find him an Enemy to all human Society, and a Subverter of all Laws, and one that by the Greatneſs of his Villanies ſecures himſelf, againſt all ordinary Churſe of Juſtice; we ſhall not at all think it ſtrange, if then he have no Benefit from human Society, no Protection from the Law, and if, in his Caſe, Juſtice diſpenſes with her Forms. We are therefore to conſider that the End, for which Men enter into Society, is not barely to live, which they may do diſperſed, as other Animals, but to live happily, and a Life anſwerable to the Dignity and Excellency of their Kind. Out of Society this Happineſs is not to be had; for ſingly we are impotent and defective, unable to procure thoſe Things, that are either of Neceſſity or Ornament for our Lives; and as unable to defend and keep them, when they are acquired. To remedy theſe Defects, we aſſociate together, that what we can neither enjoy nor keep ſingly, by mutual Benefits and Aſſiſtances one of another, we may be able to do both. We cannot poſſibly accompliſh theſe Ends, if we ſubmit not our Paſſions and Appetites to the Laws of Reaſon and Juſtice; for the Depravity of Man's Will makes him as unfit to live in Society, as his Neceſſity makes him unable to live out of it; and, if that Perverſneſs be not regulated by Laws, Men's Appetites to the ſame Things, their Avarice, their Luſt, their Ambition, would quickly make Society as unſafe, or more than Solitude itſelf, and we ſhould aſſociate only to be nearer our Miſery and our Ruin. That therefore, by which we accompliſh the Ends of a ſociable Life, is our Subjection and Submiſſion to Laws? Theſe are the Nerves and Sinews of every Society or Commonwealth, without which they muſt neceſſarily diſſolve and fall aſunder. And indeed, as *Auguſtine* ſays, thoſe Societies where Law and Juſtice is not, are not Commonwealths or Kingdoms, but *magna Latrocinia*, great Confederacies of Thieves and Robbers: Thoſe, therefore that ſubmit to no Law, are not to be reputed in the Society of Mankind, which cannot conſiſt without a Law: Therefore *Ariſtotle* ſays, Tyranny is againſt the Law of Nature, that is, the Law of human Society, in which human Nature is preſerved. For this Reaſon they deny a Tyrant to be *Partem Civitatis*, for every Part is ſubject to the Whole; and a Citizen, ſays the ſame Author, is he who is as well obliged to the Duty of Obeying, as he is capable of the Power of Commanding; and indeed he does obey, whilſt he does command; that is, he obeys the Laws, which, ſays *Tully*, *Magiſtratibus præſunt, ut Magiſtratus præſunt populo*, are above the Magiſtrates, as the Magiſtrates are above the People. And therefore, a Tyrant that ſubmits to no Law, but his Will and Luſt are the Law by which he governs himſelf and others, is no Magiſtrate, no Citizen, or Member of any Society, but an Ulcer and a Diſeaſe that deſtroys it; and, if it be rightly conſidered, a Commonwealth by falling into a Tyranny abſolutely loſes that Name, and is actually anonother Thing: *Non eſt Civitas quæ unius eſt Viri*, ſaith *Sophocles*, that which is one Man's is no City. For there is no longer King and People, or Parliament or People, but thoſe Names are changed, at leaſt their Natures, into Maſters and Servants, Lord and Slaves; and *Servoræ non Civitas erit ſed magna Familia*, ſays *Grotius*, Where all are Slaves, it is not a City, but a great Family; and the Truth is, we are all Members of *Whitehall*, and, when our Maſter pleaſeth, he may ſend for us thither, and there bore through our Ears at the Door-poſts. But to conclude, a Tyrant, as we have ſaid, being no Part of a Commonwealth, nor ſubmitting to the Laws of it, but making himſelf above all Law, there is no Reaſon he ſhould have the Protection that is due to a Member of a Commonwealth, nor any Defence from Laws that does acknowledge none. He is therefore in all Reaſon to be reckoned in the Number of thoſe ſavage Beaſts, that fall not with others, into any Herd, that have no other Defence but their own Strength, making a Prey of all that is weaker, and, by the ſame Juſtice, being a Prey to all that is ſtronger than themſelves.

In the next Place, let it be conſidered, that a Tyrant, making himſelf above all Law, and defending his Injuſtice by a Strength, which no Power of Magiſtrates is able to oppoſe, he becomes above all Puniſhment, above all other Juſtice, than that he receives from the Stroke of ſome generous Hand; and, certainly, the Safety of Mankind were but ill provided for, if there were no Kind of Juſtice to reach great Villainies, but Tyrants ſhould be *Immunditie Scelerum tuti*, ſecured by the Greatneſs of their Crimes. Our Laws would be then but Cobwebs indeed, made only to catch Flies, but not to hold Waſps or Hornets; and it might be then ſaid of all Commonwealths, what was ſaid of *Athens*, That there only ſmall Thieves were hanged, but the great ones were free, and condemned the reſt. But he, that will ſecure himſelf of all Hands, muſt know he ſecures himſelf from none; he, that flies Juſtice in the Court, muſt expect to find it in the Street; and he, that goes armed againſt every Man, arms every Man againſt himſelf. 'Bellum eſt in eos, qui judiciis coerceri non 'poſſunt,' ſays *Cicero*: We have War with thoſe, againſt whom we can have no Law. The ſame Author, 'Cum duo ſint decertandi 'genera, &c.' There being two Ways of deciding Differences, the one by Judgment and Arbitration, the other by Force; the one proper to Men, the other to Beaſts; we muſt have Recourſe to the latter, when the former cannot be obtained. And, certainly, by the Law of Nature, *ubi ceſſat Judicium*, when no Juſtice can be had, every Man may be his own Magiſtrate, and do Juſtice for himſelf; for the Law, ſays *Grotius*, that forbids me to purſue my Right, but by a Courſe of Law, certainly ſuppoſes, *Ubi copia eſt Judicii*, where Law and Juſtice is to be had; otherwiſe, that Law were a Defence for Injuries, not one againſt them; and, quite contrary to the Nature of all Laws, would become the Protection of the Guilty againſt the Innocent, not of the Innocent againſt the Guilty. Now, as it is contrary to the Laws of God and Nature, that Men, who are partial to themſelves, and, therefore, unjuſt to others, ſhould be their own Judges, where others are to be had; ſo is it as contrary to the Law of Nature, and the common Safety of Mankind, that, when the Laws can have no Place, Men ſhould be forbidden to repel Force by Force, and ſo be left, without all Defence and Remedy, againſt the Injuries. God himſelf left not the Slave without Remedy againſt the cruel Maſter; and what Analogy can it hold with Reaſon, that the Slave, that is but his Maſter's Money, and but Part of his Houſhold-ſtuff, ſhould find Redreſs againſt the Injuries and Inſolencies of an imperious Maſter; and a free People, who have no Superior but their God, ſhould have none at all, againſt the Injuſtice and Oppreſſion of a barbarous Tyrant? And were not the Incongruity full as great, that the Law of God permitting every Man to kill a Thief, if he took him breaking open his Houſe in the Night; becauſe then it might be ſuppoſed, he could not bring him to Juſtice: But a Tyrant, that is the common Robber of Mankind, and whom no Law can take hold on, his Perſon ſhould be, *Sacroſanct, cui nihil Sacrum aut Sanctum*, to whom nothing is ſacred, nothing inviolable: But the Vulgar judge ridiculouſly, like themſelves; the Gliſter of Things dazzles their Eyes, and they judge of them by their Appearances, and the Colours that are put on them. For what can be more abſurd in Nature, and contrary to all common Senſe, than to call him Thief, and kill him, that comes alone, or with a few, to rob me; and to call him Lord Protector, and obey him, that robs me with Regiments and Troops? As if to rove with two or three Ships were to be a Pyrate, but, with Fifty, an Admiral! But, if it be the Number of Adherents only, not the Cauſe, that makes the Difference between a Robber and a Protector, I wiſh that Number were defined, that we might know where the Thief ends, and the Prince begins; and be able to diſtinguiſh between a Robber and a Tax. But, ſure, no *Engliſhman* can be ignorant, that it is his Birth-right to be Maſter of his own Eſtate, and that none can command any Part of it, but by his own Grant and Conſent, either made expreſly by himſelf, or virtually by a Parliament. All other Ways are mere Robberies in other Names: *Auferre, Trucidare, Rapere, falſis nominibus imperium, atque, ubi ſolitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant*; to rob, to extort, to murder Tyrants falſly called to govern, and to make Deſolation, they call to ſettle Peace; in every Aſſeſſment we are robbed; the Exciſe is Robbery; the Cuſtoms Robbery; and, without Doubt, whenever it is prudent, it is always lawful to kill the Thieves, whom we can bring to no other Juſtice; and not only lawful, and to do ourſelves Right, but glorious, and to deſerve of Mankind, to free the World of that common Robber, that univerſal Pyrate, under whom, and for whom, the leſſer Beaſts prey. This Firebrand I would have any Way extinguiſhed; this Ulcer I would have any Hand to lance; and, I cannot doubt, but God will ſuddenly ſanctify ſome Hand to do it, and bring down that bloody and deceitful Man, who lives not only to Miſery, but the Infamy of our Nation.

I ſhould have Reaſon to be much leſs confident of the Juſtice of this Opinion, if it were new, and only grounded upon Collections and Interpretations of my own. But herein, if I am deceived, I ſhall, however, have the Excuſe to be drawn into that Error, by the Examples that are left us by the greateſt and moſt virtuous, and the Opinions of the wiſeſt and graveſt Men, that have left their Memories to Poſterity. Out of the great Plenty of Confirmations, I could bring for this Opinion from Examples and Authorities, I ſhall ſelect a very few; for manifeſt Truths have not Need of thoſe Supports; and I have as little Mind to tire myſelf as my Reader.

Firſt therefore, a Uſurper, that by only Force poſſeſſeth himſelf of Government, and by Force only keeps it, is yet in the State of War with every Man, ſays the learned *Grotius*; and therefore every Thing is lawful againſt an open Enemy, whom every private Man hath a Right to kill. *Hoſtis hoſtem occidere volui*, ſays *Scævola* to *Porſenna*, when he was taken, after he had failed in his Attempt to kill him; I am an Enemy, and an Enemy I would have killed; which every Man hath a Right to do.

Contra publicos hoſtes, & majeſtatis reos, omnia homo miles eſt, ſays *Tertullian*. Againſt common Enemies, and thoſe that are Traitors to the Commonwealth, every Man is a Soldier: This Opinion the moſt celebrated Nations have approved; both by their Laws and Practices. The *Grecians*, as *Xenophon* tells us, who ſuffered not Murderers to come into their Temples, in thoſe very Temples they erected Statues to thoſe that killed Tyrants, thinking it fit to place their Deliverers amongſt their Gods. *Cicero* was an Eye-witneſs of the Honours that were done ſuch Men, *Græci homines, &c.* The *Greeks*, ſaith he, attributed the Honours of the Gods to thoſe that killed Tyrants. What have I ſeen in *Athens*, and other Cities of *Greece!* What Religion paid to ſuch Men! What Songs! What Elogies! By which they are conſecrated to Immortality, and almoſt deified! In *Athens*, by *Solon*'s Law, Death was not only decreed for the Tyrant that oppreſſed the State, but for all thoſe that took any Charge, or did bear any Office, while the Tyranny remained. And *Plato* tells us the ordinary Courſe they took with the ordinary Tyrants in *Greece*. If, ſays he, the Tyrant cannot be expelled, by accuſing him to the Citizens, then by ſecret Practices they diſpatch him.

Amongſt the *Romans* the *Valerian* Law was, *Si quis injuſſu populi, &c.* Whoſoever took Magiſtracy upon him, without the Command of the People, it was lawful for any Man to kill him. *Plutarch* makes this Law more ſevere, *Ut injudicatum occidere eum liceret, qui dominatum concupiſceret.* That it was lawful by that Law, before any Judgment paſt, to kill him that but aſpired to Tyranny. Likewiſe the Conſular Law, which was made after the Suppreſſion of the Tyranny of the Decemvirate, made it lawful to kill any Man that went about to create Magiſtrates, *ſine Provocatione, &c.* without Reference and Appeal to the People. By theſe Laws, and innumerable Teſtimonies of Authors, it appears, that the *Romans*, with the reſt of their Philoſophy, had learned from the *Grecians*, what was the natural Remedy againſt a Tyrant: Nor did they honour theſe leſs that durſt apply it. Who, as *Polybius* ſays (ſpeaking of Conſpiracies againſt Tyrants) were not *Deterrimi civium, ſed generoſiſſimi quique, & maximi animi*; not the worſt and meaneſt of the Citizens, but the moſt Generous, and thoſe of the greateſt Virtue. So were moſt of thoſe that conſpired againſt *Julius Cæſar*; he himſelf thought *Brutus* worthy to ſucceed him in the Empire of the World. And *Cicero*, who had the Title of *Pater Patriæ*, if he were not conſcious of the Deſign, yet he at laſt affected the Honour of being thought ſo: *Quæ enim res unquam, &c.* What Act, ſays he, O *Jupiter!* more glorious? More worthy of eternal Memory, hath been done not only in this City, but in the whole World! In this Deſign, as the *Trojan* Horſe, I willingly ſuffer myſelf to be included with the Princes. In the ſame Place, he tells what all virtuous *Romans* thought of the Fact as well as he: *Omnes boni, quantum in ipſis fuit, Cæſarem occiderunt: aliis conſilium: aliis animus: aliis occaſio deſuit, voluntas nemini:* All good Men, ſaith he, as much as lay in them, killed *Cæſar:* ſome wanted Capacity, ſome Courage, others Opportunity, but none the Will to do it. But yet we have not declared the Extent of their Severity againſt a Tyrant: They expoſed him to Fraud, as well as Force, and left him no Security in Oaths and Compacts; that neither Law, nor Religion, might defend him that violated both. *Cum Tyranno Romanis nulla fides, nulla jurisjurandi Religio*, ſaith *Brutus* in *Appian*; with a Tyrant the *Romans* think no Faith to be kept, obſerve no Religion of an Oath; *Seneca* gives the Reaſon, *Quia quicquid erat, quo mihi cohæreret, &c.* For, whatever there was of mutual Obligation betwixt us, his Deſtroying the Laws of human Society hath diſſolved; ſo theſe that thought that there was *in hoſtem nefas*, that a Villainy might be committed againſt an Enemy: Theſe that profeſſed, *Non minus juſte quam fortiter arma gerere*, to manage their Arms with Juſtice as well as Courage: Theſe that thought Faith was to be kept even with the Perfidious; yet they thought a Tyrant could receive no Injuſtice, but to be let live; and that the moſt lawful Way to deſtroy him was the readieſt, no Matter whether by Force or Fraud; for, againſt Beaſts of Prey, Men uſe the Toil and the Net, as well as the Spear and the Lance. But ſo great was their Deteſtation of a Tyrant, that it made ſome take their Opinions from their Paſſions, and vent Things which they could but ill juſtify to their Morality; they thought a Tyrant had ſo abſolutely forfeited all Title to Humanity, and all Kind of Protection they could give him or his, that they left his Wife without any other Guard for her Chaſtity but Age and Deformity; and thought it not Adultery what was committed with her. Many more Teſtimonies might I bring; for it is harder to make Choice than to find Plenty. But I ſhall conclude with Authorities that are much more authentick, and Examples we may much more ſafely imitate.

The Law of God itſelf decreed certain Death to that Man that would do preſumptuouſly, and ſubmit to no Deciſion of Juſtice. Who can read this, and think a Tyrant ought to live? But certainly, neither that, nor any other Law were to any Effect, if there were no Way to put it in Execution. But, in a Tyrant's Caſe, Proceſs and Citation have no Place; and, if we will only have formal Remedies againſt him, we are ſure to have none. There's ſmall Hopes of Juſtice where the Malefactor hath a Power to condemn the Judge.

All Remedy therefore againſt a Tyrant is *Ehud*'s Dagger, without which all our Laws were fruitleſs, and we helpleſs. This is that High Court of Juſtice where *Moſes* brought the *Ægyptian*, whither *Ehud* brought *Eglon*; *Samſon*, the *Philiſtines*; *Samuel*, *Agag*; and *Jehoiada*, the She-Tyrant *Athaliah*.

Let us a little conſider, in particular, theſe ſeveral Examples, and ſee whether they may be proportioned to our Purpoſe.

Firſt, As to the Caſe of *Moſes* and the *Ægyptian*: Certainly, every *Engliſhman* hath as much Call as *Moſes*, and more Cauſe than he, to ſlay this *Ægyptian*, that is always laying on Burthens, and always ſmiting both our Brethren and ourſelves: For, as to his Call, he had no other that we read of, but the Neceſſity his Brother ſtood in of his Help. He looked on his Brethren's Burdens, and ſeeing an *Ægyptian* ſmiting an *Hebrew*, and knowing he was out of the Reach of all other Kind of Juſtice, he ſlew him. Certainly, this was and is as lawful for any Man to do, as it was for *Moſes*, who was then but a private Man, and had no Authority for what he did, but what the Law of Nature gives every Man, to oppoſe Force to Force, and to make Juſtice where he finds none. As to the Cauſe of that Action, we have much more to ſay than *Moſes* had; he ſaw one *Hebrew* ſmitten, we many *Engliſhmen* murdered; he ſaw his Brethren's Burdens and their Blows, we our Brethren's Burdens, Impriſonments and Deaths. Now, ſure, if it were lawful for *Moſes* to kill that *Ægyptian* that oppreſſed one Man, ſeeing there was no Way to procure an ordinary Courſe of Juſtice againſt him; it cannot be but abſurd to think it unlawful to kill him that oppreſſes a whole Nation, and one that Juſtice as little reaches as it defends.

The Example of *Ehud* ſhews us the natural and almoſt the only Remedy againſt a Tyrant, and the Way to free an oppreſſed People from the Slavery of an inſulting *Moabite*: 'Tis done by Prayers and Tears, with the Help of a Dagger, by Crying to the Lord, and the Left-hand of an *Ehud*. Devotion and Action go well together; for, believe it, a Tyrant is not of that Kind of Devil that is to be caſt out by only Faſting and Prayer; and here the Scripture ſhews us, what the Lord thought a fit Meſſage to ſend a Tyrant from himſelf; a Dagger of a Cubit in his Belly; and every worthy Man that deſires to be an *Ehud*, a Deliverer of his Country, will ſtrive to be the Meſſenger.

We may here likewiſe obſerve in this and many Places of *Judges*, that, when the *Iſraelites* fell to Idolatry, which, of all Sins, certainly is one of the greateſt, God Almighty, to proportion the Puniſhment and the Offence, ſtill delivered them into the Hands of Tyrants; which ſure is one of the greateſt of all Plagues.

In the Story of *Samſon*, it is manifeſt, that the Denying him his Wife, and after the Burning her and her Father, which, though they were great, yet were but private Injuries, he took for ſufficient Grounds to make War upon the *Philiſtines*, being himſelf but a private Man, and not only not aſſiſted but oppoſed by his ſervile Countrymen. He knew what the Law of Nature allowed him, where other Laws have no Place, and thought it a ſufficient Juſtification for ſmiting the *Philiſtines* Hip and Thigh, to anſwer for himſelf; that, as they did unto him, ſo had he done unto them.

Now that which was lawful for *Samſon* to do againſt many Oppreſſors, Why is it unlawful for us to do againſt one? Are our Injuries leſs? Our Friends and Relations are daily murdered before our Faces: Have we other Ways for Reparation? Let them be named, and I am ſilenced: But, if we have none, the Fire-brands, or the Jaw-bone, the firſt Weapons our juſt Fury can lay hold on, may certainly be lawfully employed againſt that uncircumciſed *Philiſtine* that oppreſſes us. We have too the Oppoſition and Diſcouragements that *Samſon* had, and therefore have the more Need of his Courage and Reſolution: As he had the Men of *Judah*, ſo we have the Men of *Levi*, crying to us out of the Pulpit, as from the Top of the Rock *Etam*, *Know you not that the* Philiſtine *is a Ruler over you?* The Truth is, they would fain make him ſo, and bind us, with *Samſon*, in new Cords; but we hope they will become as Flax, and that they will either looſe from our Hands, or we ſhall have the Courage to cut them.

Upon the ſame Grounds of Retaliation did *Samuel* do Juſtice with his own Hand upon the Tyrant *Agag*: *As thy Sword*, ſays the Prophet, *hath made Women childleſs, ſo ſhall thy Mother be childleſs amongſt Women.* Nor is there any Law more natural and more juſt.

How many Mothers has our *Agag*, for his own Ambition, made childleſs? How many Children fatherleſs? How many have this Reaſon to hew this *Amalekite* in Pieces before the Lord? And let his own Relations, and all theirs that are Confederates with him, beware, leſt Men come at laſt to revenge their own Relations in them. They make many a Woman husbandleſs, and many a Father childleſs: Their Wives may come at laſt to know what it is to want a Husband, and themſelves to loſe their Children. Let them remember what their great Apoſtle *Machiavel* tells them, That, in Conteſtations for the Preſerving their Liberty, People many times uſe Moderation; but, when they come to vindicate it, their Rigour exceeds all Mean; like Beaſts that have been kept up, and are afterwards let looſe, they always are more fierce and cruel.

To conclude with the Example *Jehoiada* hath left us: Six Years he hid the right Heir of the Crown, in the Houſe of the Lord: and, without all Doubt, amongſt the reſt of God's Services there, he was all that Time contriving the Deſtruction of the Tyrant, that had aſpired to the Crown by the Deſtruction of thoſe that had the Right to it. *Jehoiada* had no Pretence to authoriſe this Action, but the Equity and Juſtice of the Act itſelf: He pretended no immediate Command from God for what he did, nor any Authority from the *Sanhedrim*; and therefore any Man might have done what *Jehoiada* did as lawfully, that could have done it as effectually as he. Now what Citation was given to *Athaliah*; what Appearance was ſhe called to before any Court of Juſtice? Her Fact was her Trial: She was, without any Expoſtulation, taken forth of the Ranges, and only let live till ſhe got out of the Temple, that that holy Place might not be defiled by the Blood of a Tyrant, which was fitter to be ſhed on a Dunghill; and ſo they ſlew her at the Horſe-Gate. And by the King's Houſe, the very *Whitehall* where ſhe had cauſed the Blood Royal to be ſpilt, and which herſelf had ſo long unjuſtly poſſeſſed, there, by Providence, did ſhe receive her Puniſhment, where ſhe had acted ſo great a Part of her Crimes. How the People approved of this glorious Action of deſtroying a Tyrant, this Chapter tells us at the laſt Verſe †: *And all the People of the Land rejoiced, and the City was quiet, after they had ſlain* Athaliah *with the Sword.* And that it may appear they no leſs honoured the Authors of ſuch Actions, than other Nations did; as in his Life-time they obeyed *Jehoiada* as a King, ſo, after his Death, for the Good he had done in *Iſrael*, ſaith the Scripture, they likewiſe buried him amongſt the Kings.

I muſt not conclude this Story, without obſerving that *Jehoiada* commanded, that whoſoever followed *Athaliah* ſhould be put to Death; letting us ſee what they deſerve that are Confederates with Tyrants, and will ſide with them, and but appear to defend them, or allow them his Highneſs's Council, his Junto, and the Agas of his Janiſaries, may, if they pleaſe, take Notice of this, and repent, leſt they likewiſe periſh. And likewiſe his Highneſs's Chaplains, and Triers, who are to admit none into the Miniſtry that will preach Liberty with the Goſpel, may, if they think fit, obſerve, that with the Tyrant fell *Mattan* the Prieſt of *Baal.* And indeed, none but *Baal*'s Prieſts will preach for Tyrants: And certainly, thoſe Prieſts that ſacrifice to our *Baal*, our Idol of a Magiſtrate, deſerve as well to be hanged before their Pulpits, as ever *Mattan* did to fall before his Altars.

I ſhould think now I had ſaid much more than enough to the *ſecond* Queſtion, and ſhould come to the *third* and *laſt* I propoſed in my Method; but I meet with two Objections lying in my Way: The *firſt* is, That theſe Examples out of Scripture are of Men that were inſpired of God, and that therefore they had that Call and Authority for their Actions, which we cannot pretend to; ſo that it would be unſafe for us to draw their Actions into Examples, except we had likewiſe their Juſtifications to alledge.

---

† 2 *Chron.* xxiii. 21.

The other Objection is, That there being now no Oppoſition made to the Government of his Highneſs, that the People following their Callings and Traffick at Home and Abroad, making Uſe of the Laws, and appealing to his Highneſs's Courts of Juſtice: That all this argues the People's tacit Conſent to the Government; and that therefore now it is to be reputed lawful, and the People's Obedience voluntary.

To the *firſt* I anſwer with learned *Milton*, that if God commanded theſe Things, it is a Sign they were lawful, and are commendable. But *ſecondly*, As I obſerved in the Relations themſelves: Neither *Samſon* nor *Samuel* alledged any other Cauſe or Reaſon for what they did, but Retaliation, and the apparent Juſtice of the Actions themſelves. Nor had God appeared to *Moſes* in the Buſh, when he ſlew the *Egyptian*; nor did *Jehoiada* alledge any prophetical Authority or other Call to do what he did, but that common Call which all Men have, to do all Actions of Juſtice that are within their Power, when the ordinary Courſe of Juſtice ceaſes.

To the *ſecond* my Anſwer is, That if Commerce and Pleadings were enough to argue the People's Conſent, and give Tyranny the Name of Government; there was never yet any Tyranny of many Weeks ſtanding in this World. Certainly, we then extremely wrong *Caligula* and *Nero* in calling them Tyrants, and they were Rebels that conſpired againſt them; except we will believe, that all the While they reigned, in *Rome* they kept their Shops ſhut, and opened not their Temples, or their Courts. We are likewiſe with no leſs Abſurdity to imagine, that the whole eighteen Years Time, which *Iſrael* ſerved *Eglon*, and ſix Years that *Athaliah* reigned, the *Iſraelites* quite deſiſted from Traffick, Pleadings, and all publick Acts; otherwiſe *Ehud* and *Jehoiada* were both Traitors, the one for Killing his King, the other his Queen.

Having ſhewed what a Tyrant is, his Marks and Practices, I can ſcarce perſuade myſelf to ſay any Thing to that I made my *third* Queſtion, Whether the Removing him is like to prove of Advantage to the Commonwealth or not? For methinks it is to inquire whether it is better the Man die, or the Impoſthume be lanced, or the gangrened Limb be cut off? But yet there be ſome whoſe Cowardice and Avarice furniſh them with ſome Arguments to the Contrary; and they would fain make the World believe, that to be baſe and degenerate is to be cautious and prudent; and what is in Truth a Servile Fear, they falſly call a Chriſtian Patience. It will not be therefore amiſs to make appear that there is indeed that Neceſſity, which we think there is, of ſaving the Vineyard of the Commonwealth, if poſſible, by deſtroying the wild Boar that is broke into it. We have already ſhewed that it is lawful, and now we ſhall ſee whether it is expedient. *Firſt*, I have already told you, That to be under a Tyrant is not to be a Commonwealth, but a great Family, conſiſting of Maſter and Slaves. *Vir bone, ſervorum nulla eſt unquam civitas*, ſays an old Poet, A Number of Slaves makes not a City. So that, whilſt this Monſter lives, we are not Members of a Commonwealth, but only his living Tools and Inſtruments, which he may employ to what Uſe he pleaſes. *Servi tua eſt fortuna, Ratio ad te nihil*, ſays another; Thy Condition is a Slave's, thou art not to inquire a Reaſon; nor muſt we think we can continue long in the Condition of Slaves, and not degenerate into the Habits and Temper that are natural to that Condition; our Minds will grow low with our Fortune, and by being accuſtomed to live like Slaves, we ſhall become unfit to be any Thing elſe. *Etiam fera animalia, ſi clauſa teneas, virtutis obliviſcuntur*, ſays *Tacitus*: The fierceſt Creatures, by long Conſtraint, loſe their Courage. And ſays Sir *Francis Bacon* The Bleſſing of *Iſſachar* and that of *Judah* fall not upon one People, to be Aſſes couching under Burdens, and to have the Spirit of Lions. And with their Courage it is no Wonder, if they loſe their Fortune, as the Effect with the Cauſe, and act as ignominiouſly Abroad, as they ſuffer at Home. It is *Machiavel's* Obſervation, that the *Roman* Armies that were always victorious under Conſuls, all the While they were under the Slavery of the *Decemviri*, never proſpered. And certainly People have Reaſon to fight but faintly, where they are to gain the Victory againſt themſelves; when every Succeſs ſhall be a Confirmation of their Slavery, and a new Link to their Chain.

But we ſhall not only loſe our Courage, which is a uſeleſs and an unſafe Virtue under a Tyrant, but by Degrees we ſhall, after the Ex-

Example of our Maſter, all turn Perfidious, Deceitful, Irreligious, Flatterers, and whatever elſe is villainous and infamous in Mankind. See but to what Degree we are come already; Can there any Oath be found ſo fortified by all religious Ties, which we eaſily find not a Diſtinction to break, when either Profit or Danger perſuades us to it? Do we remember any Engagements, or if we do, Have we any Shame to break them? Can any Man think with Patience upon what we have profeſſed, when he ſees what we wildly do, and tamely ſuffer? What have we of Nobility amongſt us but the Name, the Luxury and the Vices of it? Poor Wretches, theſe that now carry that Title, are ſo far from having any of the Virtues, that ſhould grace, and indeed give them their Titles, that they have not ſo much as the generous Vices that attend Greatneſs, they have loſt all Ambition and Indignation. As for our Miniſters,* ; What have they, or indeed deſire they, of their Calling but the *Tythes? How* do theſe horrid Prevaricators ſearch for Diſtinctions to piece contrary Oaths? How do they rake Scriptures for Flatteries, and impudently apply them to his monſtrous Highneſs? What is the City but a great tame Beaſt, that eats and carries, and cares not who rides it? What is the Thing called a Parliament, but a Mock; compoſed of a People that are only ſuffered to ſit there, becauſe they are known to have no Virtue, after the Excluſion of all others that were but ſuſpected to have any? What are they but Pimps of Tyranny, who are only employed to draw in the People to proſtitute their Liberty? What will not the Army fight for? What will they not fight againſt? What are they but Janiſaries, Slaves themſelves, and making all others ſo? What are the People in general but Knaves, Fools, and Cowards, principled for Eaſe, Vice, and Slavery? This is our Temper, this Tyranny hath brought us to already; and if it continues, the little Virtue that is yet left to ſtock the Nation muſt totally extinguiſh; and then his Highneſs hath compleated his Work of Reformation; and the Truth is, till then, his Highneſs cannot be ſecure. He muſt not endure Virtue, for that will not endure him. He that will maintain Tyranny muſt kill *Brutus*, ſays *Machiavel*. A Tyrant, ſays *Plato*, muſt diſpatch all virtuous Perſons, or he cannot be ſafe; ſo that he is brought to that unhappy Neceſſity, either to live amongſt baſe and wicked Perſons, or not to live at all.

Nor muſt we expect any Cure from our Patience: ‘Inxanno ſi gli huomini, ſays *Machiavel*, credendo con la humilita vincere la ‘ſuperbia.’ Men deceive themſelves that think to mollify Arrogancy with Humility; a Tyrant is never modeſt but when he is weak; it is in the Winter of his Fortune, when this Serpent bites not; we muſt not therefore ſuffer ourſelves to be cozened with Hopes of his Amendment; for, ‘Nemo unquam † Impe‘rium flagitio quæſitum bonis artibus exer‘cuit, Never did any Man manage the Government with Juſtice that got it by Villainy. The longer the Tyrant lives, the more the tyrannical Humour increaſes in him, ſays *Plato*, like thoſe Beaſts that grow more curſed as they grow old. New Occaſions daily happen that neceſſitate them to new Miſchiefs; and he muſt defend one Villainy with another.

But ſuppoſe the Contrary of this, and that his Highneſs were *vi Dominationis convulſus, & mutatus*, changed to the better by great Fortune, of which he gives no Symptoms, What, notwithſtanding, could be more miſerable than to have no other Security for our Liberty, no other Law for our Safety than the Will of a Man, though the moſt juſt living? We have all our Beaſt within us; and whoſoever, ſays *Ariſtotle*, is governed by a Man without a Law, is governed by a Man and by a Beaſt, ‘Etiam ſi non ſit moleſtus Dominus; tamen ‘eſt miſerrimum poſſe ſi velit,’ ſays *Tully*; Though a Maſter does not tyranniſe, yet it is a moſt miſerable Thing, that it is in his Power to do ſo if he will. If he be good, ſo was *Nero* for five Years; and how ſhall we be ſecure that he will not change? Beſides the Power, that is allowed to a good Man, we may be ſure will be claimed and taken by an ill; and therefore it hath been the Cuſtom of good Princes to abridge their own Power, it may be diſtruſting themſelves, but certainly fearing their Succeſſors, to the Chance of whoſe being virtuous, they would not hazard the Welfare of their People. An unlimited Power therefore is to be truſted to none, which, if it does not find a Tyrant, commonly makes one; or if one uſes it modeſtly, it is no Argument that others will; and therefore *Auguſtus Cæ-*

---

* Dr. *Locker*, Dr. *Owen*, Mr. *Jenkins*, &c.

† *Tacit.* Hiſt. Lib. i.

ſar muſt have no greater Power given him than you would have *Tiberius* take. And *Cicero's* Moderation is to be truſted with a Conſideration, that there are others to be Conſuls as well as he.

But before I preſs this Buſineſs farther, if it needs be any farther preſſed, that we ſhould endeavour to reſcue the Honour, the Virtue, and Liberty of our Nation, I ſhall anſwer to ſome few Objections that have occurred to me. This I ſhall do very briefly.

Some I find of a ſtrange Opinion, that it were a generous and a noble Action to kill his Highneſs in the Field; but to do it privately they think it unlawful, but know not why; as if it were not generous to apprehend a Thief till his Sword were drawn, and he in a Poſture to defend himſelf and kill me. But theſe People do not conſider that whoſoever is poſſeſſed of Power, any Time, will be ſure to engage ſo many either in Guilt or Profit or both, that to go about to throw him out, by open Force, will very much hazard the total Ruin of the Commonwealth. A Tyrant is a Devil, that tears the Body in the Exorciſing, and they are all of *Caligula's* Temper, that if they could, they would have the whole Frame of Nature fall with them. It is an Opinion that deſerves no other Refutation than the manifeſt Abſurdity of itſelf; that it ſhould be lawful for me to deſtroy a Tyrant with Hazard, Blood and Confuſion, but not without.

Another Objection, and more common, is the Fear of what may ſucceed, if his Highneſs were removed. One would think the World were bewitched. I am fallen into a Ditch where I ſhall certainly periſh if I lie; but I refuſe to be helped out for Fear of falling into another; I ſuffer a certain Miſery for Fear of a contingent one, and let the Diſeaſe kill me, becauſe there is a Hazard in the Cure: Is not this that ridiculous Policy, *Ne moriare, mori*, To die for Fear of dying? Sure it is Frenzy not to deſire a Change, when we are ſure we cannot be worſe: *Et non incurrere in pericula, ubi quies centi paria metuuntur* *; and not then to hazard, when the Danger and the Miſchiefs are the ſame in lying ſtill.

Hitherto I have ſpoken in general to all *Engliſhmen*; now I addreſs my Diſcourſe particularly to thoſe that certainly beſt deſerve that Name, ourſelves, that have fought, however unfortunately for our Liberties under this Tyrant; and in the End, cozened by his Oaths and Tears, have purchaſed nothing but our Slavery with the Price of our Blood. To us particularly it belongs to bring this Monſter to Juſtice, whom he hath made the Inſtruments of his Villainy, and Sharers in the Curſe and Deteſtation that is due to himſelf from all good Men; others only have their Liberty to vindicate, we our Liberty and our Honour. We engaged to the People with him, and to the People for him, and from our Hands they may juſtly expect a Satisfaction of Puniſhment, ſeeing they cannot have that of Performance. What the People at preſent endure, and Poſterity ſhall ſuffer, will be all laid at our Doors; for only we, under God, have the Power to pull down this *Dagon* which we have ſet up; and [redacted] all Mankind will repute us Approvers of all the Villainies he hath done, and Authors of all to come. Shall we that would not endure a King attempting Tyranny, ſhall we ſuffer a profeſſed Tyrant? We that reſiſted the Lion aſſailing us, ſhall we ſubmit to the Wolf tearing us? If there be no Remedy to be found, we have great Reaſon to exclaim, ‘Utinam te potius, Carole, retinuiſſemus quam ‘hunc habuiſſemus, non quod ulla ſit optanda ‘ſervitus, ſed quod ex dignitate Domini minus turpis eſt conditio ſervi. We wiſh we had rather endured thee, O *Charles*, than have been condemned to this mean Tyrant; not that we deſire any Kind of Slavery, but that the Quality of the Maſter ſomething graces the Condition of the Slave.

But if we conſider it rightly, what our Duty, our Engagements, and our Honour exact from us, both our Safety and our Intereſt oblige us to; and it is as unanſwerable, in us, to Diſcretion as it is to Virtue, to let this Viper live; for firſt, he knows very well it is only we that have the Power to hurt him, and therefore of us he will take any Courſe to ſecure himſelf; he is conſcious to himſelf how falſly and perfidiouſly he hath dealt with us; and therefore he will always fear that from our Revenge, which he knows he hath ſo well deſerved.

Laſtly, He knows our Principles, how directly contrary they are to that arbitrary Power he muſt govern by, and therefore he may reaſonably ſuſpect, that we, that have already ventured our Lives againſt Tyranny, will always have the Will, when we have the Opportunity to do the ſame again.

---

* *Seneca.*

Theſe Conſiderations will eaſily perſuade him to ſecure himſelf of us, if we prevent him not, and ſecure ourſelves of him. He reads in his Practice of Piety, * *chi diviene Patron*, &c. He that makes himſelf Maſter of a City, that hath been accuſtomed to Liberty, if he deſtroys it not, he muſt expect to be deſtroyed by it. And we may read too in the ſame Author, and believe him, that thoſe that are the Occaſion that one becomes powerful, he always ruins them, if they want the Wit and Courage to ſecure themſelves.

Now, as to our Intereſt, we muſt never expect that he will ever truſt thoſe that he hath provoked, and fears; he will be ſure to keep us down, leſt we ſhould pluck down him. '*Tis the Rule that Tyrants obſerve, when they are in Power, never to make much Uſe of thoſe that helped them to it; and indeed it is their Intereſt and Security not to do it; for thoſe that have been the Authors of their Greatneſs*, being conſcious of their own Merit, they are bold with the Tyrant, and leſs induſtrious to pleaſe him; they think all he can do for them is their Due, and ſtill they expect more; and, when they fail in their Expectations (as it is impoſſible to ſatisfy them) their Diſappointments make them diſcontented, and their Diſcontents dangerous. Therefore all Tyrants follow the Example of *Dionyſius*, who was ſaid to uſe his Friends as *he did his Bottles: When he had Uſe for them, he kept them by him; when he had* none, that they ſhould not trouble him and lie in his Way, he hung them up.

But to conclude this already over-long Paper, Let every Man, to whom God hath given the Spirit of Wiſdom and Courage, be perſuaded by his Honour, his Safety, his own Good and his Country's, and indeed the *Duty* he owes to his *Generation*, and to *Mankind*, to endeavour, by all rational Means, to free the World of this Peſt. Let not other Nations have the Occaſion to think ſo meanly of us, as if we reſolved to ſit ſtill and have our Ears bored, or that any Diſcouragements or Diſappointments can ever make us deſiſt from attempting our Liberty, till we have purchaſed it, either by this Monſter's Death, or by our own. Our Nation is not yet ſo barren of Virtue, that we want noble Examples to follow amongſt ourſelves. The brave *Sindercomb* hath ſhewed as great a Mind as any old *Rome* could boaſt of; and, had he lived there, his Name had been regiſtered with *Brutus* and *Cato*, and he had had his Statues as well as they.

But I will not have ſo ſiniſter an Opinion of ourſelves (as little Generoſity as Slavery hath left us) as to think ſo great a Virtue can want its Monuments even amongſt us. Certainly in every virtuous Mind there are Statues reared to *Sindercomb*. Whenever we read the Elogies of thoſe that have died for their Country; when we admire thoſe great Examples of Magnanimity, that have tired Tyrants Cruelties; when we extol their Conſtancy, whom neither Bribes nor Terrors could make betray their Friends; it is then we erect *Sindercomb* Statues, and engrave him Monuments; where all that can be ſaid of a great and noble Mind, we juſtly make an Epitaph for him; and, though the Tyrant cauſed him to be ſmothered, leſt the People ſhould hinder an open Murder, yet he will never be able either to ſmother his Memory, or his own Villainy. His Poiſon was but a poor and common Device to impoſe only on thoſe that underſtood not Tyrants Practices, and are unacquainted, if any be, with his Cruelties and Falſhoods. He may therefore, if he pleaſe, take away the Stake from *Sindercomb*'s Grave, and, if he have a Mind it ſhould be known how he died, let him ſend thither the Pillows and Feather-Beds with which *Barkſtead* and his Hangman ſmothered him. But to conclude, let not this Monſter think himſelf the more ſecure that he hath ſuppreſſed one great Spirit, † he may be confident that *Longus poſt illum ſequitur ordo idem petentium decus.*

There is a great Roll behind, even of thoſe that are in his own Muſter-Rolls, and are ambitious of the Name of the Deliverers of their Country; and they know what the Action is that will purchaſe it. His Bed, his Table, is not ſecure, and he ſtands in Need of other Guards to defend him againſt his own. Death and Deſtruction purſue him where-ever he goes; they follow him every where, like his Fellow-Travellers, and at laſt they will come upon him like armed Men. *Darkneſs is hid in his ſecret Places, a Fire not blown ſhall conſume him; it*

---

* *Mach.* Pr. Cap. 5.

† And what may *Cecil* and *Toop* expect for their Treachery and Perjury?

ſhall go ill with him that is left in his Tabernacle. He ſhall flee from the Iron Weapon, and a Bow of Steel ſhall ſtrike him through: Becauſe he hath oppreſſed, and forſaken the Poor; becauſe he hath violently taken away a Houſe which he builded not; We may be confident, and ſo may he, that e're long all this ſhall be accompliſhed: *For the Triumphing of the Wicked is ſhort, and the Joy of the Hypocrite but for a Moment. Though* his Excellency * *mount up to the Heavens, and his Head reacheth unto the Clouds, yet he ſhall periſh like his own Dung. They that have ſeen him ſhall ſay, Where is he?*

POSTSCRIPT.

Courteous Reader,

EXPECT another Sheet or two of Paper of this Subject, if I eſcape the Tyrant's Hands, although he gets (in the Interim) the Crown upon his Head, which he hath, underhand, put his Confederates on to petition his Acceptance thereof.

---

* He hath now left that Title for *Highneſs*, and will ſhortly leave that for *Kingdom*.

A Diſcourſe of Sea-Ports *; principally of the Port and Haven of *Dover*: Written by Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and addreſſed to Queen *Eliſabeth*. With uſeful Remarks, *&c.* on that Subject, by Command of his late Majeſty King *Charles the Second*. Never before made publick. Printed in 1700. *Quarto*, containing twenty Pages.

To the Right Honourable the Earl of *Rumney*, Lord Warden of the *Cinque Ports*, &c.

My Lord,

THE *Publiſher of this Diſcourſe has no other Motive of his Addreſs to your Lordſhip, than that the Deſign may receive Protection from ſome powerful Hand, by which, being ſheltered in its Infancy from the Blaſts of Malevolence (which will blow from more Corners than one) it may have Leave to ſtrike Root, and grow to Strength enough to be able to ſtand alone. The Subject-matter ſeems to belong to your Lordſhip, in Propriety, as you are Lord Warden of the* Cinque Ports; *and the Patronage of ſo noble and national a Project could be claimed no where ſo rightfully as from your Lordſhip, who being equally great by Birth, Power, the Favour of your Prince, and the Love of your Country, I could not withſtand the Juſtice of making this Oblation of my Duty and good Wiſhes to your Lordſhip, by thus tendering it to your Election to be the Father and Protector of ſo needful and magnificent a Work, abounding in publick Honour, Safety, and Emolument, whereby you may conſign your Name to Poſterity, by a Monument more durable, and of greater Dignity than the Records and Patents of your Anceſtors, or the Statues of Antiquity.*

---

* This is the 69th Number in the Catalogue of Pamphlets in the *Harleian* Library.

The Manuſcript fell caſually into my Hands during the laſt Seſſion of Parliament, which being reliſhed by ſuch worthy Members of that honourable Body as I had an Opportunity to impart it to, I thought I could not do a more grateful Office to my Country, than to be the Means of its Publication, for which Freedom I aſk the Author's Pardon, as I do your Lordſhip's for the Preſumption of this Dedication; who am,

Your Lordſhip's moſt humble and dutiful Servant.

A brief Diſcourſe, declaring how honourable and profitable to your moſt Excellent Majeſty, and how neceſſary and commodious for your Realm, the making of Dover *Haven ſhall be, and in what Sort, what leaſt Charges in greateſt Perfection the ſame may be accompliſhed.*

THERE is no one Thing, moſt renowned Sovereign, of greater Neceſſity to maintain the Honour and Safety of this your Majeſty's Realm, than by all convenient Means to increaſe Navigation, Shipping and Mariners, theſe being a Strength in Time of War; and in Time of Peace, Members moſt profitable and commodious.

But this can neither be had, increaſed, nor maintained, if, Firſt, ſure Harbours be not provided, as a ſafe Receptacle to receive and guard them from Storms, Enemies, *&c.*

This hath moved that induſtrious Nation of the *Low-Countries* in *Holland*, *Zealand*, and *Flanders*, where, by Reaſon of their ſandy Coaſt, though God hath ſcarcely in any Place allowed them any good Havens natural, yet, ſeeing the Neceſſity and Commodity of Harbours, they have, without Regard of any Charges or Travel, with infinite Expences, made many Havens artificial, even in ſuch Places as Nature denied them all the Hopes of Help; whereby we ſee they have drawn ſuch Intercourſe and Traffick, both of Foreign Nations for Merchandiſe, and alſo by their Induſtry for Fiſhing, that in few Years (almoſt in our Age) they have been able to build a Number of moſt ſumptuous, rich, and beautiful Cities, furniſhed the Coaſt with a great Number of Ships and Mariners, and are become the moſt populous and rich Nation the Sun did ever ſhine on; and not only the Sea Coaſts, but alſo the Inland Countries, by quick Vent of their Commodities, do participate of the ſame Benefit and Felicity: And ſuch their Charges, on Havens and Harbours beſtowed, do yield them the Fruit of Riches, Wealth, and Commodity moſt plentiful throughout their whole Dominion.

But contrary-wiſe, with us this laſt Parliament, lamentable Relation hath been made of the great Decay of Mariners and Fiſhermen, to the Number of many hundred Sail upon our Coaſt of *England*, even in this Age, and within Memory; and alſo of the preſent Poverty, and deſolate Habitations of many Frontier Towns.

Whereby it plainly appeareth, That as the exceſſive Expence of the *Low-Countries*, beſtowed on Havens, hath not impoveriſhed, but the clean contrary, greatly inriched them by incomparable Wealth and Treaſure, with Numbers of rich, fair, and populous Towns; ſo our ſparing Mind, or rather greedy Getting, Gaining, and Inriching Land from your Majeſty's Havens, and navigable Channels, hath utterly deſtroyed and ſpoiled many good Havens by Nature left us, and thereby wrought very Beggary, Miſery, and Deſolation in theſe your Frontier Towns.

And, if we ſearch the very Cauſe of the flouriſhing State of *London*, which almoſt alone in Quantity, People, and Wealth in this Age is ſo increaſed; and, contrary-wiſe of the Poverty, or rather Beggary and Decay of *Winchelſea*, *Rye*, *Rumney*, *Hide*, *Dover*, and many other poor Towns, we ſhall find the Decay of theſe Havens, and Preſervation of the *Thames*, the only or chief Occaſion.

Hereby ſufficiently appeareth how incomparable Jewels Havens and ſure Harbours are for Gaining, Maintaining, and Increaſing People, Wealth, and Commodity in any Realm.

And no leſſer Strength and Security do they bring in Time of War, as well by the Multitude of Mariners (a moſt ſerviceable People) and Shipping, which they breed, as alſo the Inhabitation of the Frontiers.

But, in the whole Circuit of your Majeſty's famous Iſland, there is not any one either in Reſpect of Security and Defence, or of Traffick or Intercourſe, more convenient, needful, or rather of Neceſſity to be regarded than this of *Dover*, ſituate on a Promontory next fronting a puiſſant Foreign King, and in the very ſtreight Paſſage and Intercourſe of almoſt all the Shipping of *Chriſtendom.*

And, if that our renowned King, your Majeſty's Father, of famous Memory, *Henry the Eighth* in his Time, found how neceſſary it was to make a Haven at *Dover* (when *Sandwich*, *Rye*, *Camber*, and others were good Havens, and *Calais* alſo then in his Poſſeſſion), and yet ſpared not to beſtow, of his own Treaſure, ſo great a Maſs in Building of that Pier, which then ſecured a probable Mean to perform the ſame: How much more is the ſame now needful, or rather of Neceſſity (thoſe good Havens being extremely decayed) no ſafe Harbour being left in all the Coaſt almoſt between *Portſmouth* and *Yarmouth*; ſeeing the ſame alſo may be performed without the Expence of your Majeſty's private Treaſure, the preſent Gift of Parliament conſidered, and their ready Wills ſo plainly diſcovered, to ſupply whatever Charge ſhall be needful, whenſoever by your gracious Providence they ſhall ſee the Realm armed with ſuch a Shield, and endowed with ſo great a Jewel.

The Commodities that thereby both to your Majeſty and Realm ſhall enſue, are,

Firſt, A Place of Refuge and ſure Safeguard to all Merchants, your Majeſty's Subjects, who paſſing from *London*, and all other the *Eaſt* and *North* Parts of *England*, to *France*, *Spain*, *Barbary*, the *Levant*, the Iſlands, or other Parts *South*, or *Weſt* of the World, for Want of Harbour at *Dover*, either going forth or returning, ſhall be inforced to ride it out in open Road, to their great Peril; or, in Time of War, for Want of ſuch Succour, to throw themſelves on the contrary Coaſt into the Arms of their Enemies.

For all other Strangers, your Majeſty's Friends, that paſs the Sea from *Hamburgh*, *Dantzick*, *Lubeck*, *Embden*, *Scotland*, *Denmark*, or any Parts of the *Low Countries*, to any Parts of the World, *South* and *South Weſt* (whereof there are daily great Numbers) or of *Spain*, *Portugal*, *France*, or *Italy*, bound Northward, either to *London*, or any of the Northern Provinces, both paſſing and repaſſing, they muſt of Neceſſity touch, as it were, upon this Promontory; and, upon any Change of Wind, or Fear of the Enemy, for ſure Refuge, will moſt willingly and thankfully embrace ſo ſweet and ſafe a Sanctuary.

No Promontory, Town, or Haven of *Chriſtendom*, is ſo placed by Nature and Situation, both to gratify Friends and annoy Enemies, as this your Majeſty's Town of *Dover*.

No Place or Town of *Chriſtendom* is ſo ſettled to receive and deliver Intelligence for all Matters and Actions in *Europe*, from Time to Time.

No Town of all the *Low-Countries*, though by their Induſtry they have a great Number exceſſive populous, fair and rich, is by Nature ſo ſettled, either to allure Intercourſe by Sea, or train Inhabitants by Land, to make it great, fair, rich and populous.

For alluring Intercourſe by Sea, there is already ſufficient ſaid.

By Land, it hath better Air and Water, two chief Elements, than all the rich Towns in *Holland* and *Zealand*.

For Fire, the Country round about is far better wooded than theirs, and the whole Shire wherein it ſtandeth, and round about the Town itſelf, the Soil is ſo well ſorted for Arable and Paſture of all Sorts, for Marſh and Meadows ſufficiently furniſhed, as Heart of Man cannot wiſh or deſire it better.

A Quarry of Stone at hand ſufficient to build both Town and Haven in a moſt ſufficient, large, and beautiful Manner. There wanteth Nothing by Land, Sea, or Air that can be wiſhed. And, if thoſe induſtrious People of the *Low Countries* had in all their Provinces ſuch a Seat with like Commodities, they would make it a Spectacle to the World without Reſpect of Charge whatſoever.

There wanteth Nothing but a Harbour, which when compaſſed, all other Parts of Peopling, Wealth, and Strength will follow of itſelf.

A marvellous Number of poor People both by this Work, till the Haven is made, and after by the Shipping, Fiſhing, *&c.* will be employed, who now for Want of Work are whipped, marked, and hanged.

The quick Uttering of Commodities, which always followeth by Increaſe of Intercourſe, will cauſe all the Coaſt and Shire to be notably manured and peopled, not with poor, idle, but painful, induſtrious, and rich Perſons, a great Ornament and Commodity in Peace, and ſure Defence in War, the ſame being the Frontier neareſt Coaſt to a moſt dangerous, puiſſant, active, and aſpiring Neighbour.

The Increaſe of Navigation, Fiſhing, and Traffick, that hereby will grow, and the great Wealth and Commodity thereof ariſing, will not be contained in one Shire alone, but poured forth into all Parts of the Realm, to the great Relief of the Poor, and Contentation of all Degrees, Increaſing of Arts and Occupations, a Pattern whereof we may behold even in our next Neighbours the *Low-Countries*; not feigned in Imagination, but actually by them put in Execution; and great Shame it were for us, to deſpair attaining that, which we ſee others our Neighbours have atchieved before us.

As the whole Realm in general, ſo your Majeſty alſo in Reſpect of your particular Revenue ſhall reap great Profit by Increaſe of Subſidies, which always will grow greater, together with the Wealth of the Land, beſides the Increaſe of Cuſtoms, and ſuch other Revenues as ſhall be there made of the Soil there gained from the Seas.

The Shire of *Kent*, being within few Years grown marvellous induſtrious in Tilling and Manuring their Grounds, when they ſhall ſee ſo convenient a Port to vend their ſuperfluous Commodities, will not only increaſe in Wealth and People, but alſo yield to your Majeſty's Coffers, for Tranſportation of their Exciſe in Wheat, Barley, and Beer, great Increaſe of Revenues; and all other Shires, taking Example by them, will likewiſe grow in Labour, Induſtry, Wealth, and People.

There can be no Pitch, Tar, Maſts, Cables, or other Tackle for Shipping, paſſed from *Dantzick*, *Denmark*, or other *Northern* Parts to *France*, *Spain*, or *Italy*, but your Majeſty, having a ſtrong Hand of Shipping at *Dover*, may command for Money the Choice thereof before any King in *Chriſtendom* in Time of Peace; and in Time of War thereby alſo diſable Enemies and content Friends; beſides the infinite Commodity that may happily grow to the whole Nation in general, and to your Majeſty's Coffers alſo by a Staple, that, in Time, with good Policy may be erected there, to ſerve both *South* and *North* Countries with their mutual Commodities.

In Time of War, how dangerous Attempts may be made with ſmall Frigates of Fire, or otherwiſe, to indanger your Majeſty's Navy where it now lieth, with Hope ſufficient to eſcape and return again, before any Shipping can be made out of the *Thames* to reſcue or revenge, the experteſt Soldiers and Seamen beſt know: But this Harbour being made and furniſhed with good Shipping, as always it will be, no ſuch Attempt will ever be made, the Enemy being aſſured, however the Wind blows, upon any Alarm either from *London* or *Dover*, to be ſurpriſed, and no Hope left to eſcape.

Your Majeſty, having Shipping at *Dover*, may alſo upon all Suddenneſs, with leſſer Charge, ſet forth to ſcour the Seas of Pirates, whereby your Navy of Merchants will marvelouſly increaſe and flouriſh, both in the great Strength and Wealth of the Realm, and to the great Increaſe of your Majeſty's Cuſtoms.

In like Sort, your Fiſhing-navies may be maintained and protected from pilfering Pirates, or other Violence of Strangers, and thereby reap the Benefit of your Seas; whereby our Strength by Sea will marvellouſly increaſe, and great Number of poor People be employed, as well on Land, in knitting Nets, and making and mending both Ships and Tackle, as alſo in getting of Fiſh, a Food greatly to relieve the Poverty of the Realm, and exceſſively to increaſe your Majeſty's Revenue, by Cuſtom of ſuch Commodities, as ſhall be brought in abundantly for Exchanging of thoſe our Fiſh.

The Fiſhing-navies being, by this Means, both protected and greatly increaſed, all Laws for Puniſhment, and Taxes for Relieving idle and poor People, will then ceaſe; for there ſhall be no Perſon, for Age or Sickneſs, almoſt ſo impotent, but ſhall find hereby ſome Trade, whereby to get their Living; as, by Example of the *Low-countries*, we may plainly behold.

What greater Honour to your Majeſty, than, like as you are, in Right of Inheritance, Lady of the Narrow Seas, ſo to be able indeed to maintain that Seigniory, and to put the ſame in Execution at all Times, ſo far forth as your Highneſs ſhall find convenient?

What greater Honour to your Majeſty, than to be the Founder of ſo notable a Monument, lying in the Eye of almoſt all the Shipping of *Europe*? A Thing, to which your Majeſty's Father aſpired, with the Expence of ſo great a Maſs of his own Treaſure.

What greater Honour, than to be able, in Time of Peace, or War, to protect Friends, and offend Enemies, more than any other Prince of *Europe*?

Seeing, then, it hath pleaſed God to leave unto this Realm ſuch a Situation for a Port and Town, as all *Chriſtendom* hath not the like; and endowed the ſame with all Commodities by Land and Sea, that can be wiſhed to make the Harbour allure Intercourſe, and maintain Inhabitants; and that the ſame, once performed (in all probable Diſcourſe of Reaſon) ſhall bring ſuch Increaſe of Commodity, not only for Augmentation of your Majeſty's particular Revenues, but alſo of Welfare and Riches to the whole Realm in General, the ſame alſo being a Thing ſo needful, or rather of Neceſſity, as well for ſuccouring and protecting Friends, as annoying and offending Enemies, both in War and Peace; and that it hath pleaſed God, in his Providence, to reſerve the ſame, as an Ornament of your Time, to be now performed by your Majeſty, and left, as an honourable Monument of your happy Reign, to all Poſterity: Methinks, there remaineth no other Deliberation in this Caſe, but how moſt ſufficiently, and with greateſt Perfection poſſible, moſt ſpeedily the ſame may be accompliſhed.

And, in Diſcharge of ſome Part of my bounden Duty to the Advancement of your Majeſty's Service, having not only heard, by the Examination of the moſt ancient and ſkilful Mariners and Inhabitants in *Dover*, the true Eſtate of all Alterations there, for theſe forty Years paſt; but alſo myſelf ſeen and ſounded all the Channels, Shelves, and Roads there, and ſet them down exactly in Plat: Having alſo conferred the ſundry Opinions of Strangers, and alſo of our own Nation, for the Repairing, or Making a new Haven there; and comparing the ſame with what myſelf have ſeen put in Execution, in ſundry Places of the *Low-Countries*, for making Havens artificial, I have, in the End, reſolved upon one Form of Plat, which, of all others (as well for the Uſe and Commodity, when it is finiſhed, as for the Poſſibility, or rather for the Facility in Making; for the Probability, or rather aſſured Certainty of Continuance; for Avoiding great Waſte of Timber, and Saving a great Maſs of Treaſure) I find and judge of moſt Perfection. And, albeit the *Flemiſh* Plat, in former Conference of Commiſſioners, was adjudged, of all others then offered, the moſt probable; yet, upon due Conſideration, this Plat, I preſume, will appear in all Reſpects more commodious, more feiſable, more aſſured to continue, of far leſs Coſt in Maintenance, and at leaſt Twenty-thouſand Pounds leſſer Charge in Making, as by the Articles of Explanation and Charges more evidently may appear. This, which I humbly preſent to your Majeſty's gracious Conſideration, as a Matter of great Moment, both in Peace and War, for your Highneſs's Service; for the great Comfort of all the Navy of your Realm; and a Monument moſt honourable, and none of the leaſt, to all Poſterity, of your Majeſty's moſt gracious, proſperous, and happy Reign.

The foregoing Diſcourſe was Part of a Memorial, drawn up either by Sir *Walter Raleigh*, or Sir *Dudley Diggs*, which I found among the Rubbiſh of old Papers, while I had the Honour to ſerve in the Office of the Ordnance, ~~and was ſearching~~ after Light into the ancient Hiſtory and Services of *Dover*; to which Curioſity I had divers Motives, *viz.* I had made ſeveral Eſſays to awaken his late Majeſty, King *Charles*, out of the Lethargy he ſeemed to me to be under, upon the *French* King's ſo loudly Alarming us by the profuſe Expence, he had been at, in fortifying his Coaſt, making artificial Ports, and ſparing no Coaſt, where he had the leaſt Proſpect of compaſſing Harbour and Defence for Shipping, and improving his Naval Strength and Projects; which, to me, appeared as ſo many Comets, whoſe Malevolence was calculated, and could not fail, one Time or other, to fall on us. I had, in thoſe Days, frequent Occaſions of Privacy with the King in his Cloſet, where I improved every Opportunity to warm his Jealouſy of the growing Naval Power of *France*; and albeit he gave me many a gracious Hearing, and ſeemed to take Pleaſure in my Diſcourſe on that Subject, and would often himſelf reaſon, with great Sagacity, on Naval Matters; yet I grew at length convinced, that I laboured in vain, and had been all the While blowing a dead Coal, as by this ſhort following Account may appear:

In the Year 1682, waiting one Day on the King in his Cloſet, after ſome general Diſcourſe, his Majeſty was pleaſed to tell me, That I had often hinted to him, how buſy the *French* King was on his Coaſt, and what vaſt Deſigns he had conceived for the Improvement of his Naval Power; which was viſible by his Fortifying of *Dunkirk* in a moſt expenſive

Manner, and Projecting extraordinary Works there; making Piers, Channels, Baſons, and every Proviſion that Art can ſuggeſt, and Money compaſs, to render that Place eaſy of Acceſs, and make it a ſafe, capacious, and commodious Harbour for Shipping. I told his Majeſty, That not only at *Dunkirk*, *Breſt*, and other Places, where Nature and Situation had given them ſome Help and Encouragement to proſecute their maritime Projects; but even every where elſe upon his Coaſt, in every Creek, Cove, or Inlet, where they can make Depth of Water, and give the leaſt Harbour and Retreat for Shipping, they are, and have been, on that Article, equally induſtrious; which, as I had often told his Majeſty, ſeemed to me to have a very evil Aſpect on all the Maritime States of *Europe*, but more eſpecially his Majeſty: That nothing (humanly ſpeaking) could prevent and defeat the mighty Purpoſes of that ambitious Monarch, ſo much as his Want of natural Aid towards the Increaſe of his Naval Strength, his Coaſt not yielding him one good Port, on all that Frontier which regards us; which he, moſt providently weighing, had, from an harbourleſs, inhoſpitable Shore, by Art, Induſtry, and a moſt laviſh Expence of Treaſure, in a very great Degree repaired; inſomuch that there are hardly five Leagues of Diſtance, upon that Line, of their Coaſt fronting ours, that does not yield Marks of their Care and Application. Bars, Rocks, and Shelves are removed, and Channels opened and deepened, to give ſafe and eaſy Entrance to ſuch ſmall Ports, as they have by Nature. And, in other Places, where Art could be thought to avail, they have ſpared no Pains, or Treaſure, to compaſs artificial Havens, Piers, and Proviſions of Succour for Shipping. They have alſo built Fortreſſes, raiſed Batteries, and planted Cannons innumerable all along their Coaſt, and performed every wiſe and needful Work towards the Attaining their Ends of becoming formidable by Sea; and all this againſt the Grain, and, as it were, in Deſpight of Nature, which yields them little or no Encouragement: Whilſt we, on our Coaſt, where Providence is ſo bountiful, have been ſo very little on our Guard, that, though Navigation be the prime Jewel of the Crown, and is the Fountain and Foundation of both our Wealth and Safety, and without which we ſhould be a contemptible Nation, have not only omitted to improve the Tenders, which Nature makes us, for the Increaſe and Cultivating of our Naval Power; but have, in this laſt Age, conſented to ſee many of our uſeful Ports run to Decay, and at length to Ruin, and to become totally loſt to the Nation; which a very little Foreſight, and as little Charge, might have prevented, while the Evil was growing, which, at a long Run, becomes incurable. Among which Ports, I inſtanced *Sandwich*, *Dover*, *Rye*, *Winchelſea*, &c. which were reckoned heretofore, as ſo many Bulwarks againſt our ambitious Neighbour. The King hereupon replied, That he confeſſed he laid a little to Heart the Loſs of the Haven of *Dover*, becauſe it has fallen to Decay moſtly in his Reign; had yielded him good Service in the firſt *Dutch* War; and, in that, which was made by the Parliament with that Nation, he was well aſſured, that we had a Squadron of Cruiſers, which ſailed out of that Place, where they fitted, cleaned, and victualled, which did the Enemy more Damage, than any in the whole Channel beſide. That, therefore, if he thought that Haven could be recovered by any tolerable Charge, he was then, more than ever, diſpoſed to engage in ſuch a Work, inaſmuch as he was well aſſured, that not only all, that I had ſaid, was true, but that the *French* King (to whom though he had already ſignified, by his Ambaſſador, That the great Buſtle, he had made upon the Coaſt, had given Jealouſy and Diſtaſte to the Nation, and was not very pleaſing to him) had nevertheleſs engaged very lately in a new expenſive Work, of the ſame Nature with thoſe I had mentioned, in the Neighbourhood of *Calais*, where great Numbers of Men were then actually employed in fortifying the Coaſt, and making an Harbour and Baſon for Reception of Shipping, *&c.* Which being juſt under his Noſe, he ſaid he had ſo much the more Reaſon to reſent it, and which he could not do in a better Manner, than by attempting the Recovery of *Dover*-haven; wherein if he ſucceeded, as it would give an Occaſion of Eaſe to the People's Jealouſy, ſo it would obviate, in ſome Meaſure, the Danger that threatened us from ſo reſtleſs and projecting a Neighbour. I replied to his Majeſty, with great Joy, That I thought it would be a moſt acceptable Inſtance, to the Nation, of his Care for their Safety, and an uſeful Proof, to the murmuring People, of his juſt Diſlike and Suſpicion of the *French* King's Proceedings;

and that I was in no Doubt, whenever his Majeſty ſhould appear to go in Earneſt, about ſo laudable and needful a Work, that the Parliament would frankly aſſiſt him towards the Expence.

His Majeſty, hereupon, commanded me to make a Journey to *Dover*, to ſurvey the Port, and enable myſelf, by the beſt Means I could, to give him a true State thereof, in order to a Project for the Recovery of that Harbour; which Order I carefully executed, and, on my Return, waited on his Majeſty with my Report, together with a Plan and State of the preſent Pier; an Hiſtory of the Services that Place had yielded the Crown; how it has fallen to Decay; and how, with leaſt Charge, it might be repaired, and rendered uſeful again. I told his Majeſty, that the bare Cuſtoms and Duties he had loſt, by the Decay of that Port, which, for Want of Entrance into it, as had been cuſtomary (there being no other, in many Leagues together, on the Coaſt) and which were, therefore, now ſmuggled, and totally loſt, would be, by many Degrees, more than enough, when recovered (and which would moſt certainly accrue, upon reſtoring the Harbour) to repay the utmoſt Charge he could be at, for its Repair and Improvement; which ſingle Encouragement, I thought, was Incitement enough to go about ſo noble, uſeful, and reputable a Work.

I told his Majeſty, that the Port was, at that Time, become intirely uſeleſs, the Pier within being filled and choaked up with Sand and Mud, and the Depth of Water loſt; that there was a Bank of Beach, at the Mouth of the Harbour, of many thouſand Tons, which barred up the Entrance; that the Town (which was wont to abound in Shipping, Seamen, Commerce, People, and Plenty of all Things) was become poor, deſolate, and diſpeopled; which was viſible every where, by their decayed Buildings and Habitations, where half the Houſes, at leaſt, throughout the whole Town, had Bills on the Doors: All which could be aſcribed to no other Reaſon, than the Decay of their Harbour; touching the true Cauſe whereof, or the Cure, the Inhabitants, with whom I had frequent Conference, could give me little or no Light.

In this Audience, I gave his Majeſty an extenſive Account of all Things relating to the Subject about which he had ſent me; I preſented him with a Draught of the then State of the Port of *Dover*, wherein was expreſſed the Manner of its Decay, and the preſent ruinous Condition in which it was. I endeavoured, alſo, to explain to him how this Damage had come to paſs, and by what Means it had grown to that Head, as to have rendered the Haven now almoſt loſt to the Publick. From the Cauſes of the Diſeaſe, I proceeded to my Propoſals for the Remedy, wherein I had the good Fortune to explain every Point of my Project, with Evidence enough to oblige his Majeſty, at that Time, to ſay that he was ſo well ſatisfied, that he was reſolved he would not defer the Work a Day. That, as I had made every Thing plain and intelligible to him, ſo, above all, he was pleaſed with two moſt uſeful and encouraging Propoſitions therein contained; namely, That whereas, in moſt great Works of that Kind, Princes were generally obliged to proſecute and go through the whole Expence, which, for the moſt Part, was very great, before they could reap the leaſt Profit of their Deſign, or be aſſured of the Succeſs; while this Work, on the Contrary, was ſo ordered and contrived by me, that he was ſure to receive a preſent Profit from every Sum, be it more or leſs, which he ſhould, at any Time, think fit to lay out; and that the Benefit would be preſently ſeen, and gathered, in Proportion to the Charge he ſhould be at, which he might limit or reſpite, as he pleaſed, without Danger of Damage to the Work that ſhould be done, or of loſing the Advantage that ſhould be once gained, in Caſe of diſcontinuing the ſame.

The ſecond Point that pleaſed his Majeſty, was, That whereas all artificial Ports, that ever he had heard of, which is moſt true, were ſubject to choak, and fill up with Sand or Sullage, and to loſe, by Degrees, their Depth of Water, without great Care, and a continual Charge to prevent it; and which was the Cauſe, for the moſt Part, of the Decay and Loſs of ſuch Ports to the Publick: That he perceived, I had plainly obviated that Evil, and, by a new and very demonſtrable Invention, had evidently ſecured the Depth of Water for ever, which no Neglect could hinder, or, towards which, any Expence or annual Charge was neceſſary.

I concluded with this general Incitement to his Majeſty, That Multiplicity of Ports, in a maritime Kingdom, ſuch as his, was, above all Things, to be wiſhed; which, in Times of Peace, was a great Means of Encouragement to our Naval Intercourſe, and Coaſting Trade, whereby our Capital City became better ſupported, and at cheaper Rates, with all Things needful; that Seamen were proportionably propagated, Shipping, and all the incident Profeſſions of Shipwrightry and Navigation, increaſed and improved, *&c.* That, in Time of War, Shelter and Defence againſt an Enemy was, by that Means, more at Hand; whereby our Commerce was better preſerved, our Frontier ſo much the ſtronger, and Cruiſers had more Diſpatch, and were better ſpread and diſpoſed at Sea; becauſe, whereſoever there are Ports commodiouſly ſituated, and in the Road of our Commerce, there, of Courſe, will be Men of War appointed, and entertained in Times of Hoſtility, where they can clean, victual, and refit; whereby great Expedition, which is the Life of Action, would be obtained, and half the Time gained, that was ſpent in going to remote Ports, as the *Thames*, *Chatham*, *Portſmouth*, &c. where, if the Wind hangs out of the Way, Ships lie long on Demorage, become foul by ſtaying for a Wind, and loſe many Occaſions of Service, which, in Ports lying upon the Edge of our *Channel*, as *Dover* does, can never happen; where you need no Pilotage, and are no ſooner out of the Haven, but you are at Sea.

In a Word, I ended my Diſcourſe to his Majeſty, with aſſuring him, that *Dover* promiſed every Thing he could hope from ſuch a Port; was ſituated, the neareſt of all others, to a great, dangerous, and aſpiring Neighbour, who had given ſo many Inſtances of Wiſdom and Foreſight, in the Charge he had been at on that Line of his Coaſt which confronts ours, and which, whenever his Majeſty ſhould chance to have a War with that People, would be found to turn every Way, both offenſively and defenſively, to marvellous Account.

That *Dover* ſtands on a Promontory, which ſurveys, and might be made to command the greateſt Thorough-fair of Navigation in the World, where no Ship can paſs unobſerved, or eſcape the Danger of being attacked, when there ſhould be Cauſe, and was of the ſame Uſe by Sea, as a Paſs is by Land. And, that there was no Deſign, his Majeſty could entertain for its Strength and Improvement, that was not compaſſable by Art, and that did not promiſe a plentiful Return of Profit and Honour, of any the greateſt Sum he could ſpare to lay out upon it.

I departed, at that Time, from his Majeſty full of Hopes, that what I had done and ſaid, on this Subject, would have produced the good Effect of ſome ſpeedy Reſolution; but, taking the Liberty, ſome Days after, to remind him thereof, I found him, to my great Diſappointment, much calmer than I had left him, and received this ſhort Anſwer: That it was a noble Project indeed, but that it was too big for his preſent Purſe, and would keep cold. Shortly after, I was diſpatched to my Buſineſs in a remote Country, and, from that Time to this, have neither ſaid, nor heard any Thing of *Dover*.

Now the Remark I would make, on this ſudden and ſurpriſing Coldneſs of the King's, is namely this, That the long Audience, I then had of his Majeſty, chanced to be in a certain great Lady's Apartment in *Whitehall*, where I had no ſooner began my Diſcourſe, and produced my Papers, when Monſieur *Barillon*, the *French* Ambaſſador, came in; who I obſerved to liſten, with great Attention, to what was debated; aſking the ſaid Lady, very earneſtly, many Queſtions about the Subject-matter of our Conference, who I perceived to interpret to him every Thing that was ſaid on that Occaſion, as did the King, afterwards, in my Hearing; explaining the whole Project, and the Contents of the ſeveral Deſigns; expreſſing his great Approbation of the Report I had made him; whereupon, making Reflexion on this Occurence, I was no longer in Doubt, touching the Cauſe of my Diſappointment, but that it was not the *French* King's Intereſt, and, therefore, not his Pleaſure, that we ſhould proceed on this Work: And, that ſo noble a Project ſhould thus die in the Birth, who would have been contented, I make no Queſtion, to have given ten Times the Amount of the Coſt, to defeat ſo National an Undertaking, which looked with ſo threatening an Aſpect on thoſe great Schemes of Naval Power, which he has ſince put in Execution, and is proſecuting to this Day; and, I think, it therefore becomes every hearty *Engliſhman* to conclude, that ſuch an Incident, as I have here produced, ought to ſuperadd one new and ſolid Argument of Incitement, to thoſe that have been urged towards ſome ſolemn Deliberation, on ſo promiſing and important a Subject: And if our Forefathers, in thoſe darker Times of Queen *Eliſabeth*, ſaw a Reaſon for their Speculations on this Article; then, when their Views were narrow, their Motives leſs, and the Means to attain that Purpoſe hardly to be compaſſed, through the limited Funds of Treaſure in thoſe Days, and the Inſufficiency of Undertakers to conceive, deſign, and proſecute Works of that Sort; ſo magnificent, ſo new, and out of the Way of the World's Practice: It may therefore be hoped for now, when our Motives of Danger, &c. are ſo viſible, and ſo much ſtronger; the Means of obtaining ſo noble an End every Way more within our Reach, while we behold by what Arts and Means, and with what Profuſion of Treaſure, a neighbouring Prince purſues his Maritime Projects; and ſince we have ſeen and felt with what Effect he has ſucceeded in his Aims, to rival us by Sea, and, in a Word, while we know he muſt naturally ever be more than our Match by Land; and that nothing, at this Day, can inſure our Safety, but a demonſtrable Superiority of Naval Strength. What greater Wiſdom and Precaution can we manifeſt, or how can we more laudably publiſh our Attention to the publick Welfare, than by ſeaſonably obviating the Evils that ſeem to threaten us, by the growing Naval Power of *France*; towards which, no one Step, we can make, promiſes better Fruit, than this Propoſal of Recovering and Improving the Haven of *Dover*, which is, by Nature, ſituated to our Wiſh, and, in my humble Opinion, is capable of being made, by Art, ſo uſeful to ourſelves and Friends, and ſo effectual to bridle, prevent, and annoy our Enemies; that, were the Argument duly weighed, I am perſuaded, we ſhould think no Sum too great to be ſo employed.

The Life of Sir *Thomas Bodley* *, the honourable Founder of the Publick Library in the Univerſity of *Oxford*. Written by Himſelf. *Oxford*, Printed by *Henry Hall*, Printer to the Univerſity, 1647. *Quarto*, containing ſixteen Pages.

To the READER.

WHEN *the great Reſtorer of Learning, our munificent Benefactor, Sir* Thomas Bodley, *made the happy Exchange of the Troubles of this Life, with the Glories of a better: The Univerſity, according to the Greatneſs of his Merits, and their Loſs, in ſolemn Grief and Sadneſs, attended at his Obſequies. But leſt the uncharitable Cenſure of the World ſhould apprehend our Thankfulneſs buried in the ſame Grave with him, and cold as his dead Aſhes, in that we pay no after Tribute to ſo engaging a Deſert: We bring to the Altar of Eternity that Part of him which yet, and ever muſt ſurvive. A Monument freed from the Laws of Time and Ruin, ſupported with the Vigour of that Name, which hath a ſeminal Strength within itſelf, to make whole Volumes live. But leſt the judging and ſeverer Eye, viewing the Nakedneſs of this Relation, may thence deſpiſe the Poorneſs of our Endeavour: That I may ſpeak the Work above all Scorn, above all Praiſe, it was his own. Nor durſt we call that Draught in Queſtion, which felt the Hand of ſo exact a Maſter; but with Awe looked on it, as on the Fabrick of an ancient Temple, where the Ruin furthers our Devotion, and gaudy Ornaments do but prophane*

th

---

* This is the 90th Number in the Catalogue of Pamphlets in the *Harleian* Library.

the ſad Religion of the Place. It is true, it ſavours not the Language of our Age, that hath the Art to murder with a Smile, and folds a Curſe within a Prayer, but ſpeaks the Rhetorick of that better World, where Virtue was the Garb, and Truth the Compliment. Thoſe Actions are of low and empty Worth, that can ſhine only where the Varniſh of our Words doth gild them over. The true Diamond ſparkles in its Rock, and, in Deſpight of Darkneſs, makes a Day. Here then, you ſhall behold Actions with the ſame Integrity ſet down, as they were firſt performed. A Hiſtory deſcribed, as it was lived. A Counſellor that admitted ſtill Religion to the Cabinet, and in his active Aims had a Deſign on Heaven. A Spirit of that Height, that Happineſs, as in a private Fortune to outdo the famed Magnificence of mighty Princes; whilſt his ſingle Work clouds the proud Fame of the Ægyptian Library, *and ſhames the tedious Growth of the wealthy* Vatican. *I know how hard a Task it will be to perſuade any to copy out from this fair Pattern; however, we cannot ſo far deſpair of Ingenuity, as not to expect, even from the unconcerned diſintereſted Reader, a clear Eſteem and juſt Reſentment of it. If we gain by this, we ſhall in part reſt ſatisfied, in an Age ſo wholly loſt to Vice, conceiving it a great Degree of Virtue to confeſs the Luſtre of that Good, which our perverſe Endeavours ſtill avoid.*

I Was born at *Exeter*, in *Devonſhire*, the Second of *March*, 1544, deſcended both by Father and Mother of worſhipful Parentage. By my Father's Side, from an ancient Family of *Bodley*, or *Bodleigh* of *Dunſcomb*, by *Crediton*; and by my Mother, from *Robert Hone*, Eſq; of *Ottery Saint Mary*, nine Miles from *Exeter*. My Father, in the Time of Queen *Mary*, being noted and known to be an Enemy to Popery, was ſo cruelly threatened, and ſo narrowly obſerved, by thoſe that maliced his Religion, that, for the Safeguard of himſelf, and my Mother, who was wholly affected as my Father, he knew no Way ſo ſecure, as to fly into *Germany*; where, after a While, he found Means to call over my Mother, with all his Children and Family, whom he ſettled, for a Time, at *Weſell* in *Cleveland* (for there, as then, were many *Engliſh*, which had left their Country for their Conſcience, and with Quietneſs enjoyed their Meetings and Preachings) and from thence we removed to the Town of *Franckfort*, where was, in like Sort, another *Engliſh* Congregation. Howbeit, we made no long Tarriance in either of thoſe two Towns, for that my Father had reſolved to fix his Abode in the City of *Geneva*, where, as far as I remember, the *Engliſh* Church conſiſted of ſome hundred Perſons. I was at that Time of twelve Years of Age, but, through my Father's Coſt and Care, ſufficiently inſtructed to become an Auditor of *Chevalerius* in *Hebrew*, of *Beroaldus* in *Greek*, of *Calvin* and *Beza* in Divinity, and of ſome other Profeſſors in that Univerſity (which was newly then erected) beſides my domeſtical Teachers, in the Houſe of *Philibertus Saracenus*, a famous Phyſician in that City, with whom I was boarded; where *Robertus Conſtantinus*, that made the *Greek Lexicon*, read *Homer* unto me. Thus I remained there two Years, and more, until ſuch Time as our Nation was advertiſed of the Death of Queen *Mary*, and Succeſſion of *Eliſabeth*, with the Change of Religion, which cauſed my Father to haſten into *England*; where he came with my Mother, and with all their Family, within the Firſt of the Queen, and ſettled their Dwelling in the City of *London*. It was not long after, that I was ſent away from thence to the Univerſity of *Oxford*, recommended to the Teaching and Tuition of Dr. *Humfrey*, who was ſhortly after choſen the chief Reader in Divinity, and Preſident of *Magdalen* College. There I followed my Studies, till I took the Degree of Batchelor of Arts, which was in the Year 1563; within which Year I was alſo choſen Probationer of *Merton* College, and the next Year enſuing admitted Fellow. Afterwards, to wit, in the Year 1565, by ſpecial Perſuaſion of ſome of my Fellows, and for my private Exerciſe, I undertook the publick Reading of a *Greek* Lecture, in the ſame College Hall, without requiring or expecting any Stipend for it. Nevertheleſs, it pleaſed the Fellowſhip, of their own Accord, to allow me ſoon after four Marks by the Year, and ever ſince to continue that Lecture to the College. In the Year of our Lord 1566, I proceeded Maſter of Arts, and read, for that Year, in the School-Streets Natural Philoſophy; after which Time, within leſs than three Years Space, I was won, by Intreaty of my beſt affected Friends, to ſtand for the Proctorſhip, to which I and my Colleague, Maſter Bearblock of *Exeter* College, were quietly elected in the Year 1569, without any Competition or Counterſuit of any other. After this, for a long Time, I ſupplied the Office of the Univerſity Orator, and beſtowed my Time in the Study of ſundry Faculties, without any Inclination to profeſs any one above the reſt; inſomuch as, at laſt, I waxed deſirous to travel beyond the Seas, for Attaining to the Knowledge of ſome ſpecial modern Tongues, and for the Increaſe of my Experience in the Managing of Affairs, being wholly then addicted to employ myſelf, and all my Cares, in the Publick Service of the State. My Reſolution fully taken, I departed out of *England*, *Anno* 1576, and continued very near four Years Abroad, and that in ſundry Parts of *Italy*, *France*, and *Germany*. A good While after my Return, to wit, in the Year 1585, I was employed by the Queen to *Frederick*, Father to the preſent King of *Denmark*; to *Julius*, Duke of *Brunſwick*, to *William*, Landgrave of *Heſſe*, and other *German* Princes: The Effect of my Meſſage was, to draw them to join their Forces with her's, for giving Aſſiſtance to the King of *Navarre*, now *Henry the Fourth*, King of *France*. My next Employment was to *Henry the Third*, at ſuch Time as he was forced by the Duke of *Guiſe* to fly out of *Paris*; which I performed, in ſuch Sort as I had in Charge, with extraordinary Secreſy; not being accompanied with any one Servant (for ſo much I was commanded) nor with any other Letters, than ſuch as were written with the Queen's own Hand to the King, and ſome ſelected Perſons about him; the Effect of that Meſſage it is fit I ſhould conceal. But it tended greatly to the Advantage not only of the King, but of all the Proteſtants in *France*, and to the Duke's apparent Overthrow, which alſo followed ſoon upon it. It ſo befel after this in the Year Eighty-eight, that, for the better Conduct of her Highneſs's Affairs in the Provinces united, I was thought a fit Perſon to reſide in thoſe Parts, and was ſent thereupon to the *Hague* in *Holland*, where, according to the Contract that had formerly paſt, between her Highneſs and the *States*, I was admitted for one of their Council of Eſtate, taking Place in their Aſſemblies next to Count *Maurice*, and yielding my Suffrage in all that was propoſed. During all that Time, what Approbation was given of my painful Endeavours by the Queen, Lords in *England*, by the States of the Country there, and by all the *Engliſh* Soldiery, I refer it to be notified by ſome others Relation; ſince it was not unknown to any of any Calling, that then were acquainted with the State of that Government. For, at my firſt Coming thither, the People of that Country ſtood in dangerous Terms of Diſcontentment, partly for ſome Courſes that were held in *England*, as they thought, to their ſingular Prejudice, but moſt of all, in Reſpect of the inſolent Demeanor of ſome of her Highneſs's Miniſters, which only reſpected their private Emolument, little weighing in their Dealing what the Queen had contracted with the States of the Country; whereupon was conceived a mighty Fear on every Side, that both a preſent Diſſolution of the Contract would enſue, and a downright Breach of Amity between us and them. Now what Means I ſet a Foot for Redreſs of thoſe Perils, and by what Degrees the State of Things was reduced into Order, it would require a long Treatiſe to report it exactly; but this I may aver with Modeſty and Truth, and the Country did always acknowledge it with Gratitude, that, had I not of myſelf, without any Direction from my Superiors, proceeded in my Charge, with extreme Circumſpection, as well in all my Speeches and Propoſals to the States, as in the Tenour of my Letters, that I writ into *England*, ſome ſudden Alarm had been given, to the utter Subverſion and Ruin of the State of thoſe Provinces; which, in Proceſs of Time, muſt needs have wrought, in all Probability, the ſelf-ſame Effect in the State of this Realm. Of this my Diligence and Care in the Managing of my Buſineſs, there was, as I have ſignified, very ſpecial Notice taken by the Queen and State at Home; for which I received from her Majeſty many comfortable Letters of her gracious Acceptance, as withal, from that Time forward, I did never receive almoſt any ſet Inſtructions, how to govern my Proceedings in her Majeſty's Occaſions, but the Carriage, in a Manner, of all her Affairs was left to me, and my Direction. Through this my long Abſence out of *England*,

England, which wanted very little of five whole Years, my private Eſtate did greatly require my ſpeedy Return, which when I had obtained by Interceſſion of Friends; and a tedious Suit, I could enjoy but a While, being ſhortly after enjoined to repair to the *Hague* again. Nevertheleſs, upon a certain Occaſion to deliver unto her ſome ſecret Overtures, and of performing thereupon an extraordinary Service, I came again Home within leſs than a Twelve-month; and I was no ſooner come, but, her Highneſs embracing the Fruit of my Diſcoveries, I was preſently commanded to return to the States, with Charge to purſue thoſe Affairs to Performance, which I had ſecretly propoſed; and according to the Project, which I had conceived, and imparted unto her, all Things were concluded and brought to that Iſſue that was inſtantly deſired, whereupon, I procured my laſt Revocation. Now, here I cannot chuſe, in making Report of the principal Accidents that have fallen unto me in the Courſe of my Life, but record among the reſt, that, from the very firſt Day, I had no Man more to Friend among the Lords of the Council, than was the Lord Treaſurer *Burleigh*: For, when Occaſion had been offered of declaring his Conceit as touching my Service, he would always tell the Queen, which I received from herſelf and ſome other Ear-witneſſes, that there was not any Man in *England* ſo meet as myſelf, to undergo the Office of the Secretary. And ſince his Son, the preſent Lord Treaſurer, hath ſignified unto me in private Conference, that, when his Father firſt intended to advance him to that Place, his Purpoſe was withal to make me his Colleague. But the Caſe ſtood thus in my Behalf: Before ſuch Time as I returned from the Provinces united, which was in the Year 1597, and likewiſe after my Return, the then Earl of *Eſſex* did uſe me ſo kindly both by Letters and Meſſages, and other great Tokens of his inward Favours to me, that, though I had no Meaning, but to ſettle in my Mind my chiefeſt Deſire and Dependence upon the Lord *Burleigh*, as one that I reputed to be both the beſt able, and therewithal the moſt willing to work my Advancement with the Queen, yet, I know not how, the Earl, who ſought by all Devices to divert her Love and Liking both from the Father and the Son, but from the Son eſpecially, to withdraw my Affection from the one and the other, and to win me altogether to depend upon himſelf, did ſo often take Occaſion to entertain the Queen with ſome prodigal Speeches of my Sufficiency for a Secretary, which were ever accompanied with Words of Diſgrace againſt the preſent Lord Treaſurer, as neither ſhe herſelf, of whoſe Favour before I was thoroughly aſſured, took any great Pleaſure to prefer me the ſooner, for ſhe hated his Ambition, and would give little Countenance to any of his Followers, and both the Lord *Burleigh* and his Son waxed jealous of my Courſes, as if under-hand I had been induced, by the Cunning and Kindneſs of the Earl of *Eſſex*, to oppoſe myſelf againſt their Dealings. And though, in very Truth, they had no ſolid Ground at all of the leaſt Alteration in my Diſpoſition towards either of them both, for I did greatly reſpect their Perſons and Places, with a ſettled Reſolution to do them any Service, as alſo in my Heart I deteſted of any Faction whatſoever; yet the now Lord Treaſurer, upon Occaſion of ſome Talk, that I have ſince had with him, of the Earl of Eſſex Actions, hath freely confeſſed of his own Accord unto me, that his daily Provocations were ſo bitter and ſharp againſt him, and his Compariſons ſo odious, when he put us in a Balance, as he thought thereupon he had very great Reaſon to uſe his beſt Means, to put any Man out of Hope of raiſing his Fortune, whom the Earl with ſuch Violence, to his extreme Prejudice, had endeavoured to dignify. And this, as he affirmed, was all the Motive he had to ſet himſelf againſt me, in whatſoever might redound to the Bettering of my Eſtate, or Increaſing of my Credit and Countenance with the Queen. When I had thoroughly now bethought me, firſt in the Earl, of the ſlender Hold-faſt that he had in the Favour of the Queen, of an endleſs Oppoſition of the chiefeſt of our Stateſmen like ſtill to wait upon him, of his perilous, and feeble, and uncertain Advice, as well in his own, as in all the Cauſes of his Friends: And when moreover, for myſelf, I had fully conſidered how very untowardly theſe two Counſellors were affected unto me, upon whom before in Cogitation I had framed all the Fabrick of my future Proſperity; how ill it did concur with my natural Diſpoſition to become, or to be counted either a Stickler or Partaker in any publick Faction; how well I was able, by God's good Bleſſing, to live of myſelf, if I could be content with a competent Livelihood; how ſhort Time of further Life I was then to expect by the common Courſe of Nature; when I had, I ſay, in this Manner, repreſented to my Thoughts my particular Eſtate, together with the Years, I reſolved thereupon to poſſeſs my Soul in Peace, all the Reſidue of my Days; to take my full Farewel of State Employments, to ſatisfy my Mind with that Mediocrity of worldly Living, that I had of my own, and ſo to retire me from the Court, which was the Epilogue and End of all my Actions and Endeavours of any important Note, till I came to the Age of Fifty-three. Now, although after this, by her Majeſty's Direction, I was often called to the Court, by the now Lord Treaſurer, then Secretary, and required by him, as alſo divers Times ſince, by Order from the King, to ſerve as Ambaſſador in *France*, to go a Commiſſioner from his Highneſs, for Concluding the Truce between *Spain* and the Provinces, and to negotiate in other very honourable Employments; yet I would not be removed from my former final Reſolution, inſomuch as at length, to induce me the ſooner to return to the Court, I had an Offer made me by the preſent Lord Treaſurer, for in Proceſs of Time he ſaw, as he himſelf was pleaſed to tell me more than once, that all my Dealing was upright, faithful, and direct, that, in Caſe I myſelf was willing unto it, he would make me his Aſſociate in the Secretary's Office, and, to the Intent I might believe that he intended it *Bona fide*, he would get me out of Hand to be ſworn of the Council. And for the better Enabling of my State to maintain ſuch a Dignity, whatſoever I would aſk, that might be fit for him to deal in, and for me to enjoy, he would preſently ſollicit the King to give it Paſſage. All which Perſuaſions notwithſtanding, although I was often aſſaulted by him, in Regard of my Years, and for that I felt myſelf ſubject to many Indiſpoſitions, beſides ſome other private Reaſons which I reſerve unto myſelf, I have continued ſtill at Home my retired Courſe of Life, which is now methinks to me as the greateſt Preferment that the State can afford. Only this I muſt truly confeſs of myſelf, that though I did never repent me yet of thoſe, and ſome other my often Refuſals of honourable Offers, in Reſpect of Enriching my private Eſtate; yet ſomewhat more of late I have blamed myſelf, and my Nicety that Way, for the Love that I bear to my reverend Mother the Univerſity of *Oxford*, and to the Advancement of her Good, by ſuch Kind of Means, as I have ſince undertaken. For thus I fell to diſcourſe and debate in my Mind, that although I might find it fitteſt for me, to keep out of the Throng of Court Contentions, and addreſs my Thoughts and Deeds to ſuch Ends altogether, as I myſelf could beſt affect; yet withal I was to think, that my Duty towards God, the Expectation of the World, my natural Inclination, and very Morality, did require, that I ſhould not wholly ſo hide thoſe little Abilities that I had, but that in ſome Meaſure, in one Kind or other, I ſhould do the true Part of a profitable Member in the State: Whereupon examining exactly for the reſt of my Life, what Courſe I might take, and having ſought, as I thought, all the Ways to the Wood to ſelect the moſt proper, I concluded at the laſt to ſet up my Staff at the Library Door in *Oxford*; being thoroughly perſuaded, that, in my Solitude and Surceaſe from the Commonwealth Affairs, I could not buſy myſelf to better Purpoſe, than by reducing that Place, which then in every Part lay ruined and waſte, to the publick Uſe of Students; for the Effecting whereof, I found myſelf furniſhed in a competent Proportion, of ſuch four Kinds of Aids, as, unleſs I had them all, there was no Hope of good Succeſs. For without ſome Kind of Knowledge, as well in the learned and modern Tongues, as in ſundry other Sorts of Scholaſtical Literature; without ſome Purſe-ability, to go through with the Charge; without very great Store of honourable Friends to further the Deſign, and without ſpecial good Leiſure to follow ſuch a Work, it could but have proved a vain Attempt, and inconſiderate. But how well I have ſped in all my Endeavours, and how full Proviſion I have made for the Benefit and Eaſe of all Frequenters of the Library, that which I have already performed in Sight, that beſides which I have given for the Maintenance of it, and that which hereafter I purpoſe to add, by Way of Enlargement to that Place, for the Project is caſt, and, whether I live or die, it ſhall be, God willing, put in full Execution, will teſtify ſo truly and abundantly for me, as I need not be the Publiſher of the Dignity and Worth of my own Inſtitution. Written with my own Hand, *Anno* 1609, *December the Fifteenth.*

Thomas Bodley.

‘Thus far our noble Author of himſelf; who, like to the firſt Penman of the ſacred Hiſtory, ſeems to ſurvive his Grave, and to deſcribe unto us his own Death. For, having finiſhed that great Work which future Times ſhall ever honour, never equal, he yielded to his Fate. As being unwilling the Glory of that Deed ſhould be defloured by the Succeſſion of an Act leſs high than it. On the Twenty-ninth of *January*, in the Year, 1612, his pure Soul attained the Freedom of its own Divinity: Leaving his borrowed Earth, the ſad Remainder of Innocence and Frailty, to be depoſited in *Merton* College: Who had the Happineſs to call his Education her's, and to be intruſted with ſo dear a Pledge of Immortality.’

A Rod for the Lawyers: Who are hereby declared to be the grand Robbers and Deceivers of the Nation; greedily devouring yearly many Millions of the People's Money. To which is added, a Word to the Parliament, and, a Word to the Army. By *William Cole*, a Lover of his Country.

Iſa. x. 1, 2. *Woe unto them that decree unrighteous Decrees, and that write Grievouſneſs that they have preſcribed: To turn aſide the Needy from Judgment, and to take away the Right from the Poor of my People, that Widows may be their Prey, and that they may rob the Fatherleſs.*

Iſa. iii. 14. *The Spoil of the Poor is in your Houſes.*

London, printed in the Year, 1659. *Quarto*, containing
twenty Pages.

Courteous Reader,

HAD *not my Affections to my Countrymen more engaged me, than any particular Enmity I have againſt the Lawyers corrupt Intereſt, by any Damage I have ſuſtained by them, I ſhould have forborne publiſhing the enſuing Lives. But if the very Heathens could ſay,* Non ſolum nobis nati ſumus; *we are not only born for ourſelves, but that next to the Duty we owe to God, we are bound every individual Man, to be a helpful Member to his Country: Why ſhould I, or any Man keep Silence, whilſt this peſtiferous Generation of the Lawyers, runs from City to Country, ſeeking whom they may devour? It is thy Duty as well as mine, to cry aloud for Juſtice againſt them: It is thy Duty, and every honeſt* Engliſhman's *to the Land, to take Care hereafter never to chuſe any of that Generation to make Laws for us: I ſay, not to chuſe them for Parliament-men: Were not there too many of them now in this preſent Parliament, I ſhould hope and expect*

This is the 40th Number in the Catalogue of Pamphlets in the *Harleian* Library.

far better Things than now I do: But now God is pulling down the High and Mighty, is diſcovering the Wickedneſs of Men in Power, hath, moſt miraculouſly, ſlain, the Glory of Princes, I can with Confidence ſay, Deus dabit his quoque finem. *I do not altogether deſpair, that before I die, I may ſee the Inns of Courts, of Dens of Thieves, converted into Hoſpitals, which were a rare Piece of Juſtice: That ſo as they formerly have immured thoſe that robbed the Poor of Houſes; ſo they may, at laſt, preſerve the Poor themſelves.*

THAT the End of all Laws and Magiſtracy ought principally to tend to the Eaſe, Safety, and Well-being of the People governed, I preſume no rational Man or Men will deny: And, indeed, therefore it is the uſual Cry and Saying, both among the Maſters of Oppreſſion, the Lawyers, and the ignorant People that know no better, that the Laws of *England*, as alſo the Ways of executing them, are the ſafeſt and beſt Laws in the World; and whoſoever ſhall alter the ſaid Laws, or Ways of executing them, will unavoidably introduce a Miſchief inſtead of a Benefit. But to thoſe is anſwered, That the major Part of the Laws, made in this Nation, are founded on Principles of Tyranny, Fallacy and Oppreſſion, for the Profit and Benefit of thoſe that made them: For know this, that when *William the Baſtard*, Duke of *Normandy*, undertook to conquer this Nation, he was not ſingly himſelf able to raiſe Money or Men, enough to perform ſuch a Deſign, without the voluntary Conjunction of moſt of the Nobles and Gentry that were his Subjects, who ſold and mortgaged almoſt all the Lands and Eſtates they had in *Normandy*, to furniſh them out in that Deſign: Now, therefore, when the ſaid *William* had conquered this Nation, he was forced to ſuffer thoſe his *Norman* Peers to ſhare with him in the Benefit, as they voluntarily did in the Hazard: From him it came to paſs, that he the ſaid Conqueror and his Nobles made a Diviſion of the Land amongſt themſelves, and whoſoever were Tenants to the ſaid Conquerors, held all their Lands for a long Space in Vaſſalage under them, merely at their Will and Mercy; whereupon all Laws were made in *French*, and it was accounted a baſe Thing, in *England*, to be called an *Engliſhman*: Then did theſe Conquerors make ſuch Laws as ſuited beſt to keep the People in Slavery and Subjection, as the *Engliſh* now uſe the *Iriſh*, that they might have all the Benefit they poſſibly could ſcrew out of the People. Hence came it to paſs, that all Penal Laws were made for the Benefit of the King, the Lords of Manors, and other great Officers who were the King's Creatures; this was, and ſtill is the Ground and Reaſon why the Life of Man, which aſſuredly, by the Law of Reaſon, is ſufficient to anſwer any Crime, was not alone taken away upon Conviction of Treaſon, Murther, or Felony, but alſo the Eſtates of Offenders were forfeited by Law to the King, or Lord of the Manor; which hath been the Cauſe that many an Innocent hath ſuffered, as *Naboth*, who was deſtroyed by *Ahab*, that ſo he might enjoy his Vineyard: Theſe Laws were not before the Conqueſt, neither have been ſince the Conqueſt ever introduced in *Kent*; which County ſubmitted to the ſaid Duke of *Normandy*, reſerving to themſelves their Laws and Rights; and therefore it is the Saying in *Kent*, *The Father to the Bough, and the Son to the Plough*: And ſurely in that County is as little Robbing, Murthering, *&c.* as in other Counties; and therefore there is not ſuch Neceſſity for that Law, as ſome Sophiſters pretend, to keep the People in Dread and Awe: Neither indeed do I think there is ſuch an abſolute Neceſſity for the hanging Men for Theft, but as heretofore in the Nation, there may be another Way found out more agreeable to the Laws of God and Reaſon, for Puniſhing of Theft; as Selling to foreign Plantations, or the like, *&c.* But, if at laſt the Law to hang Thieves muſt continue, I wiſh it may take hold of the great ones firſt; leſt we renew the Practice once in *Athens*, where they hanged none but little Thieves, and the great Thieves pronounced Sentence. *Verbum ſat ſapienti*: I am more afraid of thoſe that rob by Power of a Law, than thoſe that ſneakingly endeavour to take my Purſe on the Highway. Now although it may be alledged, and truly that is all, for by Reaſon it cannot be proved, that there is ſome Reaſon for the Forfeiting the Eſtates aforeſaid; yet at leaſt, let the Perſon damnified be the Enjoyer, or the Wife and Children of the Perſon murdered: But why there ſhould come Forfeitures on Ships caſt away, driven up to full Sea-mark, to loſe the beſt Cable and Anchor; Men to be carried away into Slavery, taken at Sea, the Ship remaining with her Lading firm and ſound, to be forfeited to the Lord Admiral for a *Deodand* to be forfeited; to ſay, if a Horſe drown his Maſter, the Horſe to be forfeited, and this to be pleaded for; or many ſuch Laws, to be grounded on Reaſon, is ſo ridiculous, that I think the firſt and grand Deceiver of Mankind cannot find Sophiſtry enough to furniſh the Lawyers with to plead for it.

But ſome will ſay, ‘ That, though we were ‘ conquered, yet our noble Anceſtors, by ‘ Dint of Sword in the Barons Wars, regained ‘ their Freedom, and forced the King to ‘ condeſcend to that famous Law, called *Magna Charta*.’

For Anſwer know this, that when the Nobles in thoſe Days found the King altogether inclined to his Minions and Flatterers, and thereby made Laws to inſlave the ſaid Nobles as well as the Commons had been before, they ſaw there was a Neceſſity for them to ſtand up for their own Privileges; who being popular, what by Fear and Love, they engaged the Commons with them in War, and took the King Priſoner, forcing him to conſent to all Things that were neceſſary, to preſerve themſelves from the King's Will, but never, in the leaſt, acted from any Love to the poor Commons, but what they were abſolutely neceſſitated to; neither freed the ſaid Commons from the Bondage they were in to themſelves. Now as all the Laws of the Land have been made by the King, the great Lords, Gentry and Lawyers, when the Lower Houſe, one third Part whereof uſually conſiſted of Lawyers, had gratified the King and Upper Houſe; ſo alſo did the King gratify the Lower Houſe, both the Gentry and Lawyers, and agreed to Laws for their Advantage; for indeed, it is not much for the Advantage of the Gentry, that ſeeing the Laws are ſo corrupt and chargeable, they thereby can, and indeed have done, and in moſt Parts do ſtill keep the Poor in ſuch Subjection, that not only their own Tenants, but other Poor that live near them, muſt run and go, and work, and obey them, as they ſhall pleaſe to command them, elſe they run the Hazard of being undone. And what Advantage the Charge and Delay of Law-ſuits is to the great Lawyers, you may judge; How have ſome Lawyers, from being worth nothing but their Books, come to purchaſe Thouſands yearly Lands, as it is commonly called, by the Sins of the People? This is the Reaſon why Parliaments have not made the Nation free, our pretending Deliverers have been our Deſtroyers, and indeed it was irrational to expect better Things. Who will expect Grapes from Thorns, or Figs from Thiſtles? Who will expect Eaſe from Oppreſſion, from Maſters of Oppreſſion, the Lawyers? If you will have clean Streams flow from the Fountain, you muſt be ſure to cleanſe the Fountain itſelf.

That the Lawyers have only ſought their own Advantage, although to the total Impoveriſhing the Nation, conſider this following:

I have often, both in City and Country, made as near an Inquiry as poſſibly I could in a general Way, what Number of Lawyers there might be in *England* and *Wales*, in all Offices, as Judges, Maſters of Chancery, Serjeants at Law, Counſellors, Attornies, Sollicitors, with the reſt of the Rabble; and I cannot find by Calculation, but that there are great and ſmall, Maſters and Servants, by the beſt Account I can eſtimate, above Thirty-thouſand. Now conſider at what high Rates, the very Meaneſt of theſe live; ſee but a very Country Hackney, and you will find he goeth clothed in a genteel Garb, and all his Family; he keeps Company with the Gentry, and yet uſually quickly getteth an Eſtate over and above his Expences, which cannot poſſibly be leſs than one Hundred and fifty Pounds *per Annum.* Now if ſuch Country Lawyers live at that Rate, bring the Judges, Maſters of Rolls, Counſellors, Attornies, Regiſters, *Cum multis Aliis*, in the Common Law, Chancery, and Admiralty, and you will find that this mercenary Generation, one with another, do not receive leſs yearly from the People, in their Law Practice, I ſay the Number of Thirty-thouſand, than Two-hundred and fifty Pounds *per Annum* each Man; what if ſome have but fifty, then know ſome have Thouſands; ſurely, I believe, that *Prideaux* and *Maynard* will not, nor can deny it. Now, at this Rate, to ſay, Two-hundred and fifty Pounds, *per Annum*, to each Lawyer, theſe Thirty-thouſand receive Seven-millions and Half of Money yearly, which is Seventy-five Hundred-thouſand Pounds; and what a Charge are the People at to tend their tedious and vexatious Trials? Conſider, what doth it coſt to ride and go from all Countries and Towns to *London*, to attend the Terms; it cannot be leſs than one Million of Money yearly, and to what Purpoſe obſerve:

Whoſoever contends in Law againſt another either for Land, Debt, or Treſpaſs, muſt, by the Law, try his Title, Debt, or Damage, by Witneſs, after it hath been never ſo long delayed by Sophiſtry, Quirks and Quibbles of the Lawyers. Now therefore, if it muſt be of Neceſſity proved at the laſt; Why is it not better to have it tried in the Neighbourhood, while it is freſh, green, and new, when the Witneſſes are alive, and in Places, wherein their Lives and Converſations are known, than ſeven, ten, twenty, or thirty Years after the Suit is commenced, when Knights of the Poſt may be taken as Witneſſes, when the Lawyers ſhall baffle and confound Witneſs and Jury by their impudent Sophiſtry and Prattle, when Things at great Courts Aſſizes are paſſed over in Hugger-mugger for Want of Time to examine them, there being more Care taken to keep a preciſe Hour for a Dinner, than preciſely and ſtrictly to ſee the Execution of Juſtice and true Judgment, in Behalf of the Poor, the Fatherleſs, the Widow, and the Orphan; and when either Party ſees he is like to have the worſt, by Common Law, then they have Liberty to remove unto the Chancery, where a Suit commonly depends as long as a Buff-coat will endure Wearing, eſpecially, if the Parties have, as it is ſaid, good Stomachs and ſtrong Purſes; but, when their Purſes grow empty, their Stomachs fail; then, when no more Corn is like to be brought to the Lawyer's Mill, it is uſual to ordain ſome Men to hear and end the Buſineſs; but, alas! then it is too late, for, then, probably both Parties, or at leaſt one of them, are ruined utterly in Proſecuting the Suit, Want of his Stock, and Following of his Calling. What a Folly is it, that all Bargains in Trade and Commerce, foreign and domeſtick, muſt unavoidably run into this Channel, to be debated by Lawyers, that underſtand it as little as they have Uprightneſs, and be tried by Jurymen, of which probably, not one of the Number hath the leaſt Knowledge in Merchandiſe? What an Injuſtice is it, that all Wills muſt be proved in *London*, at ſuch a vaſt Charge and Diſtance from the Place, where the Party deceaſed, where they uſually cannot know the Truth of Things, or little care whether they do or no, ſo their Fees be paid; where they often either take no Security at all, or, if they do, it may be it is ſuch that is as good as Nothing; where every Tapſter or Chamberlain, *&c.* that pretends himſelf a Freeman, is legal Security; How many Fatherleſs, Widows, and Orphans are utterly ruined by this? The Scripture ſaith, *He is worſe than an Infidel, that provides not for his Family*; and to what Purpoſe is it in theſe Times of Corruption to work for Children? If Men die, while their Children are young, then they chuſe ſome, whom they expect will prove Shepherds to preſerve their Children; but if they prove Wolves, Where is the Remedy? If Men be in a Way of Trade, it is probable they may have, in Goods, twice or three Times as much left in their Hands, as they are really worth; theſe Goods the Executors or Overſeers may and often have procured Means to be appraiſed at Half, or one Third of the Value; ſo accordingly they pay Debts with a *Plene Adminiſtravit*; theſe poor young Children or ſimple Women think not, neither know how to prevent it; by this Means let a Man die, that is worth One-thouſand Pounds, and the Goods in his Cuſtody worth Three or Four-thouſand Pounds, his Creditors may be cheated of the moſt Part of their Debts and his Children left a Burthen to the Pariſh. O *England*, *England!* Why doſt thou profeſs thyſelf the moſt ſincere Nation for Chriſtianity on the Earth, and doſt ſuffer theſe Things, that the very Heathens have abhorred.

Object. But, if Men were not contentious, they might ſpeedily and cheaply try any Suit at Law; it is the Fault of froward Spirits, that cauſe the great Charge and Delay, and not the Law itſelf: And it is juſt, that the Law ſhould be chargeable, elſe every Man would be at Strife with his Neighbour, when the Charges were little.

Anſw. It is true, that Injuſtice, of one Part or other, is indiſputably the Cauſe of all Difference, for both the Plaintiff and Defendant cannot be in the Right; but, were the Law made according to the Mind of God, for Puniſhment of thoſe that do evil, and for Encouragement of thoſe that do well, then it would be founded on Principles of Juſtice indeed; it would ſuppreſs Strife, Contention, and Debate, it would quickly put an End to all Suits and Controverſies, it would not protect the contentious Spirits, nor nouriſh their deviliſh Nature; it would not ſuffer Might to overcome

Right, as uſually it doth in theſe Days; it would not ſhelter great landed Men in Priſon, in the *King's-Bench* and *Fleet*, &c. that have large, real Eſtates, which they ſpend voluptuouſly and riotouſly, whilſt their poor Creditors lie ſtarving in naſty Priſons: This is *Monſtrum horrendum*, an Abomination that, let what will be pretended for it, is not tolerable under the Government of a right conſtituted Commonwealth, how long ſoever it hath been continued under tyrannical Monarchy. But to ſum up all in brief, the Law in the Generality is unjuſt and irrational, the Execution deſperately dangerous and chargeable, it is eaſier to find a thouſand Evils in it, than one true Principle in Matter and Form. What if an Attorney or Council take cunningly a Bribe from an Adverſary, and make a Compact with him to cheat his Client, as it is too often practiſed, and ſeldom diſcovered?

What if a Judge accept of a Bribe, and by Over-awing the Court, carry a Caſe againſt Law and Right; if he make it a Precedent, May it not be the Ground to cheat many after it? It is remarkable, when neither the Letter of the Law nor Reaſon carry a Buſineſs, then thoſe, that are ſubtle Counſellors, and are highly fed, for, without that, Nothing can be expected, uſually produce Precedents; and theſe are impoſed on the Jury for current Juſtice, when probably the Ground of them was Bribery and Baſeneſs.

There is Law, Reaſon, or Equity in *England*, to try and end all Titles, Debts, and Treſpaſſes depending by Suits, in all Courts, or there is not: If there be, let the Parliament appoint a certain Number of knowing Men, the moſt conſcientious they can think of, in ſeveral Cities and Counties, to make it their ſole Buſineſs, in a limited Time, to hear and determine all old Suits, allowing them a moderate Salary by the Pound, to be paid by him that is found the Offender; and let not Things depend *ad infinitum* in Courts: There may be as much Injury ſuffered by the Delay of Juſtice, as by Denial of Juſtice. When all old Suits are ended, were there Order taken in Hundreds and Counties to have all Laws, Leaſes, Mortgages regiſtered, and all thoſe that ſhould pretend any Title, to make their Claim in ſuch a limited Time, as in Reaſon may be thought fit, reſerving ſome Exceptions for ſome Years for Children, Men in foreign Parts, *&c.* And, when all old Suits were ended, all Lands regiſtered, and none to be leaſed, ſold, or mortgaged in each reſpective Hundred within one Month after the Contract, it would take away the Cauſe of moſt Contention; And, until the Cauſe be taken away, the Effect will never ceaſe. Having often diſcourſed with Lawyers and others about the Delays, Burthen, and Uncertainty of Trials at Law, I very ſeldom found any averſe to Merchants Courts; in Regard that it is apparent, the Affairs and Dealings of Merchants cannot properly be underſtood but by Merchants who know the Myſtery of Trade, which neither Judge, Council, nor Gentlemen, that never were educated therein, can poſſibly do; for what a ridiculous Thing is it, that the Judges in Chancery muſt determine of Merchants Negotiations tranſacted in foreign Parts, which they underſtand no better than do their Seats, they ſit on: And ſo they are as capable to do Equity therein, as a blind Man to ſhoot a Hare. Now if Courts of Merchants are moſt, nay I ſay, abſolutely neceſſary for deciding of Controverſies in Commerce; and the Reaſon given for it, is, becauſe they beſt underſtand it: The ſame Reaſon holds good, that Countrymen, Clothiers, Weavers, *&c.* are moſt competent Judges of Country Affairs of thoſe Callings they live on, and underſtand; they better know the Value of Treſpaſs that is committed by Cattle, on Corn, *&c.* than do the Citizens that hardly know how Corn groweth. Can the People of *London*, or Maſters of Chancery, judge the Equity of Things acted in *Cornwal* or *Wales*, better than the chief able Men of the Neighbourhood? Now if *England* was ſo happy to have reſpective Hundred Courts, and no Appeals to be made further than the Quarter Seſſions; were theſe Courts rightly conſtituted, and ſtrict Penalties to be inflicted on the Receivers of Bribes, as Cutting off their Noſes, Baniſhment, or the like (which is abſolutely neceſſary for a falſe Judge, as both a Thief and Murtherer) where none of the Court, the Regiſter excepted, ſhould continue in Power, to judge but one Year together, where they ſhould not be mercenary; where a Man might ſpeak his own Cauſe, or employ his Friend whom he pleaſed, to ſpeak for him, there would be then Ground to expect Juſtice and Equity ſpeedily: There would not be, neither rationally could, lying Sophiſtry or Quibbles, to pervert the Underſtanding of the Court, there being always Time deliberately to hear the Buſineſs, and to examine the Witneſſes, when the Matter was green and new. Were it ordained, that all Wills ſhould be regiſtered in each reſpective Hundred where the Party had his Abode or Trade; that the Overſeers of the Pariſh were bound by Oath and Penalty forthwith to inform ſome Members of the Court, who had Power upon the firſt Notice to appoint one or two able Men to take Care for the Preſervation of the Goods of the Party deceaſed. That, at a certain Day, all the Moveables were to be ſold to him, that would give moſt; with this Reſervation made, that the Wife, Children, Executor or Adminiſtrator might, when the higheſt Price were offered, have Liberty to take it at the ſame; that, when the Goods were ſold, the true Value was regiſtered in the Court; that no Executor ſhould have any Adminiſtration granted, without giving Security, to the Court's Liking, of two able Men beſides himſelf; that, in Caſe the Executor neither could nor would give good Security, that then the Court ſhould be the Executor, and take Care for the Diſcharging the Debts, Providing for the Widow and Children. That none belonging to this Court, the Regiſter excepted, ſhould continue in Power, above one Year together. That the Executor ſhould yearly give an Account, how he did diſpoſe and manage the Eſtate to the Court; how he educated or bred up the Children, *&c.* That, if the Court remained in Poſſeſſion of the Eſtate, then, that it might be lawful for the Widow, Children, or Friends to have Redreſs by the Seſſions Court, upon Complaint and Proof of Injury. That the Lands and Eſtates of all and each reſpective Perſon in the Hundred, were liable to make Satisfaction for any Widows, Fatherleſs, or Orphans Eſtates, that were put into the Court's Hands. This would make the People take Care in the Choice of their yearly Court, called Judges, or Juries, or the like. Now if theſe Regiſters of Lands were kept, if the Eſtates of the deceaſed were ſo to be ſecured, if all Debts were liable to be recovered in each reſpective Hundred, this would prevent Law-ſuits; this would diſable the cunning, ſubtle People, from finding out Ways to cheat their Neighbours; this would diſcover thoſe that were contentious and troubleſome; on which People truly, I think, it were but juſt to inflict ſome Badge of Diſgrace; whereas, in theſe Days, none are more encouraged by Lawyers, Counſellors, *&c.* than thoſe that are moſt contentious.

A Word to the Parliament.

Right Honourable,

I Do not give this Title to flatter and collogue with you, but do really hope, that your future Actions and Deſigns will make you worthy of it: Ye have now a great and weighty Work to perform, even the Reſtoring to Life, Liberty, and Security a dying, inſlaved, deſtroyed Nation, whoſe utter Ruin will quickly enſue; unleſs you work whilſt it is Day, unleſs you make uſe of the preſent Opportunity that God hath put into your Hands: It is not now Time for you to think of framing a Commonwealth Government, by any Precedent or Practices of Monarchical Laws, formerly made by King or ſingle Perſons, which ſolely tended to preſerve Themſelves and their Poſterities in their unlimited Oppreſſions; Monarchy is an abſolute Antagoniſt to a Free State, and ſo are all the Laws and Rules made by Monarchs. The *Hollanders*, when they reliſhed the Tyranny and Perſecution of the *Spaniſh* King (who had a far more legal Title to be their Sovereign, than the late *Norman Scottiſh* Family had to be the *Engliſh*) never conſulted with the Laws of their King to make Fundamentals for a free State; they nobly and reſolvedly ſhook off all the Props of Tyranny, as they had done the Tyrant himſelf: And to their gallant Reſolution God gave ſuch a Bleſſing, that, from a poor miſerable People, a diſtreſſed State, they are now become potent, rich, and dreadful. Ye are now involved in a Labyrinth of Debts, contracted by the late Uſurper, not on Neceſſity but on Ambition. The People of the Land are almoſt generally impoveriſhed and indebted, and yet ye will unavoidably be forced to raiſe great Sums to pay the Arrears of the Army and Fleet. Now, as ye are neceſſitated yet to continue ſome Burdens on the People, ſo alſo there is a little Neceſſity, in Point of Juſtice and Prudence, for you to eaſe the People of others. The Lawyer's Intereſt tends neither to the Honour, Safety, nor Benefit of the People, nor your own in particular: Who have been greater Enemies againſt the

Eſtabliſhing a Free State than that Generation? Who have done and ſtill do more diſcourage the Nation from a cordial Compliance to this Government than they? How often have they cried up a Neceſſity of the executing Law in the Name of a ſingle Perſon, alledging the Laws of *England* could not be managed any other Way? As their Intereſt is engaged to Monarchy, ſo let it fall with it; let them be condemned out of their own Mouths, *Nec lex eſt juſtior ulla, quam necis artifices arte perire ſua:* Muſt the People not only pay for the Charge of your Forces by Land and Sea, but muſt they pay alſo Millions of Money hereby to a mercenary, corrupt, uſeleſs Generation of Men, who are worſe than the *Ægyptian* Caterpillars, for they devour not only the green Leaves, but Hundreds of poor Widows, Fatherleſs and Orphans. Theſe are the inſatiate Cannibals, whoſe Carcaſſes will never be full gorged with the Spoil of the Poor and Innocent, until the Worm gorgeth himſelf on theirs. Thoſe Gentlemen of the Long Robe that are amongſt you, I hope, cannot ſay leſs, than that there is great Reaſon to eaſe the People herein: What, if they have heretofore thriven highly by the Practice of Law, *Nunquam ſera ad bonos mores via:* Are they not thereby the better able to maintain their Poſt and Garb? Is it now Time to think of their latter End, to ceaſe to do Evil, and learn to do Well? I hope the Proverb will not hold true in them, *The Older the more Covetous.* Now it is Time for them, and the whole Parliament, unanimouſly and vigorouſly to do Good, to vindicate their former, almoſt (ſhall I ſay deſervedly) loſt Honour and Reputation, and to ſecure their Eſtates to their Poſterities. Ye have now the Hearts and Purſes of a reſolved honeſt Party, that will not only make Addreſſes to you, like the Addreſſes to the ſingle Perſon, but will ſtand and fall with you, in all juſt Things: But if ye turn back from the ſtrait Way of Juſtice; if ye ſeek to make yourſelves, Families, or Relations great, by ruining or burdening your Country; if ye make or maintain the Lawyers Intereſt, turn aſide the Needy from Judgments, and rob the Widow and Fatherleſs, then will ye be forſaken by God, and all juſt Men: Then will not your Mountains of Treaſures, nor Numbers of Lordſhips, nor fawning, flattering Paraſites, any Ways help you, nor deliver you, *Sed meliora ſpero.*

A Word to the Army.

SIRS,

YE have once more erected the Words of *Salus Populi*, and declare it ought to be *Suprema Lex*, the Good Old Cauſe is now cried up. If your Words and Hearts go together, it is well; it will be the People's Profit, your Honour and Safety; but, if your Zeal exceed not *Jehu*'s, it will ſignify nothing: The Nation hath been too long abuſed and couſened by fair Words, ſo that they begin to ſay, Who will now not only ſpeak, but do us any Good? Who will prove ſuch Self-deniers, as to prefer the Country's Eaſe before their own Honour or Profit? This is what is expected from all Sorts, and Satisfaction cannot be given to the People but by it. It is not now a Time to cry out for Acts of Indemnity, which will unavoidably burden and puniſh the Innocent, and let the Guilty go free. Will ye have all the corrupt mercenary Creatures of the late Tyrant's Luſt juſtified, and all their ill-gotten Goods ſecured? Is there no Pity, Remorſe, nor Compaſſion dwelling in you, in Tenderneſs to the undone People? What mean all your glorious Declarations? What mean all your Pretences of Religion? What mean your Faſts? Will ye, under Pretence of long Prayers, devour Widows Houſes? Conſider what Faſt God requireth at your Hands, *Iſa.* lviii.

But if, at laſt, nothing will divert you from this Stream of Injuſtice, give the People, who have long fed and cloathed you, ſome Satiſfaction: As ye are willing to excuſe the Guilty, ſo pray let the Innocent go free: Give the People an Act of Indemnity, and free them from paying all, or any Part of Arrears, that remain due to you for your Service in the Tyrant's Uſurpation, eſpecially you that are the Grandees of the Army (who have ſufficiently already gotten by the poor Soldiery, in putting a Neceſſity on them to ſell their Arrears to you for a Matter of nought.) Think no more of forcing or perſuading the Parliament, by your Propoſals (which are not worth ———) to gratify a ſingle Family and Intereſt, for doing thoſe Things that rather deſerve Puniſhment. Have ye ſo much Pity to a particular Family, that have a long Space lived in Pride and Voluptuouſneſs, and have unwarrantable Boons given ſo to continue; and is there no Dram of Compaſſion left in you to the dying ſtarving Nation? *O Tempora, O Mores!* Neither alone would I have you to ceaſe from preſſing theſe Things aforeſaid, but alſo to be inſtrumental to remove thoſe grand needleſs Oppreſſions which lie on the Nation. Be you at laſt inſtrumental to free your Country from the intolerable Burden of the needleſs Lawyers, who love none but themſelves: Can ye forget, that they were, in the late great Protectorian Parliament, uſing all Means to ordain Laws to hang or baniſh you, and ſhall they now be protected in ruining the Country by you? God forbid. Surely, it is ſufficient for the People to pay Millions yearly to pay the Army and Navy, and not to pay Millions yearly to that oppreſſing needleſs Generation. I ſhould wonder what Spirits do poſſeſs you, if you now at laſt, after all the Conviction that you have declared, ſhould think on nothing but cloathing yourſelves in Vanity, in raiſing your Families to *high* Eſtates, in inſulting over your Brethren the People of the Land, who have not Bread, nor Cloaths to cover their Nakedneſs. It is probable (and leſs than which I expect not) that there will be many, or ſome among you, that will paſſionately diſreſpect theſe Sins. But, if I am become your Enemy for telling you the Truth, let it be ſo: *Me, me, adſum qui feci, in me convertite ferrum*; think not but that many others, as well as myſelf, will ſtill diſreliſh Self-ſeeking and Oppreſſion in you, as well as they did in the King, Protector, &c. Let *England* never ceaſe to cry out with the Poet, *Rara fides probitaſque viris qui caſtra ſequuntur.*

A Word to the Lawyers.

YE have plowed Wickedneſs, ye have reaped Iniquity, ye have eaten the Fruit of Lyes, *Hoſea* x. 13. The Spoil of the Poor and Fatherleſs is in our Houſes; ye are weighed in the Balance of Juſtice, ye are found as light as Chaff; there is a Wind riſen up, that will blow your Intereſt into the Land of Oblivion; all the Miſchiefs and Evils, that ye have done in ſecret, are now diſcovered on the Houſe-top: The Cries of the Wronged and Oppreſſed, the Lamentations of the Widows, Fatherleſs and Orphans, God hath heard. Your Wickedneſs is now, like the *Amorites*, at the Height; the Sword of Juſtice is ready to cut it down; the Decree is paſſed againſt your legal Robberies; ſtrive therefore now to learn Peace and Patience, and an honeſter Calling; this will be your Benefit and Content. But, if ye will reſiſt and gainſay, know this, that aſſuredly ye will periſh in the Attempt.

The Petition of the Ladies of *London* and *Weſtminſter* to the Honourable Houſe for Husbands. *London*, Printed for *Mary Want-man*, the Fore-maid of the Petitioners; and ſold by *A. Roper* in *Fleetſtreet*, 1693. *Quarto*, containing four Pages.

WE know you are harraſſed with Petitions from all Quarters of the Nation; for to whom ſhould the miſerable Subject apply himſelf for a Redreſs of his juſt Grievances, but to this awful Aſſembly? At preſent you have no leſs than the Safety of all *Europe*, and that of *England* in particular, depending upon your Supplies and Aſſiſtance; yet, you ſometimes condeſcend to entertain yourſelves with Things of far leſs Importance. Give us Leave therefore to lay our lamentable Condition before you, and to expect a Relief from your generous Appearing in our Behalf. We demand Nothing but what is highly reaſonable and advantageous to the State, Nothing but what the Laws of God, Nature, and the End of our Creation plead for, and, next to what immediately employs your Counſels at this Juncture, we offer a Matter of the higheſt Conſequence that ever came within your Walls.

You need not be reminded with what Scorn and Contempt the holy State of Matrimony has of late Years been treated: Every naſty Scribbler of the Town has pelted it in his wretched Lampoons; it has been perſecuted in Sonnet, ridiculed at Court, expoſed on the Theatre, and that ſo often, that the Subject is now exhauſted and barren; ſo that, if no new Efforts have been lately made againſt our Sex's Charter, we are not to aſcribe it either to the good Good-nature, or Converſion of the Men, but only to the Want of freſh Matter and Argument. What afflicts us moſt, is to find Perſons of good Senſe and Gravity, conſiderable for their Eſtates and Fortunes, ſo ſhamefully laid aſide from their Duty by the feeble Sophiſtry of theſe little unthinking rhiming Creatures; and to ſee that a ſcurrilous Song, to the Tune of a *Dog with a Bottle*, ſhall make a greater Impreſſion upon them than all the wholeſome Precepts of the Apoſtles put together.

One, forſooth, is mortally afraid leſt his Head ſhould ach within a Fortnight, or ſo, after Marriage; and yet makes no Conſcience of filling his Carcaſs every Night with filthy ſtummed Wine, which in all Probability will ſooner give him a Fever, than a Wife confer a Pair of Horns upon him. A Second profeſſes he has an invincible Averſion to the Squalling of Children, and Rocking of Cradles, though the Sot can ſit a whole Day at *Will's*, amidſt the eternal Quarrel of the No-wits, and the endleſs Diſputes of the No-politicians: A Third is apprehenſive of the Thing called Curtain-Lectures, as the nauſeous Fellows love to talk; and yet ſuffer themſelves to be tamely rid by common, ungrateful Hackney-Proſtitutes: A Fourth has a great Reſpect to his own dear Perſon, and thinks that a Wife will drain him to mere Skin and Bones, who for all that ſo manages himſelf, as to have Occaſion to viſit Dr. * *Wall* twice a Quarter. Laſtly, the graver Sort exclaim at the Caudles, the Pins, the Midwives, the Nurſes, and other Concomitants of Wedlock; they pretend the Taxes run high, and that a Spouſe is an expenſive Animal; little conſidering that they throw away more upon their dearly beloved Vanities than would maintain a Wife and half a Dozen Children.

Theſe are the common Topicks againſt Matrimony; and, yet to behold the Vanity of theſe Pretences, they immediately diſappear and vaniſh, as ſoon as a good Fortune comes in their Way. Shew the Sparks but a rich Heireſs, or an old griping Alderman's Daughter, and they ſoon forget Curtain-Lectures and Cuckoldom, Conſumptions and Skeletons, Pins and Caudles, Impertinence and Confinement, with the reſt of their terrible Objections. Then you hear not a Syllable of Liberty; but, oh! what a bleſſed, what a comfortable Thing is a a Wife! Nay, a Widow, though paſt Fifty, and as ugly as one of the Witches in *Macbeth*, if ſhe has but Store of Money, ſhall go down as glibly with them as the new Oaths for Preferment at Court, without the leaſt wry Face or Remorſe of Conſcience; and the vain Coxcombs think themſelves as happy, as if they had got both the *Indies* for their Poſſeſſion.

But though the Laity, not to mince Matters, have almoſt univerſally degenerated in this wicked Age; yet we bleſs Heaven, that our Sex has ſtill found the Benefit of the Clergy. and that the Churchmen have been our ſureſt and beſt Friends all along. Had not theſe pious Gentlemen taken Pity of our Condition, how many ſuperannuated Chambermaids had lain neglected, how many languiſhing Farmers Daughters gone the Way of all Fleſh without propagating their Kind? Whatever Prevarications they have made in other Parts of the Bible, we have to our unſpeakable Comfort found that they have kept conſtant to the Text, *Increaſe and multiply*; and indeed it was but reaſonable, that theſe People, who are every Moment trumping their *Jure Divino* upon the World, ſhould by their own Example ſupport and countenance that Sort of Life, which is as much *Jure Divino* as the Prieſthood.

We never queſtioned, notwithſtanding the unwearied Attempts of our Adverſaries to render Marriage contemptible both in their Writings and Converſation, but that Nature, mere

---

* A Pock-Doctor.

Nature without any Endeavours of our own, would have reduced the Men long ſince to a true Senſe of their Duty, had it not been for the two following Impediments. The Firſt is *Wine*, which we that are Maids have as much Reaſon to complain of as thoſe that are married. It is a burning Shame, and it highly concerns the Wiſdom of the Nation to prevent it, that the young Fellows of the Town ſhould ſo ſcandalouſly abandon themſelves to the Bottle. They ply their Glaſſes too warmly to think of any Thing elſe; and, if the Liquor happens to inſpire them with any kind Inclinations, the next Street furniſhes them with Store of Conveniences to relieve their Appetite. And this leads us to the Second Block in our Way, which is the intolerable Multitude of *Miſtreſſes*, who, to the great Prejudice of the Publick, divert the Courſe of thoſe Streams, which would otherwiſe run in the regular Channel of Matrimony. As long as theſe contraband Commodities are encouraged or connived at, it cannot be expected that virtuous Women ſhould bear a good Market-price, or that Marriage ſhould flouriſh.

It would look like Affectation or Vanity in thoſe of our Sex, whom the malicious World ſuppoſes to be converſant in nothing elſe but Books of Receipts and Romances, to acquaint ſo experienced and learned a Body as yours is, how highly Marriage was reverenced, and how induſtriouſly cultivated by the wiſeſt Governments in the World. The Examples of *Athens* and *Sparta* are too notorious to be long inſiſted upon. Thoſe were glorious Places for us, poor Women, to live in; a Man there could neither be Church-Warden or Conſtable, nay, nor be concerned in the meaneſt, moſt ſcoundrel Pariſh Offices, unleſs he was married. An old muſty Batchelor was pointed at like a Monſter; they looked upon ſuch a one to be diſaffected to the State, and therefore as conſtantly indicted him every Quarter Seſſions for letting his Talent lie unemployed, as now we do *Jacobites*, and falſe Retailers of News. The ſame Policy was obſerved at *Rome*, where the *Jus Trium Liberorum*, the Privilege of thoſe that had got three Children, was one of the greateſt Favours the Emperor could beſtow upon a Subject, and was courted with as vigorous an Application as a Knighthood is now-a-days. By this Means that victorious City arrived to the Empire of the World; and we, if we would beat the *French* into better Manners, muſt follow the ſame Conduct: But it grieves our Hearts to conſider, that in a Chriſtian, and much more in a Proteſtant Country, we are forced to ſtir up the Charity of well-diſpoſed Perſons by citing Pagan Examples.

We therefore humbly petition you, that, for the Increaſe of their Majeſties liege People, in whom the Power and Strength of a Nation conſiſts, and for the utter Diſcouragement of Celibacy, and all its wicked Works, you would be pleaſed to enact,

Firſt, That all Men, of what Quality and Degree ſoever, ſhould be obliged to marry as ſoon as they are One and Twenty; and that thoſe Perſons, who decline ſo doing, ſhall, for their Liberty, as they are pleaſed to miſcall it, pay yearly to the State, which we leave to your Diſcretion to make as great or as little as you ſhall think fit, one Moiety whereof ſhall go to the King, towards the Payment of his Army in *Flanders*, and the reſt be diſtributed amongſt poor Houſe-keepers, that have not ſufficient to maintain their Wives and reſpective Families, by ſuch married Officers as you ſhall nominate and appoint.

Secondly, That no Excuſe ſhall be admitted, but only that of natural Frigidity or Impotence; which, that it may not be pretended when there is no juſt Occaſion for it, and likewiſe that impotent Perſons may not, to the Diſappointment of their Spouſes, enter into the holy State of Matrimony, there ſhall be erected, in every County in *England*, a Court of Judicature, compoſed of half a ſcore experienced Matrons or Midwives, who, by a Writ *De Maritali ſupellectile inſpiciendâ*, may ſummon, or cauſe to be ſummoned, all ſuch People as pretend the above-mentioned Excuſe, or are juſtly ſuſpected thereof.

Thirdly, Since it is found by Experience, that the Generality of young Men are ſuch Idolaters of the Bottle, and that Wine is the moſt powerful Rival which the Ladies have Reaſon to be jealous of, that no Perſon whatſoever ſhall be privileged to enter a Tavern who is not married, under Pain of having his Wig and gilt Snuff-box confiſcated *Toties Quoties*.

Fourthly, That every Poet, or Pretender to be a Poet, or any one that has hired a Poet to write any Play, Satyr, Lampoon, or Song to the Derogation of the Matrimonial State, ſhall be obliged to marry before *Lady-day* next enſuing, and to make a ſolemn Recantation of all, and every wicked Thing by him uttered in any Play, Satyr, Song or Lampoon, to the Derogation of the Matrimonial State; that all ſuch diſaffected Papers ſhall be called in, and publickly burnt by the Hands of twelve City Clergymen's Wives, on next St. *Valentine*'s Day.

Laſtly, That to prevent the grievous Multitudes of, and frequent Reſorts to Miſſes and Harlots, every Perſon of Quality pretending to keep a Miſs, after the Commencing of this Act, ſhall be enjoined, in order to his farther Puniſhment, to keep a Regiment of Foot for his Majeſty's Service upon the *Rhine*; or, in Caſe he chuſes to diſband her, to diſpoſe of her in Marriage to his Footman and Groom, and allow them wherewith to ſet up a Coffee-houſe. And, as for the inferior Harlots, all Juſtices of Peace and Conſtables ſhall execute the Laws againſt them.

Having thus, moſt noble Patriots, laid open our Grievances before you, we doubt not but you will take effectual Care to redreſs them. Could you condeſcend ſo low, as to debate about making the Rivers *Wye* and *Lug* navigable; and will you not endeavour, as much as in you lies, to unite the Maleſtreams with the Female? Could you think it worth the while to take Care of the Propagation of Woods, the Draining of the Fens, and the Converting of Paſtures into Arable *Land*; and will you not much more encourage the Propagation of Mankind, the Draining of the ſuperfluous Humours of the Body Politick, and provide, that ſo many longing young Ladies ſhall not lie unploughed, unharrowed, and uncultivated? Beſides, there was never a fitter Occaſion for ſuch a Bill, than what offers itſelf at preſent: The mighty Numbers of Men that our Wars carry off in *Flanders*, with the little or no Increaſe at Home to balance the Loſs; and, what ought to be no ſmall Argument with you, the few unmarried Sparks that tarry behind, are of late grown ſo imperious and proud in their Demands, that nothing will go down with them now but an Heireſs. Here are an infinite Number of Advocates to incline you to be kind to our Cauſe: Wit and Youth, Beauty and Good-nature, beſides the Publick Advantage, and the Proteſtant Religion plead for us; but, what cannot fail to move even Hearts of Marble, this very Petition is ſubſcribed by Ten-thouſand Green-Sickneſs Maidens.

That ſingle Conſideration, we know, will prevail with you to eſpouſe our Quarrel, to reſtore Matrimony to its Primitive Splendor; and, laſtly, to deſtroy Celibacy as effectually as you have done Popery. Which will oblige your Petitioners,

As, in Duty bound, ever to Pray, &c.

This Petition is ſubſcribed by Threeſcore-thouſand Hands, and never a cracked Maidenhead or Widow amongſt them.

N. B. The *Widows Petition* will be inſerted in the next Number.

A great Victory obtained by the *Engliſh* againſt the *Dutch*, and the Purſuing of the *Dutch* Fleets, by General *Blake* and Sir *George Ayſcue*, with one-hundred and eighty Men of War, towards the *Downs*, and their Reſolution to engage them, between *Dover* and *Calais*. The Manner how Sir *George Ayſcue*, with great Policy, obtained the Wind; the Number ſunk and taken; and two gallant Ships, ſurpriſed by Captain *Stoaks*, laden with Gold and Elephants Teeth. Alſo, the Number of Ships coming up the River of *Thames* for *London*, richly laden from the *Eaſt-Indies*, the *Streights*, *Virginia*, and *Barbadoes*.

Die Septembris 27, 1652.

Extracted out of the Original Papers, ſent, from Captain Stoaks, *to the honourable Council of State, on* Sunday *laſt*, September *the Twenty-ſixth*.

Imprinted at *London*, for *George Horton*, 1652. *Quarto*,
containing eight Pages.

SIR,

UPON the Advance of General *Blake* and Sir *George Ayſcue*, with a Fleet conſiſting of one-hundred and eight gallant Sail, towards the *Downs*, they cleared the whole Weſtern Channel before them, by ſailing, as by Order, within Shot of each other; by which Means, we cleared all from the Coaſt of *France* to the Coaſt of *England*, almoſt as if a Bridge had been made over the Channel; and thought to have fought the *Dutch* Fleet at the ſame Time, but they gave us the Go-by, much like that of the *Scots* King, when he made an Inroad into *England*, and are now ſailed towards the *Downs*; whereupon, Information being given thereof by the *Aſſurance* Scout, who had forced her Paſſage, even through the Thickeſt of the Action, from five *Dutch* Men of War, the General hoiſed Sail after them, but the Wind, blowing ſtiff upon the North-point, could not reach ſo much as the Enemy's Rear-guard; but, on the twenty-fifth Inſtant, we had Intelligence of their ſtanding over to the Coaſt of *France*; whereupon, the General and Sir *George Ayſcue* bore up towards the *Downs*, with a moſt potent and invincible Armada, conſiſting of one-hundred ſtout Men of War, whereof twelve were Merchants Ships; that is, the Five from the *Eaſt-Indies*, two from the *Streights*, two from *Liſbon*, in *Spain*, two from *Virginia*, and one from *Barbadoes*; all which are ſent up the River for *London*.

But not long had his Excellency anchored upon thoſe *Neptune*-ſtreams, but he received

Advertiſements from the *Diamond*, and other Frigates, that had been ſcouting forth, that a great Fleet of *Hollanders*, conſiſting of, at leaſt, two-hundred Sail, was riding between *Dover* and *Calais*; whereupon, Major *Bourn* was commanded forth, with the great *Andrew*, the nimble *Saphir*, the famous *Garland*, and twenty-ſeven other ſtout Men of War, as a Forlorn to the Navy, to engage the Enemy, if poſſible.

After him ſailed Sir *George Ayſcue*, with thirty-five Sail, as a Reſerve; and, within Shot of the ſaid Squadron, the General bore up with the great Ship, called the *Commonwealth*, and the reſt of the Fleet, flanking Sir *George*. The *Dutch*, perceiving their reſolute Motion, endeavoured to get *Calais*-point, but Sir *George*, to prevent them, bore up to the Leeward, by which Means, he got the Wind of the *Dutch* Fleet, and hath now engaged them: The *Zealand* Ships lie at the Head of their Fleet, and ſeem to be very reſolute for Action: Vice-admiral *Evarſon* hath attempted to fire ſome of our Ships, but was prevented; for Major *Bourn*, commanding the Guard that Night, received Advertiſements, from one of his Scouts, of the near Approach of ſome of the Enemy's Ships, and prepared to receive them; which he ſo effectually performed, that two of his Fire-ſhips were ſoon way-laid, and the reſt diſſipated; inſomuch that *De Witte* and *Ruttyer* endeavour to decline Engagement; but it is a Thing impoſſible, for we now have them pretty faſt upon the Hug, and queſtion not, by Divine Aſſiſtance, but to give them a ſudden Turn, by Reaſon they are divided, having diverſity of Opinions, and manned with *Engliſh*, *Flemings*, *Scots*, *Walloons*, *Switzers*, and *Germans*: This great Blow is ſuddenly expected; yet ſomething further I ſhould have inſiſted on, but I am forced to draw to a Period, by Reaſon the Pacquet-boat is falling of, and our Ships ready to engage.

Aboard the Ruby, Septemb. 25, 1652.

As touching our further victorious Succeſs againſt the *Hollanders*, it is confirmed by Letters from Captain *Stoaks*, Commander of the *Dragon*, to the Council of State; who, having diſcovered two Sail upon the Coaſt of *France*, made up to them, and found them to have *Swediſh* Colours; but, coming Aboard them, he diſcovered them to be *Guiney* Ships, laden with Gold Ore, and Elephants Teeth, and ſeveral Letters, directed to *Amſterdam*, and other Places in *Holland*, which, with other Circumſtances, gave Cauſe to believe, that the Lading of the ſaid Veſſels belonged to the *Dutch*; whereupon, the Captain brought the ſaid Ships into *Plymouth*, where they now remain: The Officers of theſe Prize-ſhips ſay, That the Gold Ore, and Elephants Teeth, and other Lading therein, are worth about fourſcore-thouſand Pounds; the ſaid Captain likewiſe took a Pickroon of twenty-four Guns, and twenty-four Men, which he likewiſe brought into Harbour.

By an Expreſs from *Dover*, thus: The *Dutch* Fleet, under *De Witte*, came in Sight of this Town, at the Back of the *Goodwin*, on the tenth Inſtant; and, on the Eleventh, Twelfth, and Thirteenth, plied to the Weſtward; the Fourteenth, they lay between *Calais* and *Boulogne*; the Fifteenth, they came on this Side with ſix Frigates, and gave Chace to a *Sandwich* Pink, but ſhe got ſafe into the *Downs*; the Sixteenth, *De Witte*, with about thirty Sail, came to this Side again, having gotten Sight of eight Sail, coming to the Weſtward; bore up to them, and, between *Foulkſtone* and this Town, put the *Swan* Frigate on Shore, and three *Morlaix*-men, laden with Linnen-cloth, and two or three ſmall Men of this Town, moſt of them aſhore; the *Mary* Fly-boat, and *Brier* Frigate, got paſt them to this Town, but exchanged ſeveral Shot with them: Thus it pleaſed God to preſerve them all. *De Witte* himſelf came very near the Shore, and let ſeveral Broad-ſides fly at our Ships, that were ſtranded, and *Sandgate* Caſtle returned him ſeveral Guns. Towards Night, he ſtood over to the *French* Coaſt, to the reſt of the Fleet; and, that Tide, all our Ships got off, but not without ſome Damage, only the *Swan* Frigate got a Bulge, which made her unſerviceable at preſent; the Seventeenth, he lay at half Sea over, betwixt *Boulogne* and this Town; the Eighteenth, he came to the Back of the *Goodwin* with ſixty Sail, being reſolved to play ſome Feats againſt the *Engliſh*, or elſe never to return into his own Country.

De Witte is joined with *Ruttyer*, having ſeventy of the greateſt Ships that ever yet were ſet forth: Stout *Evarſon*, of *Zealand*, is Vice-admiral, whoſe Mariners are famous, and were once accounted the ſtouteſt Enemy that ever ſailed upon the Seas. But, truly Mr. *Launſman*, though you now uſurp a Privilege upon ſmall Game, the Butter-box of your trifling Honour may, perchance, melt away, in a hot Day, with the *Engliſh*: For know, that Injuries, in this Kind, evermore prove like Stones thrown up into the Air; they may touſe luſtily for a While, like the aſpiring Sound of a Trumpet, but, at laſt, they muſt of Neceſſity fall down upon your Ambition, to diſſolve the Injuſtice of your imperious Spirits. They are grown ſo high and imperious, that they begin to truſs up poor *Engliſhmen* in ſeveral Places, as a Faulcon does wild Ducks, eſpecially about the Coaſt of *Norfolk*, where, on *Sunday* the twelfth Inſtant, they adventured into the very Harbour at *Wells*, and took away ſome Veſſels. This ſudden Exploit cauſed divers Gentlemen, and others, with their Families, to return higher into the Country.

By an Expreſs from *Yarmouth*, it is certified, That there is a Fleet of ſeventy Sail of Colliers lying ready to be convoyed for *London*; and that there is another great Fleet alſo in Readineſs at *Newcaſtle*, with thireeen Sail of Iſland Veſſels of Captain *Worm*'s Fleet; but from him, and the reſt, we yet hear no News. We hear, that Colonel *Airs* and Doctor *Chamberlain* being bound for *Ireland*, through Diſtreſs of Weather, the Veſſel was in great Danger by a Storm, and, it is much feared, the Paſſengers are caſt away.

The *Hollanders* have agreed to ſend a Navy to the *Eaſt-Indies*, with Commiſſion to deſtroy and depopulate thoſe Places of the *Engliſh*; they are old excellent at the Routing of you in high Language, but are not a little moved, that you have gotten ſo many conſiderable Prizes from their Merchants.

From *France* they write, That the prodigious Force, and matchleſs Valour of the Duke of *York*, cauſeth great Admiration in the Enemy's Camp, who have felt wonderful and ſtrange Exploits, and yet the Vanquiſhed continually find his Grace and Favour; for, upon Beating up of ſome of the *Spaniſh* Quarters, a *French* Colonel perſuaded him to uſe the Benefit of the Advantage, which the Darkneſs of the Night afforded him. No, no, ſaid he, it fits me not to hunt after Night-ſtolen Victories: *Malo me fortunæ pœniteat, quam victoriæ pudeat.* I had rather repent me of my Fortune, than be aſhamed of my Victory.

From the Navy, further thus: We have received Advertiſements from *Genoa*, that eight of our Ships, whereof four are Men of War, and four Merchantmen, have had a great Diſpute with nine *Dutch* Men of War, and, after a ſhort Conflict, with great Gallantry and Reſolution performed on both Sides, it pleaſed God to crown the *Engliſh* with Victory, and to deliver into their Hands five of the Enemy's beſt Ships; but three got off, though, notwithſtanding, they were much rent and torn; the other was ſunk: Theſe five, with thoſe two, taken by Captain *Stoaks*, make up the whole Number forty-ſeven; wherein were found great Store of rich Merchandiſes, Ammunition, and, at leaſt, ſeven-hundred Pieces of Ordnance; which is a great Weakening to the States of *Holland*, and no little Diſcouragement to their Mariners, to ſee their own Ships manned forth againſt them.

Theſe Particulars from Captain *Stoaks* were confirmed by a Letter to the Council of State, on *Sunday* laſt, being the Twenty-ſixth of this Inſtant, *September*, 1652.

A Diſcourſe * of the moſt Illuſtrious Prince, *Henry*, late Prince of *Wales*. Written, *Anno* 1626, by Sir *Charles Cornwallis*, Knight, ſometimes Treaſurer of his Highneſs's Houſe. *London*, printed for *John Benſon*, and are to be ſold at his Shop in St. *Dunſtan*'s Church-yard. 1641. Containing thirty-ſix Pages in *Quarto*.

To the High and Mighty *Charles*, Prince of *Great Britain*, &c.

Moſt gracious Prince,

BESIDES my particular Zeal, there is a natural Intereſt in this enſuing Diſcourſe to your Highneſs, as being the hopeful Heir of this Kingdom of Great Britain, *and the true Inheritance of your noble Uncle's Virtues (Prince* Henry) *as of his Fortunes. The Eyes of all Men are upon you, in full View of thoſe ſweet Graces of Nature and ingenious Diſpoſition to Goodneſs, which all admire. If you ſhall be pleaſed to add theſe Examples and Precepts to thoſe of your Royal Father, taking them Hand in Hand, they will lead you, in your tender Years, in the fair Continuance of Honour and Virtue; and then his Majeſty, your Royal Father, may for many Years (for which we hope and pray) be a living Mirrour unto you of Piety, Wiſdom, and Juſtice, and all other Regal Endowments, fit for ſo great a Dignity, to which you are born.*

Glad I am, that it was my Chance to meet with this Part of Treaſure, truly gathered by that worthy Knight deceaſed, Treaſurer to your Highneſs's Uncle; and great Cauſe I have to rejoice, that by this (through your gracious Acceptance) I have the Opportunity, humbly to tender, with this, my Prayers at your Highneſs's Feet, for your long and happy Proſperity. So prays

Your Highneſs's moſt humbly devoted,

J. B.

IN this moſt illuſtrious Prince may moſt clearly be diſcerned, that God's Judgments are only known to himſelf, and his Thoughts and Determinations unſearchable; for, having ſo framed and faſhioned him, as his moſt rare Parts, in Youth, gave ſo many Preſages of his becoming to his Divine Majeſty (from whom he received them) an Honour and Glory, to the World a Wonder, and to the People of theſe Kingdoms an exceeding Happineſs; yet was he pleaſed, in the Spring of his Years, and of the Hope had of him, to take him to himſelf, and to deprive the World of him: Neither could the Reaſons of his ſhort Life (ſo far as the Eyes of Man could diſcern) grow either out of Neglect, or Want of Performance of Duties to God, or of Obedience to his Parents; the Obſervance of which Commandment only hath the Enlarging of Time upon this Earth annexed unto it. For, in the Firſt, it cannot be denied but he was exceedingly obſervant, never failing to ſacrifice unto God the firſt of his Actions; to continue in them with all Demonſtration of Reverence, without any Diverſion or Diſtraction; to cheriſh ſuch, in whom he found Ability to teach, and Piety to expreſs in Life the Fruits of their Doctrine; to reſolve ſo far to become immutable in the Religion he profeſſed, as, long before his End, with ſolemn Proteſtations he vowed, that he would never join in Marriage with a Wife of a different Faith; and had, beſides, a Determination, if longer he had lived, to have made Choice of a Chaplain of his own, a Man in Years, grave in Divinity, rarely learned, and of great Diſcretion, Experience, and Wiſdom; by whoſe Advice, in all Matters ſpiritual, and tending to the Rectifying of his Soul, he intended to have received a continual Direction.

---

* This is the 155th Number in the Catalogue of Pamphlets in the *Harleian* Library.

Of the Second, to ſpeak not by Hearſay, but of my own Knowledge: Howſoever ſome Moths and Mice of Court, in that Time (not Enemies to him in Particular, but Maligners of true Virtue, and only Friends to their own Ambitions and Deſires) to poſſeſs the Ears and Opinions of Princes, had in that Particular traduced him; ſo true and ſincere he was, both in Profeſſion and Execution of all Duties and Obedience, and bore ſo natural and filial a Reverence aud Reſpect to the King his Father, that, although ſometimes out of his own Inclination, or the Incitation and Encouragement of others, he repaired to the Court, and moved the King in ſome Things, either concerning the Commonwealth, his own particular Intereſt, or that of others; yet, with the leaſt Word, Countenance, or Sign given him of his Majeſty's Diſallowance, he would inſtantly deſiſt from further Purſuit of it, and return either with Satisfaction, in Regard that he underſtood it to be diſagreeing with his Majeſty's Pleaſure, or with ſuch a reſolved Patience, that he, neither in Word nor Work, gave ſo much as any Semblance of being diſpleaſed, or diſcontented. Nay, which is more, ſo truly was he affected to the Pleaſing and Satisfying of the King his Father in all Things, that, ſome good Time before his Death, he made unto myſelf a ſolemn Proteſtation, That, to the End he might not in any Thing be either diſpleaſing, or give the leaſt Diſtaſte unto his Majeſty, he would, from thenceforth, utterly remove his Thoughts from all Affairs whatſoever, that ſhould not particularly concern himſelf, his own Eſtate, or the Government of his Houſhold.

In this Diſcourſe of that memorable Prince, I will forbear to ſpeak of his Infancy, or youngeſt Years, although I have heard by ſuch as did then attend him, the ſame did moſt preſage his enſuing Virtues. My Purpoſe and Deſire is to deliver nothing but Verities known to myſelf, not Things received by Tradition from others.

In the firſt Spring of his Years of Underſtanding, the King, his Father, committed unto him the Diſpoſing of the Lands and Revenues aſſigned to him, and the Government of his Houſhold; for the Adminiſtration whereof his Majeſty appointed unto him certain ſpecial Officers, in the Number of whom myſelf (being not long before returned out of *Spain*, where I ſerved the King divers Years, as his Ambaſſador) was conſtituted Treaſurer of his Houſe.

The Place gave me Occaſion continually to attend him; and the eſpecial Favour, that I afterwards found with him, not only the Means to obſerve his Actions, but to become particularly acquainted with the moſt of his Thoughts.

My firſt Step into his Favour and eſpecial Truſt grew out of that, which, with ſome other Princes, would have caſt me down either into perpetual Diſgrace, or at leaſt into a temporary Diſtaſte and Diſlike hardly recoverable. I ſo much admired his judicious Parts in ſo unripe an Age, and diſcerned in him ſo great a Will to know, and ſo noble and rare a Diſpoſition to give Ear to Advertiſements, that, out of the Duty of my Place, and extraordinary Affection to himſelf, taking Hold of ſome fit Occaſion and Opportunity, I adventured to make Proof, whether he would endure Advice, or Advertiſement reprehenſive.

Young Princes, left to their own Wills, and great Men, that are ſet upon the higheſt Stage of worldly Greatneſs, and lulled in the Lap of Fortune, do rarely endure a reproving Voice, eſpecially from thoſe of a lower Form.

I took the Occaſion from a then general Suppoſal, or, at leaſt, Suſpicion of a little too much Streightneſs of his Hand in rewarding, and of ſome Errors in his Actions; but did ſo tenderly tread upon thoſe Grounds, and with ſo retiring a Foot, as occaſioned a Diſcovery, from himſelf, of a Deſire to receive and have a full Sight of them, before I pulled off the Maſque, wherewith I had covered them.

In Concluſion, I delivered them in Subſtance plainly, but in Words ſoft and reſpecful (as to ſuch a Prince became me) Kings and Princes being to be treated with, with Words of Silk, not of Iron.

To the firſt, he gave Anſwers ſatisfactorily.

To the other, excuſively.

But, what were the Fruits ſucceeding to his ever enduring Honour, Truth inforceth me to publiſh, that I ever after, in my own Particular, found myſelf exceedingly ingreated in his Favour, and that thoſe few Things that were erred became reformed.

To this ſo rare a Diſpoſition, which being by a Prince entertained, cannot but make him both ſcient of the Offices appertaining to his high Eſtate, and in Time alſo, as good as great, which, in one born to govern, of all Things is the moſt deſirable, is to be added another Virtue in one of regal Power, as valuable, and not much leſs neceſſary: So very cloſe he was and faithful a Keeper of whatſoever Secret was diſcloſed unto him, as it was never known to any, that ever he diſcovered any one Word in that Kind delivered unto him.

Apt he was to hear and deſirous to receive Advertiſements and Advices, by any in whom he diſcerned Knowledge gained by Learning, or Abilities won out of Time, and Experience to give them, neither did he take them in *Tranſitu*: As in the Old Teſtament they celebrated the Paſſover, nor as a Man receiveth his Cloke to put about him, not within him; but gave both Time to the Deliverers to relate them, and Leiſure to himſelf to conſider and digeſt them.

Counſels are to be chewed not ſwallowed; he would therefore unrip every Seam of them by Interrogations uſed by himſelf, and receive Reaſons and Reſolutions by thoſe that offered them, until, by mature Debate and Conſultation, which are the true Foils that give Clearneſs and Aſſuredneſs to Counſels, he had both perfected and made them ſolid and fit for his Uſe, whenſoever Occaſion ſhould be offered.

In the Government of his Houſhold in Years ſo very young, he gave Examples imitable to all other Princes.

His Family was ample, as that which conſiſted of few leſs than Five-hundred, many of them young Gentlemen, born to great Fortunes; in the Prime of their Years when their Paſſions and Appetites were moſt ſtrong, and their Powers and Experiences, to temper and ſubject them to Reaſon, moſt weak, his Judgment, his grave and princely Aſpect, gave Temper to them all, his very Eye ſerved for a Commandment, and more and better Service have I noted to be done by the very Looks of him, than by ſharp Reprehenſions of ſome other Princes: If any Queſtions or Quarrels were moved amongſt his Servants, he would give a Stop and Stay to them, at the very Beginning, by referring them to ſome ſuch of his principal Officers, as he thought to be moſt ſcient in Matters of that Nature, and beſt did know to give juſt Compenſation to the injured, and Reproof to them that ſhould be found to have offered the Wrong; ſo as, in ſo numerous a Family, there was not ſo much as any Blows given, or any Countenance of Quarrel or Debate between any.

Plenty and Magnificence were the Things that in his Houſe he eſpecially affected, but not without ſuch a Temper as might agree with the Rules of Frugality and Moderation; he cauſed to be ſet down in Writing unto him the ſeveral Heads of all his annual Charges, the ordinary Expence of his Houſe and his Stables, the Charge of his Apparel and Wardrobe, his Rewards and all ſuch other Things, as yearly were to be iſſued out of his Coffers, and comparing them with his annual Revenue, did ſo judiciouſly faſhion and proportion them by ſhortening what he found ſuperfluous, and increaſing what was wanting, and too ſhort in any of them, as he reduced them to a Certainty, and ſuch as his Revenues would well defray, beſides a yearly Spare of ſome Thouſands of Pounds, which he reſerved for a Store or Treaſure to be ready for all Events and Occaſions accidental.

By giving of which ſo good and ſolid Foundation and Order unto his State, he delivered himſelf from all Neceſſity of becoming rigid or ſtrait to his Tenants, either by any unmeaſurable improving their Farms or their Fines, or ſeeking or taking Advantage of any their Forfeitures, and became alſo unneceſſitated to take the Benefit that both Law and Right afforded unto him, of ſuch as had in Time of former Princes purchaſed Lands appertaining to his Duchy of *Cornwall*, which could not by Law be alienated from the ſame, to whom out of his princely Bounty, and gracious Compaſſion, upon reſuming of them, he gave ſome reaſonable Satisfaction.

The Banquets and Feaſts that any Time he made, his Deſire was, ſhould be magnificent and agreeing with his princely Dignity, yet not without an eſpecial Eye, and Care had, that nothing ſhould be ſpent in Diſorder, or the Charge made greater through the Want of Providence, or well Managing by his Officers; in thoſe he ever affected the Demonſtration of a princely Greatneſs, and that all Things ſhould paſs with Decency and Decorum, and without all Rudeneſs, Noiſe, or Diſorder.

In any Thing either committed or permitted unto him by the King his Father, concerning the State and Defence of the Kingdom, exceeding willing, ſedulous, and careful he ever ſhewed himſelf, to perform all Offices and Duties underſtandingly, and with much Circumſpection.

He was once ſent by his Majeſty to take a View of the Navy at *Chatham*, whither myſelf waited upon him, and obſerved how great his Deſire was not only to ſee with his own Eyes every particular Ship, but to enable himſelf by Conference and Conſultation with the beſt experienced of his Majeſty's Officers of the Navy, in the Faſhion and Fabricature of the Ships, to underſtand their Strengths and the Form of their Sailing, to take Knowledge of ſuch as were then perfected and fitted for preſent Service, and which defective, and in what ſeveral Parts, to the End there might inſtantly be Order given for the Repairing of them; he alſo very particularly informed himſelf of their ſeveral Equipages and Furnitures, went in Perſon to take an exact View of them and of his Majeſty's Store for that Purpoſe, and would not be ſatisfied without underſtanding the ſpecial Uſes of every of thoſe Things, and of all other that tended to make them ſerviceable and uſeful; what further in Years more ripe was in Naval Affairs, wherein conſiſted the principal Strength, Honour, and Advantage of this Kingdom, to be expected of him, may eaſily be diſcerned by his Will, his Diligence, his Underſtanding, and princely Courage, ſhewed upon Occaſion of Diſcourſe, delivered unto him by a Servant of his own, concerning a Naval War with *Spain*, whenſoever that King ſhall give Cauſe of a publick Hoſtility.

To publiſh Particulars agrees not with the Rules of State, but two eſpecial Things being propounded, which were the Preparation of a Navy, conſiſting of a certain Number of Ships to be ſent into the *Weſt-Indies*, and another to attend the Coaſts of *Spain*, to prohibit all Entry or Iſſue of Ships either into or out of the ſame:

Admirable it was in one of Years ſo young, to hear what Interrogations he uſed of every Particularity of that Deſign, of the Feiſibleneſs and of the Difficulties of every Branch of it; how he inſiſted upon every Doubt, until, by the beſt experienced and practiſed both in Sea Services and in Navigation, with Reaſons and Demonſtrations he became fully ſatisfied; and that done, how narrowly and nearly he ſearched into every Knot, both of the Honour and Utility, and of the Danger and Charge that an Attempt of that Nature would draw with it, and ceaſed not until he underſtood every Particular of the ſame, and eſpecially the yearly Charge which that whole Expedition would amount unto; which having found ſo very reaſonable, and the Hopes ſo great, and all Doubts ſo well reſolved, to ſhew the Valour of his own Heart, he openly proteſted to ſuch as were preſent, that ſhould the King his Father be pleaſed upon any future Occaſion to break with *Spain*, himſelf, if ſo it ſhould agree with his Majeſty's Pleaſure, would in Perſon become the Executor of that noble Attempt for the *Weſt-Indies*.

In Perſons private it may ſuffice to be religious, honeſt, and juſt, within themſelves.

To Princes and Men, conſtituted in high Places, it behoveth to be alſo Givers of good Example to others.

Inferiors and Subjects caſt their Eyes more upon what Princes do, than upon what they command; their Examples, with them, are of more Force, than any Law of Letters.

This became to this Prince ſo great a Motive, as he thought not fit to loſe any Hours of the Life, that upon this Earth were appointed unto him; but ſo to beſtow them, that they might not only become profitable to himſelf, but imitable and exemplary to others.

He ſo diſtributed the Day, by dividing his Hours into the Service of God, to the Fitting himſelf to the Office he was born unto, both in Government Civil and Military; and to neceſſary Exerciſes and Recreations, as no Part of it could be ſaid to be in vain beſtowed: To enable his Knowledge in Government Civil, he read Hiſtories, the Knowledge of Things paſt conducing much to Reſolution in Things preſent, and to Prevention of thoſe to come.

In the Military, he added thereunto the Mathematicks, Study of Coſmography, and had one, that inſtructed him in the Matter and Form of Fortifications.

For Practice, he uſed in a Manner daily to ride and manage great Horſes, with which he had his Stables moſt excellently furniſhed; oftentimes to run at the Ring, and ſometimes at Tilt; both which he ſo well and dexterouſly performed, and with ſo great a Comelineſs, that, in thoſe his firſt Years, he became ſecond to no Prince in *Chriſtendom*, and to many, that practiſed with him, much ſuperior.

His other Exerciſes were Dancing, Leaping, and, in Times of Year fit for it, Learning to ſwim; at ſome Times, Walking faſt and far, to accuſtom and enable him to make a long March, when Time ſhould require it; but moſt of all at Tennis-play, wherein, to ſpeak the Truth, which in all Things I eſpecially affect, he neither obſerved Moderation, nor what appertained to his Dignity and Perſon, continuing oftentimes his Play for the Space of three or four Hours, and the ſame in his Shirt, rather becoming an Artiſan, than a Prince; who, in Things of that Nature, is only to affect Comelineſs, or rather a Kind of Careleſneſs in Shew, to make their Activities ſeem the more natural, than a laborious and toiling Induſtry.

Of this and of his Diet, wherein he ſhewed too much Inclination to exceſſive Eating of Fruits, he was, as in all other Things, content to hear Advice, but in theſe two Particulars not to follow it.

To other Play or Gaming he ſhewed himſelf not much inclined; yet would ſometimes play at Obeſs, at Billiards, and at Cards, but ſo very nobly, and like himſelf, as plainly ſhewed his Uſe of it to be only for Recreation, not for Appetite of Gain; for, whether he won, or loſt, his Countenance was ever the ſame; and, for the moſt Part, greater Appearance of Mirth in him, when he loſt, than when he won; thereby plainly demonſtrating both his Judgment, in adventuring no more, than what he made no Regard of, if he loſt it; and his Princely Magnanimity and Temper, in ſuffering no Paſſion or Alteration to take hold of him, through any Croſſneſs of Cards, or Chance.

In ſome young Gentlemen, whom he affected, he ſeemed to miſlike too much Diſpoſition to play, and did not only diſſuade them from it, but gave unto ſome of them Matter of Value to become bound to leave the Uſe of it; for Pleaſure, he took them all, as it were, in Paſſage, without Semblance, either to deſire them, or at leaſt to have a Will to dwell in them.

The Pleaſure of the Fleſh, eſpecially which is moſt incident to young Years, and by Princes rarely avoidable, whoſe Fancies and Affections are commonly as vehement, as their Perſons and Powers are great, and therefore moſt like to fall themſelves, and give Occaſion of Falling to others; although ſome in thoſe Times there were, that, taking Meaſure of him by the Yard-wand of their own unbridled Appetites, were pleaſed otherwiſe to conceive and report of him, yet myſelf, having been preſent at great Feaſts made in his Houſe, whereunto he invited the moſt beautiful and ſpecious Ladies of the Court and City, could neither then diſcover by his Behaviour, his Eyes, or his Countenance, any Shew of ſingular or ſpecial Fancy to any, or at any other Time ſuch Looſeneſs, either in Words or Actions, as whereupon, in Juſtice or Reaſon, to ground any ſuch Opinion of him.

But rather thus with Truth and Aſſuredneſs to determine, that, were he not himſelf chaſte in his inward Thoughts, yet did he with ſo incomparable Judgment and Temper cover them, as, to juſt and judicious Eyes, they gave no true Occaſion to ſuſpect him.

It is true, that, to take a Wife, though he ſhewed no vehement Deſire, yet he demonſtrated a good Inclination.

Marriages were propounded and offered for him in *Spain*, in the Time that myſelf there ſerved, who had from the King, his Father, Commiſſion to treat it; but, finding, that the Overture there grew rather out of a Deſire to win Time to advance their own Deſigns, than with true Intention to perform it, in Regard of the Difference of Religion, I, for my Part, gave End to that Negotiation, in a Manner, ſo ſoon as I began it.

After my Return from thence, and Entry into his Highneſs's Service, like Motions were made both by *Florence* and *Savoy*; but, thoſe not conforming with what, in Alliances with Princes of his Greatneſs, either in Increaſe or

Equality of Honour or Utility, or for Strength and Surety of Eſtate, was eſpecially to be regarded.

That of *Spain* was, upon a new Overture made by the Ambaſſador of the King there, again entertained and committed by his Majeſty here to be treated of by his Ambaſſador, who in that Court ſucceeded me.

But, after ſome Protractions uſed there, it was, upon the firſt Opening, found to have come too late; that Princeſs, for whom the Treaty was intended, being the eldeſt Daughter of that King, and the only who in Years was fit for him, being formerly promiſed to the *French* King, that now is.

Laſtly, there grew a Propoſition for a Daughter of *France*; wherein his Highneſs having, as in Duty it became him, ſubmitted and reſerved himſelf to the King his Father, the ſame was not proceeded in to any Effect.

In this noble Prince was to be obſerved a ſingular Integrity and Clearneſs of Thoughts; he had a true Kingly Diſpoſition, and was ſo far from being induced to piece up the Skin of the Lion with that of the Fox, that above all Things he hated Flattery and Diſſimulation.

A Nobleman in thoſe Times, in the higheſt Favour with the King his Father, wrote unto him, by the eſpecial Commandment of his Majeſty, a Letter, wherein he recommended unto him a Matter of very great Conſequence to be inſtantly anſwered unto, and, in his Subſcription, uſed theſe Words:

Your's before all the World.

This Anſwer his Highneſs committed unto me, who, having written it, did alſo ſet down ſome Words of Favour to the Nobleman, to precede his Highneſs's Signature; the Letter itſelf he read, and, having conſidered it, allowed it wholly without Alteration.

Only, in Regard of the Words of Subſcription, notwithſtanding the great Haſte that he made of the Diſpatch, he commanded me it ſhould be new written, and thoſe left out; and, notwithſtanding all the Reaſons that I uſed to the Contrary, would by no Means be perſuaded to ſuffer it ſo to paſs, ſaying, That he, to whom he wrote, had untruly and unfaithfully dealt with him, and that his Hand ſhould never affirm what his Heart thought not.

This Prince, as he was no Coverer of his Thoughts, where he had juſt Cauſe of Diſlike, ſo would he alſo, to thoſe he truſted, acknowledge his Love to ſuch as he affected.

Of the titular Nobility of this Kingdom, upon Occaſion offered, he would expreſs himſelf beſt to love and eſteem ſuch as were moſt anciently deſcended, and moſt nobly and honeſtly diſpoſed, when, ſometimes alſo, he would not forbear, by Name, to particulate.

His Highneſs's Brother, our now Sovereign, then Duke of *York*, and his Siſter, ſince that Time Queen of *Bohemia*, he intirely loved; yet muſt I confeſs, at ſome Times, by a Kind of rough Play and Dalliance with the one, and a Semblance of contradicting the other, in what he diſcerned her to deſire, he took a Pleaſure in giving, both to the one and the other, ſome Cauſe in thoſe their ſo tender Years to make Proof of their Patiences.

To ſay the Truth, ſuch were both thoſe excellent Princes, their own rare Parts, and moſt ſweet Diſpoſitions, as, had there been none other Attractive of Blood or Nature, would to them have inforced his Love and beſt Affection.

He gave alſo, in the Adminiſtration and Government of his own particular Eſtate, much Preſage of what he would have become, if he had lived to poſſeſs the Diadem.

At ſuch Times as he attended the King, his Father, to Houſes of Remove, or in Progreſs, he would not endure that Carriages or Proviſions ſhould be taken for him, without full Contentment given to the Parties.

In Removes to his own Houſes, in like Manner.

Nay, ſo careful he was, that none by him, or any of his Train, ſhould be either prejudiced or annoyed; as, whenſoever he went a Hawking, before Harveſt ended, he would take Care that none ſhould paſs through the Corn; and, to give them Example, would himſelf ride rather a Furlong about, truly and judiciouſly conceiving, that, to Princes, there is no ſurer Fortreſs, than that of Hearts, and that, thoſe once had and ſettled, the reſt of what they poſſeſs is at their Commandment.

Of his Diſpoſition to Juſtice, he gave alſo, upon all Occaſions, much Proof and Demonſtration.

He would never either condemn or cenſure any Man unheard or undefended, retaining in his Memory that notable Example given to Princes by God himſelf, whoſe Divine Knowledge, both of Works and Thoughts, needing no Informers; yet, after *Adam*'s Fall, would neither cenſure him nor his *Eve*, without hearing what either of them could ſay in their own Defence.

This I could demonſtrate by divers Particulars, as alſo of his being miſericordious after Offence acknowledged, ſhould not a long Diſcourſe ſeem unproportionable to ſo ſhort a Life.

It is true, that he was of a high Mind, and knew well how to keep his Diſtance, which, indeed, he did to all, neither admitting a near or full Approach either to his Power or his Secrets.

He oftentimes proteſted, that neither Fancy, nor Flattery, ſhould move him to confer upon any a ſuperlative Place in his Favour, but he would, to the utmoſt of his Underſtanding, meaſure unto all, according to the Merit of their Services, as holding it not juſt to yield unto Affections, or rather ſecond Reſpects, that which is only due to Virtue and Deſervings.

That remunerative he was of Services, and conſiderative of thoſe that deſerved and needed:

A moſt memorable and inimitable Example he gave before his Death, having, to divers of his Servants, who longeſt had ſerved, and in whom he noted Want, given, by ſeveral Patents ſent unto them, Penſions during Life, to the Value of eleven or twelve-hundred Pounds a Year, and that without all Mediation and Intreaty by others, and, at a Time, when themſelves did leaſt expect it.

To conclude of this Prince, Did he not all Things well? The Fault is rather to be imputed to thoſe, that, in Years ſo unripe, by their Advice, ſhould have aſſiſted him, and lined out his Ways, than to any Want of Will, or religious and princely Diſpoſition in himſelf.

He was of a comely Perſonage, of indifferent Stature, well and ſtreight limbed, and ſtrongly proportioned, his Countenance and Aſpect inclining, in thoſe his young Years, to Gravity and Shew of Majeſty.

His Judgment ſo far beyond what his Age could promiſe, that it was truly admirable.

His Speech ſlow, and ſomewhat impedimented, rather, as I conceive, by Cuſtom, and a long Imitation of ſome that did firſt inſtruct him, than by any Defect in Nature, as appeared by much Amendment of the ſame.

After that he had been adviſed to a more often Exerciſe of it, by uſing at Home, amongſt his own Servants, firſt ſhort Diſcourſes, and after longer, as he ſhould find himſelf inabled.

Yet would he oftentimes ſay of himſelf, that he had the moſt unſerviceable Tongue of any Man living.

Towards the latter Part of his Time, ſo well became foreign Princes, by their Ambaſſadors, informed of his rare Parts, as the Adverſe to this Kingdom began to fear and redoubt him, and the well Affected, and Confederated, to love and entertain great Hopes of him.

But God ſeeing it good to beſtow another Crown upon him, excelling all that on Earth was to be had or hoped:

After ſome five Day's Sickneſs endured with Patience, and as often Recognition of his Faith, his Hopes, and his Appeals, to God's Mercy, as his Infirmity, which afflicted him altogether in his Head, would poſſibly permit:

He yielded up the Ghoſt at St. *James*'s, next *Weſtminſter*, and was interred at *Weſtminſter*, where his Body now reſteth.

I wiſh it were in my Power to raiſe ſuch a Monument unto his Fame, as might eterniſe it unto all Poſterities.

The Examinations of *Henry Barrowe*, *John Grenewood*, and *John Penrie*, before the High Commiſſioners, and Lordes of the Counſel. Penned by the Priſoners themſelues before their Deathes.

Ther is nothing couered, that ſhal not be reueiled; neither hid, that ſhal not be knowen. Luke xii. 2.

For euery Worke God himſelf wil bring unto Iudgement, with euery ſecret Thing, whither good or euil. Eccles. ii. 14.

Printed 1586. *Quarto, Black Letter,* containing thirty-two Pages.

THE *Teſtimonis and Sufferings of the Priſoners, whoſe Examinations here enſue, cannot eaſilie, gentle Reader, be forgotten of any, whoſe Harte is touched with Care of Religion, and Zeale of the Truth. How weightie the Cauſes were, for which they ſuffered, may appear partlie by that which foloweth; but, cheefly, by other Writinges and Bookes, by themſelues ſet out heretofore. Here haſt thow the Maner of the Prelates Proceding againſt them, and how they were conuicted of theyr Browniſme, Donatiſme, Anabaptiſtrie, Sciſme, Hereſie,* &c. *wherewith they were charged, and for which they were ſo many Yeeres kept in miſerable cloſe Priſons, and, at laſt, bereaued of their Liues. Sure, whoſoeuer had bene the Perſons, and whatſoeuer the Errours, it would wel haue become the Lord Archbiſhope of the Church of* England *to haue better inſtructed and informed them, by the Word of Truth and wholſome Doctrine, before they had bene adiudged to Priſon and Death,* 2 Tim. ii. 24, 25, *and* iv. 2 Tit. ii. 1. *Or, if* Pauls *Counſel could not take Effect, yet* Pilates *Example might haue ſtayed ſuch Courſes, who examined our Lord Chriſtes Accuſers, and found them falſe, and neuer ſent him to cloſe Priſon, for refuſing to ſweare to accuſe himſelf,* Mat. xxvii. Luk. xxiii. Ioh. xviii. *Neither yet did the late Prelates, in Queene* Maries *Dayes, vſe altogether ſuch Seueritie; for* Bonner *himſelf, with the other Tyrants of that Time, had often Conference and Diſputation with the Martyrs, and ſought, by Scriptures, to haue ouerthrowen them, if they could. Euil, therefore, haue our Biſhops prouided for their Cauſe and Credit, ſo ſlightly to deale in Matters of ſuch Moment, and to proceed to ſuch ſeuere Tortures, before more open and orderly Conuiction of the Faultes and Errours. For now al Poſterities ſhal ſee their Practiſes; and though they haue ſpilt the Blood of thoſe Men, which vexed them ſo ſore, yet can they not bereaue the World of their Teſtimonie, which, by Word and Writing, they haue left behinde them. The Lord giue theſe Men, if they belong*

belong unto him, to advert and ſee their Dealinges, and to remember the Account, which they, ere long, ſhal be called unto, before him who is ready to iudge quick and dead. The Publiſhing of theſe Thinges cannot iuſtly be offenſive to any, ſeeing, firſt, *nothing is here ſet downe, but that which was then demaunded, and anſwered, as neere as the Priſoners could remember.* Secondlie, *And they, which haue themſelues ſet forth the Examinations of Martyrs heretofore, may not be greeued now, when theyr owne Turne is come, and theyr Proceedinges made known likewiſe ; they, which doe wel, need not ſhunne the Light. How euer it be, the Church of God, I doubt not, ſhal reap ſome Profit hereby ; for which, how ſmal ſo euer it be, let him haue the Praiſe.* Amen.

A Brief of the Examination of me Henry Barrowe, *the Nineteenth of* Nouember, 1586 ; *before the Arch Biſhope, Arch Deacon, and Dr.* Cuſſins, *as neere as my Memorie could cary, being at* Lambeth.

THIS 19. being the Lords Day, betwene [illegible] and 10 of the Clock in the Forenoone, Mr. *Hul* and I went vnto the *Clinke*, to viſit Mr. *Grenewood*, and the other Brethren there empriſoned ; where we had not bene the Space of one Quarter of an Howre, but Mr. *Shepherd*, the Keeper of the Priſon, came vp, rebuked Mr. *Grenewood*, and ſtayed me, ſaying, he had Commandement from his Lords Grace ſo to do. I demanded a Sight of his Warrant ; he anſwered, that he would doe it, and I might afterward, if I were wronged, bring mine Action. So he locked me vp in Priſon, and forthwith went to his Lords Grace to *Lambeth*. About one of the Clock he returned, and brought with him two Purſuvantes ; I was forthwith put into a Boat, and caried to *Lambeth*. By the Way, one of the Purſuvantes, called *Watſon*, drew out of his Boſome a Letter from the Court of *Lambeth* unto me, ſaying, how he had a long Time ſought me. I told him, his Paynes deſerved Thanks, neither at Gods Handes nor mine ; I refuſed his Letter, and ſaid, that I obeyed neither it nor him, neither would I read it, ſhewing how I was vnder the Arreſt of the Keeper of the *Clinke*, who ſate by me. Wel, we arrived at *Lambeth*, wher, after I had peruſed the Biſhope his State, I was brought into his Preſence Chamber, yet not vntil this *Watſon* had prevented me, and ſhewed his Maiſter what had paſſed in the Boat.

Arch B. Barrowe, is your Name *Barrowe* ?

Bar. Yea.

Arch. It is told me, that yow refuſe to receiue or obey our Letter, know yow what yow doe ? It is from the High Commiſſioners, and this Man a Purſuvant.

Bar. I refuſed to receive or obey that Letter at that Time.

Arch. Why ſo ?

Bar. Becauſe I was vnder Arreſt, and impriſoned without Warrant, and againſt Law ; and, therefore, now it was too late to bring the Letter.

Arch. Why, may not a Counſellor commit to Priſon by his bare Commandement ? (alledging how the Aldermen of *London* do daily.)

Bar. That is not the Queſtion, what a Counſellor may doe ; but whither this Man may doe it without Warrant, by the Law of the Land (pointing to the Keeper of the *Clinke.)*

Arch. Know yow the Law of the Land ?

Bar. Uery litle, yet was I of *Grayes Inne* ſome Yeares. (Then his two Doctours and he derided mine Vnſkilfulnes.) Let this paſſe, I look for litle Help by Law againſt yow : I pray yow, why haue you impriſoned me, and after this Manner ſent for me ?

Arch. That yow ſhal know vpon your Oath ; Will you ſweare ?

Bar. I hold it lawful to ſweare, ſo it be done with due Order and Circumſtances.

Arch. Reach a Book, hold it him.

Bar. What ſhal we doe with this ?

Arch. Lay your Hand vpon it, Man.

Bar. To what Purpoſe ?

Arch. To ſweare.

Bar. I vſe to ſweare by no Bookes.

Arch. You ſhal not ſweare by the Book, but by God onely.

Bar. So I purpoſe when I ſweare.

Cuſſins. Did yow neuer take an Oath at an Aſſiſe before the Iudges there ?

Bar. No.

Cuſ. But would yow refuſe there to lay yowr Hand on a Book and ſweare ?

Bar. Yea.

Cuſ. Then would your Teſtimony not be taken.

Arch. Why, Man, the Book is no Part of the Oath, it is but a Ceremonie.

Bar. A needleſſe and wicked Ceremonie.

Arch. Why know yow what yow ſay? Know yow what Book it is ? It is the Bible.

Bar. I wil ſweare by no Bible.

Cuſ. Sciſmaticks are clamorous alwayes, it is a perpetual Note to know them by.

Arch. Mr. Dr. *Cuſſins* ſaith true, ſuch were the Donatiſtes alwayes in the Counſels, and ſuch art thow, and all other Sciſmaticks ſuch as thow art.

Bar. Say yowr Pleaſure, God forgiue yow; I am neither ſciſmatick nor clamourous: I anſwer but yowr Demandes, if yow wil, I wil be ſilent.

Arch. Wel, wil yow lay yowr Hand on the Bible and take an Oath ?

Bar. I vſe to ioyne no Creatures to the Name of God in an Oath.

Arch. Neither ſhal yow, this is but a Cuſtome commanded by Law.

Bar. The Law ought not to commaund a wicked Cuſtome.

Arch. Why, is it not lawful to lay your Hand on a Book ?

Bar. Yes, but not in an Oath.

Arch. Wil yow lay your Hand in my Hand, and ſweare ?

Bar. No.

Arch. Wil yow lay your Hand on that Table, and ſweare ?

Bar. No.

Arch. Wil yow hold vp your Hand towards Heauen, and ſweare ?

Bar. That is not amiſſe, but I wil vſe my Libertie.

Arch. Why, yow hold it lawful to lay yowr Hand on the Table and ſweare !

Bar. Yea, ſo it be not commanded, and made of Neceſſitie.

Arch. Why, the Booke is the like : It is nothing of the Othe, but a Thing indifferent.

Bar. If it be nothing of the Othe, why doe yow ſo peremptorilie inioyne it ? And if it be indifferent, as yow ſay it is, then doe I wel in not vſing it.

Arch. Nay, yow doe not wel in refuſing it, for therin yow ſhew yowr ſelf diſobedient to the higher Powers, ſet over yow by God.

Bar. Euen now yow ſaid, it was a Thing indifferent; if it be ſo, ther is no Power can bring me in Bondage to my Libertie.

Arch. Where finde yow that ?

Bar. In S. *Paul*, 1 *Cor.* The Arch Biſhope, Archdeacon, Dr. *Cuſſins*, al denied it; I affirmed it. A litle Teſtament, in *Greek* and *Latine*, was brought me, and a Bible. I looked for the Place, but could not finde it: Great Fault was in my Memorie; for I looked in the x. Chapter, neither, indeed, could I bethinke me where to finde it, they ſo interrupted me.

Arch. Yowr Devinitie is like yowr Law.

Bar. The Word of God is not the worſe for my il Memorie.

Arch. Yow ſpeak not as yow thinck, for yow are prowd.

Bar. I have ſmal Cauſe to be prowd of my Memorie, yow ſee the Default of it, but the Apoſtle ſaith it. Againe they al denyed it. Yow then haue no Cauſe to condemne my Memorie, ſeing yow al haue vtterly forgotten this Sayeng. Then repeated I the Words: *Al Thinges are lawful for me, but I wil not be brought in Bondage to my Libertie.* Then they recited, *Rom.* xiv. and 1 *Cor.* viij. *Al Thinges are lawful for me, but al Thinges are not expedient.* I ſaid, I meant not that Place.

Arch. I would like it wel, if yow cited your Place in *Greek* or *Latine.*

Bar. Why yow vnderſtand *Engliſh*: Is not the Word of God in *Engliſh*? Then *Cuſſin* began to ſpeak of *indefinita propoſitio*, but, wherevpon, I cannot cal to Remembrance. I told him, we were now about the new Teſtament; it might be, if he had aſked me that Queſtion when I knew him in *Cambridge*, I ſhould then haue anſwered him. He forthwith called to Remembrance of what Howſe I was.

Arch. Were yow then of *Cambridge* ?

Bar. Yea, I knew yow there. He ſaid he was there before I was borne. I ſaid it might be. Then he entred into Diſcourſe of his

Antiquitie. Then he aſked me if I had read Books, as *Calvin*, *Beza*, &c. I anſwered, that I had read more then ynough; but yet I know not why I am empriſoned.

Arch. It is reported, that yow come not to Church, are diſobedeent to her Maieſtie, and ſay that ther is not a true Church in *England.* What ſay yow, haue yow, at any Time, ſaid thus?

Bar. Theſe are Reportes; when yow produce your Teſtimonie, I wil anſwer.

Arch. But I wil better beleeue yow, vpon yowr Oath, then them; how ſay yow, Wil you ſweare?

Bar. I wil know what I ſweare to, before I ſweare.

Arch. Firſt ſweare; and then, if any Thing be vnlawfully demaunded, yow ſhal not anſwer.

Bar. I haue not learned ſo to ſweare, I wil firſt know, and conſider of the Matter, before I take an Oath. Thus many Thinges being alleaged to and fro by vs, the Arch Biſhope commaunded *Cuſſin* to recorde, that I refuſed to ſweare vpon a Book.

Bar. Yea, and ſet downe alſo, that I wil not ſweare thus at random; but firſt I wil know and conſider of the Thinges I ſweare vnto, whither they require an Oath.

Arch. Wel, when were yow at Church?

Bar. That is nothing to yow.

Arch. Yow are a Sciſmatick, a Recuſant, a ſeditious Perſon, *&c.* with many ſuch like.

Bar. Say what yow liſt of me, I freelie forgiue yow.

Arch. I care not for yowr Forgiuenes.

Bar. But, if yow offend me, yow ought to ſeek it, while yow are in the Way with me.

Arch. When were yow at Church?

Bar. I haue anſwered that in an other Place, it belongeth not to yow.

Arch. Why, are you indited?

Bar. I am.

Arch. Yet belongeth it to vs; I wil not onely medle with yow, but arraigne yow as an Hereticke before me.

Bar. Yow ſhal doe no more then God wil: Erre I may, but Hereticke wil I neuer be.

Arch. Wil yow come to Church hereafter?

Bar. Future Thinges are in the Lords Handes; if I doe not, yow haue a Law.

Arch. Haue yow ſpoken theſe Wordes of the Church of *England*?

Bar. When yow produce your Witneſſe, I wil anſwer.

Arch. But, vpon your Oath, I will beleeue yow.

Bar. But I wil not accuſe my ſelf. Then began he againe to charge me with Sciſme, Sedition, Hereſie.

Bar. Yow are lawleſſe; I had rather yow produced yowr Witneſſe.

Arch. Of what Occupation are yow?

Bar. A Chriſtian.

Arch. So are we al.

Bar. I deny that.

Arch. But are yow a Miniſter?

Bar. No.

Arch. A Scholemaiſter?

Bar. No.

Arch. What then, of no Trade of Life?

Bar. In yowr Letter, yow know my Trade in the Superſcription.

Arch. Yow are then a Gentleman?

Bar. After the Manner of our Countrie, a Gentleman.

Arch. Serue yow any Man?

Bar. No, I am Gods Freeman.

Arch. Haue yow Landes?

Bar. No, nor Fees.

Arch. How liue yow?

Bar. By Gods Goodnes, and my Freinds.

Arch. Haue yow a Father aliue?

Bar. Yea.

Arch. Wher dwelleth he, in *Norffolke*?

Bar. Yea.

Arch. Where dwel yow, in *London*?

Bar. No.

Arch. Wel, can yow finde ſufficient Suretie for your good Behaiuour?

Bar. Yea, as ſufficient as yow can take.

Arch. What, yow cannot haue the Queene?

Bar. Neither can yow take her; ſhe is the Iudge of her Law, yet, for my good Behauiour, I ſuppoſe I could get her Word.

Arch. Doth ſhe know yow then?

Bar. I know her.

Arch. Els were it Pitie of your Life.

Bar. Not ſo.

Arch. Can yow haue any of theſe, that came with yow, to be bound for yow?

Bar. I know not, I thinke I can.

Arch. What know yow them not?

Bar. I know one of them.

Arch. What is he?

Bar. A Gentleman of *Graies-ynne*.

Arch. What cal yow him?

Bar. *Lacie.*

Arch. But know yow what Bonde yow ſhould enter; yow are bound, hereby, to frequent our Churches.

Bar. I vnderſtand yow of my good Behauiour.

Arch. And in it is this conteyned; and ſo yow had forfeyted your Bonde at the firſt.

Bar. Wel, now I know your Minde, I wil enter no ſuch Bonde.

Arch. Wil yow enter Bonde to appeare on *Tueſday* next at our Court, and ſo on *Thurſday*, if yow be not called, and be bound not to depart, vntil yow be diſmiſſed by Order of our Court?

Bar. No.

Arch. Then I wil ſend yow to Priſon. Then called he *Watſon*, the Purſuvant, and Dr. *Cuſſins*, a part into a Windowe, where he made a Warrant to ſend me to Priſon.

Bar. Yow ſhal not touch one Haire of my Head, without the Wil of my heauenly Father.

Arch. Nay, I wil doe this to rectifie yow.

Bar. Conſider what yow doe, yow ſhal one Day anſwer it.

Arch. Yow wil not ſweare; yow wil not enter Bonde for your Appearance.

Bar. I wil put in Bonde for my Baile in the Priſon, and for my true Impriſonment.

Arch. Nay, that wil not ſerue the Turne. Mr. Doctor, enter theſe Thinges. Then *Cuſſins* wrote, that I refuſed to ſweare, and enter Bonde.

Bar. I wil ſend ſome to yow to conferre.

Arch. That were more requiſite before my Impriſonment. So the Arch Biſhope delivered me to the Purſuvant, to carie me to the *Gatehowſe*, where I as yet remayne, neither knowing the Cauſe of my Impriſonment, neither haue I as yet heard from him.

I was no ſooner out of his Howſe, but I remembred the Place in Controverſie, it is written, 1 *Cor.* vi. 12. *Al Thinges are lawful for me, but al Thinges are not profitable; I may doe al Thinges, but I will not be brought vnder the Power of any Thing.*

The Lord knoweth to deliver the Godly out of Tentation, and to reſerve the Vniuſt vnto the Day of Judgement vnder Puniſhment.

The 27. of *November*, 8. Daies after I was committed by *Cant.* to the *Gatehowſe*: I was ſent for by one of his Servantes, to make Appearance before the high Commiſſioners at *Lambeth*; whither he and my Keepers Man *Nicholas* caried me. There I found a very great Traine without, but within a goodlie Synode of Biſhops, Deans, Civilians, *&c.* beſide ſuch an Appearance of well-fedde ſilken Prieſtes, as I ſuppoſe might wel haue beſeemed the *Uaticane*; where after to my no ſmal Grief I had heard a Scholemaiſter deny his Maiſter Chriſt, I was called.

Canterburie, with a grimme and an angrie Countenance beholding me, made Diſcourſe how I refuſed to ſweare on a Book, *&c.* as fel out in our firſt Meeting; and demaunded whither I were now better adviſed, and would ſweare. I anſwered, that I would not refuſe to ſweare vpon due Occaſion and Circumſtances.

Cant. Wil yow then now ſweare?

Bar. I muſt firſt know to what.

Cant. So yow ſhal afterward.

Bar. I wil not ſweare, vnleſſe I know before.

Cant. Wel I wil thus far ſatiſfie your Humour. *London* began to interrupt, but *Canterburie* cut him of, and produced a Paper of Objections againſt me, which he delivered to one *Beadle* to read. It conteyned much Matter, and many Suggeſtions againſt me, diſorderly framed according to the malitious Humour of mine Accuſer, as, That I denyed God to haue a true Church in *England*; and to prove this, the four principle Cauſes framed in Way of Argument, as, The Worſhip of God with vs is Idolatrie; *ergo*, no true Church. They haue an Antichriſtian and idolatrous Miniſterie; *ergo* no true Church, ffurther he ſaith, that the Reverend Father in God, my Lords Grace of *Canterbury*, and al the Biſhops of the Land, are Antichriſtes. Further he ſaith, that all the Miniſters in the Land are Theeues and Murtherers, and ſecret Hypocrites, and that al the Preachers of the Land are Hirelinges. That Mr. *Wiggington* and *Cartwright* ſtraine at a Gnat, and ſwallow a Camel. Further, he condemneth all Writers, as *Calvin*, *Beza.* &c. and ſaith, that al Catechiſmes are idolatrous, and not to be vſed. The Reaſons to theſe were vntrulie and diſorderley ſet downe accordingly in the Bil, which I cannot rehearſe.

Lond. How ſay yow, Mr. Deane of *Pauls*, here is for yow, yow haue written a Catechiſme?

Cant. This Fellow deales indifferently, he makes vs al alike. Thus far haue I ſatiſfied yow; now yow know what yow ſhal ſweare vnto; how ſay yow, wil yow ſweare now?

Lond. My Lordes Grace doth not ſhew this Favour to many.

Cant. Fetch a Book.

Bar. It is needles.

Cant. Why, wil yow not ſweare now?

Bar. An Oath is a Matter of great Importance, and requireth great Conſideration. But I wil anſwer yow truly, Much of the Matter of this Bil is true, but the Forme is falſe.

Cant. Goe to, Sirra, anſwer directlie, Wil yow ſweare? Reach him a Book.

Bar. Ther is more Cauſe to ſweare mine Accuſer: I will not ſweare.

Cant. Where is his Keeper? Yow ſhal not prattle here, away with him; clap him vp cloſe, cloſe, let no Man come at him: I will make him tel an other Tale, yer I haue done with him.

Ther was an Article againſt me in the Bil, for ſaying that I thought Elders were Biſſhops, and *Philip.* i. 1. produced; here by I plainly diſcouer mine Accuſer to be *Thornelie* of *Norwich* with whom I had Communication at *Ware*, as I rode to *London*, and never talked with any other about this Matter.

The Effect, and ſo neere as my fraile Memorie could cary away, the very Wordes of ſuch Interrogatories and Anſwers as were demanded of, and made by me *Henry Barrowe*, before certeyne Commiſſioners ther vnto eſpecially appointed by her Maieſtie; namely the two Lord Cheef Iuſtices, the Maiſter of the Rolles, the Lord Cheef Baron, and another Baron of the *Exchequor*, I think Baron *Gente*; togither with the Archbiſhop of *Canterburie*, the Biſhop of *London*, the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, certaine of their Chancellors and Civil Doctors with their Regiſters and Scribes. The 24. of *March.*

I being brought before the Archbiſhop of *Cant.* he made knowne vnto me that they were authoriſed by her Maieſtie to examine me vpon my Oath vpon certaine Interrogatories, and therfore called for a Booke; ther was brought a great Bible in *Folio* faire bound, which the Archbiſhop refuſed, and called for an other, which was held to me by one of his Men, and I commaunded to lay my Hand vpon it.

Bar. To what Ende?

Cant. To ſweare.

Bar. I haue not learned to ſweare by any Creatures.

Cant. This is the Word of God, the Bible.

Bar. I began to open the Book, and meant in deed to haue aſked him, if the *Apocrypha* Scripture, and Notes which were in it, were the Word of God; but *Cant.* belike ſuſpecting ſome ſuch Matter, would not ſuffer me to look into it; to whom then I anſwered that that Book was not the eternal Word of God, that eternal God himſelf, by whom onely I muſt ſweare, and not by any Bookes or Bibles.

Cant. So yow ſhal ſweare by God.

Bar. To what Purpoſe then is this Booke vrged? I may ſweare by nothing beſides him, nor by nothing with him.

Winch. How proue yow that?

Bar. It is ſo commanded in the Book of the Law, *Deut.* Chapt. vi. and 13. ſo expounded by ſundrie of the Prophets, by Chriſt himſelf and his Apoſtles.

Cant. Wel wil yow ſweare that yow wil anſwer nothing but the Truth, and the whole Truth, to ſuch Interrogatories as we ſhall demaund of yow?

Bar. I haue learned to know the Matter before I either ſweare or anſwere.

Cant. Set downe that he will not ſweare.

L. C. Iuſt. Yow ſhal onely ſweare to anſwer the Truth, if any vnlawful Thing be demaunded of yow, yow need not anſwere.

Bar. My Lord, euery Truth requireth not an Oath, ther muſt great Regard and Reverence be vſed in an Oath, and an Oath for Confirmation ought to be the Ende of al Strife: My Lord, if I ſhould erre, and deliuer it vpon mine Oath for Truth, it were a double Sinne; likewiſe if I ſhould eyther not know, not remember, or not vtter the whole Truth, I were by ſuch a raſh Oath forſworne: But by Gods Grace I wil anſwere nothing but the Truth.

Cant. A Chriſtian Mans Word ought to be as true as his Oath, we wil proceed with yow without your Oath, and taking a Paper of Interrogatories in his Hand, ſaid, what ſay yow to this? Is it lawful to ſay the *Pater noſter* publickly in the Church, or privately, as a Prayer or no?

Bar. I know not what yow meane by your *Pater noſter*, vnleſſe, peradventure, that Forme for Prayer which our Sauiour Chriſt taught his Diſciples, commonly called the Lordes Prayer.

Cant. I ſo meane. Then commanded he the firſt Queſtion to be thus written.

Queſt. 1. Whither he thinketh the Lordes Prayer may publickly in the Church, or privatly be vſed as a Prayer or no? (When I had expreſſed my Mind, the Archbiſhop commaunded it ſhould be recorded; but I deſired the Iudges that I might with my owne Hande write my owne Anſwers, which was graunted me.) My Anſwer then to the firſt Queſtion was:

Anſw. It is to be vſed to that Ende for which it was giuen by our Sauiour Chriſt to his Diſciples, as a ſummarie Ground-worke or Foundation of al faithful Prayers, wherby to inſtruct and aſſure their Conſciences, that their Petitions are according to the Wil and Glory of God: But that theſe preſcript Words are inioyned, or that Chriſt or his Apoſtles euer vſed them as or in their Prayer, I find not in the Scripture. Moreouer, I ſee not how it can be vſed as a Prayer, ſeeing that our particuler Wantes, and preſent Occaſions and Neceſſities, are not therin expreſſed. And therfore I think it not to be vſed as a Prayer. (Heere the Archbiſhop cried out for Breuitie, and would not ſuffer me to anſwer any more Queſtions at large.)

Queſt. 2. Whither he thinketh that any Leitourgies, or preſcript Formes of Prayer, may be impoſed vpon the Church; and whither al read and ſtinted Prayers be mere Babling in Gods Sight.

Anſw. I find in the Worde of God no ſuch Authoritie given to any Man, neither ſuch ſtinted Leitourgies preſcribed or vſed in the primitiue Churches; and therfore hold it high Preſumtion to impoſe any one deuiſed *Apocrypha* Praier vpon the Church.

Queſt. 3. Whither he thinketh that the Common Praiers, commaunded by the publick Authoritie of this Land, be Idolatrous, Superſtitious, and Popiſh?

Anſw. I thinke that this Book of Common Prayer, publickly inioyned and received in the Aſſemblies of this Land, is wel nigh altogither Idolatrous, Superſtitious, and Popiſh.

Queſt. 4. Whither he thinketh that the Sacramentes, which are publickly adminiſtred in the Church of *England*, be true Sacramentes or no?

Anſw. I thinke that the Sacramentes, as they are miniſtred in theſe publick Aſſemblies, are not true Sacramentes; and ſeal not the Fauour and Bleſſing of God unto them.

Queſt. 5. Whither he thinketh that the Lawes and Gouernment of the Church of *England*, now by Authoritie eſtabliſhed, be vnlawful and Antichriſtian, or no?

Anſw. Becauſe the Lawes, Decrees, and Canons of your Church are ſo many and infinite, I can not judge of them al, becauſe I know not al; but this I ſay, that many of them, as alſo your Eccleſiaſtical Courtes and Gouernours, are unlawful and Antichriſtian.

Queſt. 6. Whither he thinketh that ſuch as haue bene baptiſed in the Church of *England*, ſince Queene *Eliſabethes* Reigne, haue bene rightly baptiſed, or ought to be baptiſed againe?

Anſw. I thinke as before of your Sacramentes, that they haue not bene rightly baptiſed, according to the Inſtitution of Chriſt: Yet that they need not, neither ought to be baptiſed againe. (I doubt, leaſt the Archbiſhop hearing my Anſwer of rebaptiſing, cauſed it to be left out of the Queſtion, and my Anſwer, taking that which might beſt ſerue their owne Turne, to bring vs into Suſpicion of Error, and Hatred. Herevnto many Speeches ariſing of the true and falſe Sacramentes, Miniſterie, Gouernment, as alſo of the true and *falſe* Church: I ſhewed that the *falſe* Church had alſo her Sacramentes, Miniſterie, Gouernment, though not aright. Then Iudge *Anderſon* cauſed this Queſtion to be moued to me:

Queſt. 7. Whither the Church of *England*, as it ſtandeth now eſtabliſhed, be the true eſtabliſhed Church of Chriſt; and whither the People therin be the true and faithful People of God, or no?

Anſw. I thinke that theſe Pariſh Aſſemblies, as they ſtand generally in *England*, are not the true eſtabliſhed Churches of Chriſt; and that the People, as they now ſtand in Diſorder and Confuſion in them, are not to be held the true and faithful People of Chriſt. Here the Iudge *Anderſon* took Exception (as the Biſhop of *London* alſo) at theſe Wordes (Pariſh Aſſemblies.) I anſwered the Iudge, that I could not for ſome weightie Reſpectes ſpare him that Word; for I doubted not, but that the Lord had many pretious and elect Veſſels among them, whom he wil in his good Time cal forth, whom it became not me abſolutely to judge, leaſt I ſhould enter into Gods Seat: Yet I could not, in the mean Time, whiles they ſtand Members of theſe Aſſemblies, count them faithful. To the Biſhope I ſaid, that when they ſhould better conſider of mine Anſwer, they ſhould haue leſſe Cauſe to finde Fault. Much Trouble we had before we could agree of the State and Wordes of their Queſtions, with Putting out and Changing, which Diſcourſes it is not my Purpoſe here to ſet downe, ſo much as the Queſtions and Anſwers agreed vpon and recorded; although for ſome Cauſes knowne to myſelfe, and to ſome of their Conſciences, which may hereafter be knowne to al the World, I thought it not impertinent to inſert this.

Queſt. 8. Whither he thinketh the Queenes Maieſtie be ſupreme Gouernour of the Church; and whither ſhe may make Lawes for the Church, which are not contrary to the Worde of God, or no?

Anſw. I thinke the Queenes Maieſtie ſupreme Gouernour of the whole Land, and ouer the Church alſo, Bodies and Goods; but I thinke that no Prince, neither the whole World, neither the Church it ſelf, may make any Lawes for the Church, other than Chriſt hath already left in his Worde. Yet I thinke it the Dutie of euery Chriſtian, and principally of the Prince, to enquire out and renue the Lawes of God, and ſtir up al their Subiectes to more diligent and careful Keeping of the ſame. As we had much a-doe to come to the State of this Queſtion, ſo the Biſhopes ſhewed themſelues euil ſatisfied with my Anſwer, and ſaid, that the Papiſtes dealt more ſimply then I did; and ſurely they very greevouſlie interrupted me with Slanders, euil Speeches and Blaſphemies, during the Time of my writing theſe Anſwers, eſpecially the Biſhope of *London*; ſo that I was euen inforced ſometime to turne unto him, and ſhew him of his ſhameleſs Vntruthes and Slanders. The Cheef Iuſtice of *Englande* here ſaide, that he thought I anſwered uery directly and compendiouſly. Here again, vpon ſome Speech that aroſe, the Iudge *Anderſon* aſked me, Whither I thought it lawful to hang a Theef or no? I anſwered, that ther were many Kinde of Theeues, as ſacrilegious Theeues, Men-ſtealers, *&c.* that theſe ought by the Lawes of God to die. Then, he ſaid, he meant ordinary Theeues of Goodes and Chattels. I ſaide, that God in the Law had ordeyned an other Kinde of Puniſhment for ſuch; whervpon the Biſhope framed this Queſtion.

Queſt. 9. Whither it be lawful for the Prince to alter the Iudicial Lawe of *Moſes*, according to the State of her Countrie and Pollicie, or no?

Anſw. I ought to be wiſe in Sobrietie, and not to anſwer more then I know. Great Doubt and Controverſie hath bene about this Queſtion a long Time, but, for my Part, I cannot ſeed that any more of the Iudicial Lawe was or can be abrogated by any mortal Man or Countrie, vpon what Occaſion ſoeuer, then belonged to the Ceremonial Lawe and Worſhip of the Temple, for which we haue receiued other Lawes and Worſhip in Chriſtes Teſtament; but that the Iudgementes, due and ſet downe by God for the Tranſgreſſion of the Moral Law, cannot be changed or altered, without Iniury to the Moral Lawe and God himſelf. Yet this, as al my other Anſwers by Proteſtation, that, if any Man can better inſtruct me therin by the Word of God, I am alwayes ready to change my Minde. Wherupon the Cheef Iuſtice of *Englande* ſaide, I ſpake wel; and therfore ſaid, if I were in Doubt, mine Anſwer ought not to be taken. I ſaid, I doubted not, but had ſet downe my Minde. Yet the Biſhopes, becauſe my Anſwer fitted not their Turnes, as I think, commaunded the Queſtion and Anſwer to be blotted out.

Queſt. 10. Whither he thinketh that any priuate Man may take vpon him to reforme, if the Prince wil not, or neglect? (I aſked, whither they meant of a publick Reformation of the State, or of a priuate or perſonal Reformation of himſelf and his Family: it was ſaide, of a publick Reformation.)

Anſw. I thinke that no Man may intermedle with the Princes Office, without lawful Calling thervnto; and therfore it is vtterly vnlawful for any priuate Man to reforme the State, without his good Liking and Licenſe, becauſe the Prince ſhal account for the Defaultes of his publick Gouernment, and not priuate Men, ſo they be not guiltie with the Prince in his Offences, but abſteine and keep themſelues pure from doing or conſenting to any vnlawful Thing commaunded by the Prince, which they muſt doe, as they tender their owne Saluation.

Queſt. 11. Whither he thinketh that euery Pariſh, or particuler Church, ought to haue a Preſbyterie ?

Anſw. The holy Gouernment of Chriſt belongeth not to the Prophane or Unbeleeuing, neither can it, without manifeſt Sacrilege, be ſet ouer theſe Pariſhes, as they now ſtande in Confuſion, no Difference made betwixt the Faithful and Vnbeleeuing) al being indifferently receiued into the Body of the Church ; but ouer euery particuler Congregation of Chriſt ther ought to be an Elderſhip, and euery ſuch Congregation ought, to their vttermoſt Power, to endeuour thervnto. Now was I diſmiſſed, and committed againe to my Keeper, with ſtreight Charge that no Man might ſpeak to me. During this Time, others of my Brethren were examined; which being done, was called for in vnto them, where *Canterburie* ; ſhewed me the Statute of Supremacie, and aſked me, if I would take an Oath according to the ſame. I ſaide, that in that Forme I could not, neither could I ſweare to ſuch Succeſſors as I knew not; but to her Maieſtie, I acknowledged her Authoritie, as I had expreſſed in my Article, and proteſted my Life, in Defence of her Perſon, Prerogatiue, and Dignitie, loyally againſt al forreine and domeſtical Enemies, whither ſpiritual or temporal. The Archbiſhope ſaide, that the Papiſtes made a better and more dutiful Oath then this. I ſaid it was not true, they denyed not, neither defied the Pope; but I was ready to giue and performe as much unto my Prince as any true Subiect ought to doe. He aſked me againe, Whither the Church of Chriſt (if the Prince deny or refuſe to neglect Abuſes) may, without ſtaying for the Prince, reforme them? I ſaide, that it might and ought, though al the Princes of the World ſhould prohibit the ſame vpon Paine of Death. He aſked me againe, Whither the Church of Chriſt might excommunicate the Prince, and who ſhould pronounce it? I ſaid, that Sin, obſtinatly ſtood in, did excommunicate, and that the Church ought to have Iudgement ready againſt euery Tranſgreſſion, without Reſpect of Perſons, and that the Paſtor of the Church ought to pronounce it; and alleaged, that Excommunication was giuen vnto the Church, as the onely and laſt Remedie for the Saluation of the Partie in ſuch Caſes, and that the Neglect therof was both the Neglect of Gods Iudgementes, their Dutie, and the Princes Saluation; and that they might as wel take away al Admonitions and Reprehenſions from Princes, and ſo Princes were in a moſt miſerable Caſe.

Theſe, my Anſwers, were not written with mine owne Hand, but by the Regiſter: And ſo was I ſent againe with more Commaundementes, yet to keep me more ſtreightly. I requeſted at both Times a Copy of my Anſwers, but the Archbiſhope denyed it me.

Vpon the 18. Day of the 3. Moneth, I *Henry Barrowe*, cloſe Priſoner in the *Fleet*, was ſent for in al Poſt-haſt, by one *Ragland*, a Gentleman of the Lord Chancellors, to his Lordes Chamber at the Court at *White-hall* ; wher being arrived, I found, in a withdrawing Chamber, 12. of the Brethren, among a great Number of other Attendantes, with whom I could not haue any one Word: But, after that *Ragland* had ſignified my Coming, I was forthwith ſent for into that Chamber, where ſate at the Boord the Archbiſhope in his *Pontificalibus*, the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Treaſurer, the Lord *Buckhurſt*, the Biſhope of *London* in his *Pontificalibus :* At the lower Ende of the Chamber ſtood Dr. *Some*, Juſtice *Young*, and others.

Being kneeled downe at the Ende of the Table, the Lord Treaſurer began, and aſked me my Name; which, when I had told him, he aſked me, if I had not bene ſometime of the Court: I anſwered, that I had ſometime frequented the Court: He ſaide, he remembred me not.

L. Treaſ. Why are yow in Priſon, *Barrowe ?*

Bar. I am in Priſon, my Lord, upon the Statute made for Recuſantes.

L. Treaſ. Why wil yow not goe to Church ?

Bar. My whole Deſire is to come to the Church of God.

L. Treaſ. Thow art a fantaſtical Fellow, I ſee, but why not to our Churches ?

Bar. My Lord, the Cauſes are great and many, it were too long to ſhew them in particuler; but briefly, my Lord, I cannot come to your Church, becauſe al the Profane and Wicked of the Lande are receiued into the Body of your Church. 2. Yow haue a falſe and antichriſtian Miniſtery ſet ouer your Church. 3. Neither worſhip yow God aright, but after an idolatrous and ſuperſtitious Manner. 4. And your Church is not gouerned by Chriſtes Teſtament,

ment, but by the *Romiſh* Courtes and Canons, *&c.*

L. Treaſ. Here is Matter ynough indeed; I perceiue thou takeſt Delight to be an Author of this new Religion.

The Lord Chancellor ſaide, he neuer heard ſuch Stuffe before in al his Life.

Bar. As I was about to ſhew that neither I was an Author of this Religion, and that it was not new, as they ſuppoſed, the Biſhope of *London* interrupted me, and aſked me, Wherin their Worſhip was idolatrous? The Lord Chancellor alſo demaunded the ſame Queſtion.

Bar. Ther is nothing els in that Book of your Common Prayer; being demaunded ſome Particulers, I ſhewed that their Saintes Daies, Eues, Faſtes, Idol Feaſtes, *&c.*

Lond. Stay there: Why, is it not lawful to keep a Memorial of the Saintes in the Church?

Bar. Not after your Manner; it is Idolatrie?

Lond. How proue yow that?

Bar. By the i. Commaundement.

Lond. Why, that is, Thow ſhalt haue no other Gods but me. What of that?

Bar. The Word is, Thow ſhalt haue no other Gods before my Face. We are therfore forbidden to giue any Part of Gods Worſhip to any Creature.

Lond. Why, neither doe we.

Bar. Yes, yow celebrate a Day, and ſanctifie an Eaue, and cal them by their Names; yow make a Feaſt, and deviſe a Worſhip vnto them.

Lord Treaſ. Why, may we not cal the Day after their Names? Is not that in our Libertie?

Bar. No, my Lord.

L. Treaſ. How proue yow that?

Bar. In the Beginning of the Booke it is written, that God himſelfe named al the Dayes, the Firſt, the Second, *&c.*

L. Treaſ. Why then we may not cal them *Sunday*, *Monday*, &c.

Bar. We are otherwiſe taught to cal them in the Booke of God.

L. Treaſ. Why, thow theyſelfe calleſt it the Lordes Day.

Bar. And ſo the Holy Ghoſt calleth it in the i. of the *Reuelation.*

Lond. We haue nothing in our Saintes Dayes, but that which is taken forth of the Scriptures.

Bar. In that yow ſay true, for yow finde no Saintes Dayes in the Scriptures.

Lond. We finde their Hiſtories and Deedes in the Scriptures.

Bar. But not their Dayes and Feſtiuals in the Scripture. The Lord *Buckhurſt* then ſaide, I was a proud Spirit. The Lord Treaſurer ſaide, I had a hotte Braine; and taking into his Hande a Book of Common Prayer, which lay on the Boord, read certaine of the Collectes for the Saintes, and ſhewed that the Epiſtles and Goſpels were Part of the Scripture; and aſked me, What I could miſlike therin?

Bar. I miſlike al, for we ought not ſo to vſe Scriptures or Prayers.

Lond. May we not make Commemoration of the Saintes Liues in the Church?

Bar. Not after yowr Manner, to giue peculier Dayes, Eues, Faſtes, Worſhip, Feaſtes vnto them.

L. Treaſ. But what is there idolatrous?

Bar. Al, for we ought not ſo to vſe the Scriptures.

Lond. What not in Commemoration of the Saintes?

Bar. As I haue ſaid not after yowr Manner.

L. Treaſ. But what is euil here?

Bar. All my Lord, for, by Abuſing the Scripture, we may make it an Idol. The Circumſtantes make euil Thinges, of themſelves good, as in the Maſſe Book from whence this Stuffe is fetched, there are ſundry good Collectes and Places of Scripture, which their ſuperſtitious Abuſes make abhominable and euil. Likewiſe Coniurers make many good Prayers, which the Circumſtances alſo make euil.

Here the Lord *Buckhurſt* ſaid I was out of my Wittes.

Bar. No, my Lord, I ſpeak the Wordes of Sobernes and Truth, as I could make plaine, if I might be ſuffered.

L. Treaſ. Here we pray, that our Liues may be ſuch as theirs was void of Couetouſnes.

Bar. So ought we to doe, and not to reade, or haue any Parte of the Scripture, without Fruite, and to follow and flee that which we finde praiſed and diſcommended in them: Yet ought we not to vſe the Scriptures, in this Manner, to Dayes and Times, neither to be thus reſtreyned or ſtinted in our Prayers, as to be tied to this Forme of Wordes, Place, Time, Manner, Kneele, ſtand, *&c.*

L. Buckh. This Fellow delighteth to heare himſelfe ſpeake.

(The Lord Chancellor alſo ſpake ſome what at that Time, which I cannot cal to Remembrance as yet)

Then the Archbiſhop alſo ſpake many Thinges againſt me, of ſmal Effect, which I haue alſo forgotten; onely this I remember, he ſaid, I was a Strower of Errors, and that therfore he committed me.

Bar. In Deed, yow committed me halfe a Yeare, cloſe Priſoner in the *Gatehowſe*, and I neuer, vntil now, vnderſtood the Cauſe why, neither as yet know I, what Errors they be, ſhew them therfore, I pray yow.

The Lord *Buckhurſt* againe ſaid, I was a preſumtuous Spirit.

Bar. My Lord, al Spirits muſt be tried and iudged by the Word of God: But, if I erre, my Lord, it is meet, I ſhould be ſhewed wherin.

L. Chanc. Ther muſt be ſtreighter Lawes, made for ſuch Fellowes.

Bar. Would to God, ther were, my Lord, our Iourny ſhould be the ſhorter.

L. Treaſ. Yow complained to vs of Iniuſtice, Wherin haue yow Wrong?

Bar. My Lord, in that we are thus impriſoned without due Trial.

L. Treaſ. Why? yow ſaid yow were condemned vpon the Statute.

Bar. Vniuſtly, my Lord, that Statute was not made for vs.

L. Treaſ. Ther muſt be ſtreighter Lawes made for yow.

Bar. O! My Lord, ſpeak more comfortablie, we haue Sorrowes ynough.

L. Treaſ. In Deed, thow lookeſt, as if thow hadſt a troubled Conſcience.

Bar. No, I praiſe God for it: But it is a woeful Thing, that our Princes Swords ſhould thus be drawen againſt her faithful Subiectes.

The Lord Treaſurer anſwered, that the Queenes Sword was not as yet drawen againſt vs.

Then, in a Word or two, I complayning of the Miſery and lingring cloſe Impriſonment, which we ſuffer: The Lord Treaſurer demaunded, if we had had no Conference?

The Biſhop of *London* anſwered, that ſundrie had bene with vs, as Dr. *Some*, *Grauiat*, and others, but we mocked them, that came vnto vs.

Bar. That is not true, the Lord knoweth: We mock no Creature. Neither doe I know, or haue euer ſeene, to my Remembrance, that *Grauiat* yow ſpeak of. But miſerable Phiſitians are yow al, for Mr. *Some*, he indeed was with me, but neuer would enter Diſputation: He ſaid, he came not therfore, but in reaſoning Manner, to know ſome what of my Minde more cleerly. *Some* was then by the Archbiſhop called, and demaunded, whither, we had Conference, or no? *Some* ſhewed, how that, at our laſt Conference, before Sir *A. G*, ther aroſe a Queſtion betwixt vs, whither the Prince might make a poſitive Law, *de rebus mediis*, of Thinges indifferent? I denying it, he aſked me, whither ſhe might make a Statute for the reforming Exceſſe of Apparel? I graunted that ſhe might. He then ſaid it was a Doctrine of Divils to forbid Meate, by a poſitiue Law: He ſhewed me then, that the Princes Law did not binde the Conſcience, and that ther is a Difference betwixt *forum ciuile* and *forum conſcientiæ*.

Some to this Effect. Mr. *Young* then vncalled came, and accuſed me of vnreuerend Speeches, vſed againſt his Lords Grace, at my firſt Conference with *Some*, in my Chamber; ſo they were diſmiſſed.

Then I beſeeched the Lords, to graunt a publicke Conference, that it might appeare to al Men, what we held, and where we erred.

The Archbiſhop in great Choller ſaid, we ſhould haue no publick Conference, we had publiſhed to much already, and therfore he now committed vs cloſe Priſoners.

Bar. But contrary to Law.

The Lord Treaſurer ſaid, it might be vpon ſuch Occaſions done by Law; and aſked whither I had any Learning?

Cant. and *Lond.* with one Conſent anſwered togither, that I had no Learning.

Bar. The Lord knoweth I am ignorant, I haue no Learning to boaſt of: But this I know, that yow are voide of al true Learning and Godlines.

L. Buckh. See the Spirit of this Man.

Then requeſted I Conference againe, and that in Writing: Which was againe by *Canterburie* very peremtorilie denyed. He ſaid that he had Matter to cal me before him for an Hereticke.

Bar., That ſhal yow neuer do: yow know my former Anſwer to that Matter: Wel erre, I may, but Hereticke, by the Grace of God, wil I neuer be.

L. Buckh. That is wel ſaid.

The Lord Treaſurer then taking vp a Paper of *Somes* abſtract Queſtions, which lay among the Biſhops Euidence againſt me, read this: That I held it vnlawful, to enacte a Law that the Miniſters ſhal liue by Tithes, or the People pay them, and demaunded of me, whither I held Tithes vnlawful?

Bar. My Lord, they are abrogated and vnlawful.

L. Treaſ. Why, thow wouldeſt haue the Miniſter liue of ſomewhat, wherof ſhould he liue?

Bar. *Ex pura eleemoſyna*, of clere Almes as Chriſt in his Teſtament hath ordeyned, and as he and his Apoſtles.

L. Treaſ. But how if the People wil not giue?

Bar. Such are not the People of God.

L. Treaſ. But what ſhal the Miniſter doe in the meane Time?

Bar. Not ſtand a Miniſter to ſuch, neither take the Goods of the Prophane.

L. Treaſ. Where canſt thow ſhew me now in the Scriptures, that the Miniſters now ought not to liue vpon Tithes?

Bar. I took the Bible and turned to theſe two Places, *Heb.* vij. 12. *Gal.* vj. 6; in the one, where Tithes are abrogate, in the other, that an other Proviſion is made for them. *London* began the Cauil at the Wordes, *pure* and *cleere Almes*.) *Canterburie*, at the Place in the *Hebrews*, ſaying, that the Authors Intent was to proue an Abrogation of the Preiſthod.

Bar. Why, the Wordes of the Text are theſe: If the Preiſthod be changed, then of Neceſſitie muſt ther be a Change of the Law: And yow cannot deny but that Tithes were a Part of that Law; alleging *Num.* xviij.

L. Treaſ. What, wouldſt thow haue him, to haue al my Goodes?

Bar. No, my Lord, but I would haue yow to withhold none of your Goodes from helping him: Neither Rich nor Pore are exemted from this Duty.

Ffurder I ſhewed, that, if the Miniſter had Thinges neceſſarie, as Food and Rayment, he ought to hold him ſelf contented: Neither ought the Church to giue him more. Then had we ſome Talke concerning the Word *Preiſt*: The Lord Treaſurer ſaid, that the Miniſters now were not to be called Preiſtes.

Bar. If they receiue Tithes, they are Preiſtes. Moreouer they be called Preiſtes in the Law.

Lond. Why, what is the Word, *Preſbyter*, I pray yow?

Bar. An *Elder*.

Lond. What in Age onely?

Bar. No, *Timothie* was a yong Man.

Lond. *Preſbyter* is *Latine* for a *Preiſt*.

Bar. It is no *Latine* Word, but deriued, and ſignifieth the ſame which the *Greek* Word doth, which is an *Elder*.

Lond. What makeſt thow a Preiſt?

Bar. Him that doth offer Sacrifices, for ſo it is written euery where in the Law. As we were thus reaſoning, the Lord Chancellor aſked me, if I knew not thoſe two Men (pointing to *Canterburie* and *London*.

Bar. Yes, my Lord, I haue Cauſe to know them.

L. Chanc. But what is not this the Biſhop of *London*?

Bar. I know him for no Biſhop, my Lord.

L. Chanc. What is he then?

Bar. His Name is *Elmar*, my Lord. (The Lord pardon my Fault, that I laid him not open for a Wolfe, a bloody Perſecutor and Apoſtata. But, by this Time, the Wardens Man plucked me vp.)

L. Chanc. What is that Man? (pointing to *Canterburie*.)

Bar. The Lord gaue me the Spirit of Boldnes, ſo that I anſwered: He is a Monſter, a miſerable Compound, I know not what to make him; he is neither Eccleſiaſtical nor Ciuil, euen that ſecond Beaſt ſpoken of in the *Reuelation*.

L. Treaſ. Wher is that Place, ſhew it?

Bar. So I turned to the xiij Chap. and began at the 11th Verſe, and read a litle. Then I turned to 2 *Theſ.* ij. But the Beaſt aroſe for Anger, gnaſhing his Teeth, and ſaid, wil yow ſuffer him, my Lords? So I was pluckt vp by the Wardens Man from my Knees, and caried away. As I was departing, I deſired the Lord Treaſurer, that I might haue the Libertie of the Aire, but had no Anſwer; and I prayed the Lord to bleſſe their Honours. So, I was led forth by an other Way, then I came in, that I might not ſee the Brethren, nor they me. This is the Effect, ſo neere as my euil Memorie could cary away, the very Wordes that were vſed to me, and by me in that

that Place. The Lord pardon my Vnworthines, and vnſanctified Hart and Mouth, which can bring no Glory to the Lord, or Benefite to his Church; but rather Reproch to the one, and Affliction to the other. But the Lord knoweth how to deliuer the Godly out of Tentation, and to referue the Vniuſt vntil the Day of Iudgement vnder Puniſhment. The Lord Treaſurer admoniſhed me, and told me that I took the Lords Name often in vaine: I haue forgotten vpon what Occaſion he ſpake it. But I beſeech the Lord, that I may not forget this his good Admonition, but may ſet a more careful Watch before my Lippes: For ſure, no Doubt, I am greatly guiltie that Way, and neuer vſe his holy Name, with that Reuerence I ought.

The Anſwers of Iohn Grenewood, *at* London *Pallace, before the two Lord Cheif Iuſtices of* Englande, *the Maiſter of the Rolles, the Lord Cheif Baron, togither with the Arch Biſhop of* Canterburie, *the Biſhop of* London, *the Biſhop of* Winchester, *with others, to certaine Interrogatories, as foloweth.*

Queſt. WHAT is your Name?

Anſw. *Iohn Grenewood.*

Queſt. Lay yowr Hand vpon the Book, yow muſt take an Oath.

Anſw. I wil ſweare by the Name of God, if ther be any Need, but not by, or vpon a Book.

Queſt. We wil then examine yow without an Oath. Are yow a Miniſter?

Anſw. No, I was one after your Orders.

Queſt. Who diſgraded yow?

Anſw. I diſgraded my ſelf through Gods Mercy by Repentance. (Then, after many Wordes, they brought forth a Paper, conteyning certaine Articles in Manner of Queſtions, as foloweth.)

Queſt. Is it lawful to vſe the Lordes Prayer publickly or privately as a Prayer, or no?

Anſw. It is a Doctrine to direct al our Prayers by: But, ſeing it conteyneth the Doctrine of the holy Scripture, no Man can vſe the ſame, as a private or publick Prayer, becauſe he hath not preſent Need to aſke al the Peticions therin conteyned, at one Time: Neither can comprehend them with Feeling and Faith.

Queſt. Is it lawful or no? I wil heare no Pratling.

Anſw. It is not lawful for any Thing, I can ſee by the Scripture, for ther is no Commaundement to ſay the very Wordes ouer: And Chriſt and his Apoſtles prayed in other Words, according to their preſent Neceſſitie.

Queſt. Is it lawful to vſe any ſtinted Prayers either publickly or privately in Prayer?

Anſw. They are *Apocrypha*, and may not be vſed in the publick Aſſemblie: The Word, and the Graces of Gods Spirit, are onely to be vſed there.

Queſt. Anſwer directly, Is it lawful to vſe them publickly or privately?

Anſw. *Paul* ſaith, in *Rom.* viij. *The Spirit of God maketh Requeſt for vs*; and, *That we know not what to aske, but the Spirit helpeth our Infirmities.*

Queſt. Anſwer directly.

Anſw. It is not lawful to vſe ſtinted Prayers, invented by Man, either publickly or privately, for any Thing I can ſee by the Scriptures.

Queſt. What ſay yow then to the Book of Common Prayer? Is it ſuperſtitious, Popiſh, and idolatrous, yea or no?

Anſw. I beſeech yow, that I may not be vrged by your Law; I haue thus long bene cloſe Priſoner, and therfore deſire yow to ſhew me wherfore, and not now to entangle me by your Law.

Queſt. Is it not yowr Law now, as wel as ours? It is the Queenes Law; yow are a good Subiect.

Anſw. I am obedient, as a true Subiect; but I took it we had reaſoned of your Popiſh Canons.

Queſt. Is not the Common Prayer Booke eſtabliſhed by the Queenes Law?

L. Cheif Iuſt. Tel vs what yow thinke of the Booke of Common Prayer; yow ſhal haue Libertie to cal back what yow wil againe.

Anſw. If it were in free Conference, as it hath bene often deſired by vs, I would ſo doe.

Winch. Haue yow not vſed theſe Wordes a

Yeare agoe, That it was Popiſh, ſuperſtitious, and idolatrous?

Anſw. Yes, I thinke I haue; for it was taken out of the Popes Portuis.

Queſt. Why would yow not anſwer ſo before?

Anſw. Becauſe, I ſee, yow goe about to bring me with in the Compaſſe of the Law.

Iudge Anderſon. What ſay yow now to it?

Anſw. That ther ar many Errors in it, and the Forme therof is diſagreeable to the Scriptures.

Arch. Is it contrary to the Scriptures?

Anſw. It muſt needs be contrary, if it be diſagreeable.

Winch. Whither hold yow it idolatrous, ſuperſtitious, and Popiſh?

Anſw. I haue anſwered what I thinke of it; I hold it ful of Errors, and the Forme therof diſagreeable to the Scriptures?

Queſt. What ſay yow for Mariage? Did not yow marie one *Boman* and his Wife in the *Fleet?*

Anſw. No; neither is Mariage a Part of the Miniſters Office.

Queſt. Who did vſe Prayer?

Anſw. I thinke, I did at that Time vſe Prayer.

Queſt. Who ioyned their Handes togither?

Anſw. I know no ſuch Thing; they did publickly acknowledge their Conſent before the Aſſemblie.

Stanup. I wil make them doe Penance for it.

Anſw. Ther be ſome had more Need ſhew open Repentance, then they.

Biſh. They may make ſuch Mariages vnder a Hedge; and it hath bene a long receiued Order, to be maried by the Miniſter.

Anſw. No; ther were many faithful Witneſſes of their Conſentes; and, if it were not lawful, we haue many Examples of the ancient Fathers, who, by your Iudgement, did amiſſe.

Queſt. What ſay yow to the Church of *England?* Is it a true eſtabliſhed Church of God?

Anſw. The whole Common Wealth is not a Church.

Iudge Anderſ. But doe yow know any true eſtabliſhed Church in the Land?

Anſw. If I did, I would not accuſe them vnto yow.

Queſt. But what ſay yow, Is not the whole Land, as it ſtandeth now ordered, a true eſtabliſhed Church?

Anſw. No, not as the Aſſemblies are generally ordered; if it pleaſe yow, I wil ſhew yow the Reaſons.

L. Cheif Iuſt. No, yow ſhal haue Time ynough hereafter to ſhew the Reaſons; it is not now to be ſtood vpon.

Queſt. What doe yow ſay to the Church of *England*, as it is now guided by Biſhopes? Is it Antichriſtian?

Anſw. By ſuch Biſhopes and Lawes, as it is now guided, it is not according to the Scriptures.

Winch. Thow haſt Scriptures often in thy Mouth; Is it then Antichriſtian?

Anſw. Yea, I hold it contrarie to Chriſtes Word.

Queſt. What ſay yow to the Sacramentes then? Are they true Sacramentes?

Anſw. No; they are neither rightly adminiſtred according to Chriſtes Inſtitution, neither haue Promiſe of Grace, becauſe yow keep not the Couenant.

Queſt. Speak plainly: Are they true Sacramentes, or no?

Anſw. No; if yow haue no true Church, yow can haue no true Sacramentes.

Queſt. How ſay yow, Are we baptiſed?

Anſw. Yea, yow haue the outward Signe, which is the Waſhing, but no true Sacrament.

Queſt. How can that be?

Anſw. Very wel. (Then I thought to haue ſhewed Reaſons, but I could not be ſuffred.)

Queſt. Is it lawful Baptiſme?

Anſw. Yea.

Queſt. Need we, then, to be baptiſed againe, if we had that Miniſterie and Gouernment, yow ſpeak of?

Anſw. No.

Queſt. Should we be baptiſed at al?

Anſw. Yea; or els, if we contemne it, we deny the Profeſſion of Grace.

Queſt. Do yow hold it lawful to baptiſe Children?

Anſw. Yea; I am no Anabaptiſt, I thanke God.

Queſt. How far differ yow?

Anſw. So far as Truth from Errors.

Queſt. Yow haue a Boy vnbaptiſed; How old is he?

Anſw. A Yeare and a Halfe.

Queſt. What is his Name?

Anſw. *Abel.*

Queſt. Who gaue him that Name?

Anſw. My ſelf, being Father.

Queſt. Why hath he not bene baptiſed?

Anſw. Becauſe that I haue bene in Priſon, and cannot tel where to goe to, a Reformed Church, wher I might haue him baptiſed according to Gods Ordinance.

Queſt. Wil yow goe to Church to St. *Brides?*

Anſw. I know no ſuch Church.

Queſt. Wil yow goe to *Pauls?*

Anſw. No.

Queſt. Doe yow not hold a Pariſh the Church?

Anſw. If al the People were faithful, hauing Gods Law and Ordinances practiſed amongſt them, I doe.

Queſt. Then yow hold, that the Pariſh doe not make it a Church?

Anſw. No; but the Profeſſion which the People make.

Queſt. Doe yow hold, that the Church ought to be gouerned by a Preſbyterie?

Anſw. Yea; euery Congregation of Chriſt ought to be gouerned by that Preſbyterie, which Chriſt hath appointed.

Queſt. What are theſe Officers?

Anſw. Paſtor, Teacher, Elder, *&c.*

Queſt. And by no other?

Anſw. No, by no other then Chriſte hath appointed.

Queſt. May this People and Preſbyterie reforme ſuch Thinges as be amiſſe, without the Prince?

Anſw. They ought to practiſe Gods Lawes, and correct Vice by the Cenſure of the Word.

Queſt. What if the Prince forbid them?

Anſw. They muſt doe that, which God commaundeth, neuertheleſſe.

Queſt. If the Prince doe offend, Whither may the Preſbyterie excommunicate the Prince, or no?

Anſw. The whole Church may excommunicate any Member of that Congregation, if the Partie continue obſtinate in open Tranſgreſſion.

Queſt. Whither may the Prince be excommunicate?

Anſw. Ther is no Exception of Perſon; and I doubt not, but her Maieſtie would be ruled by the Word; for it is not the Men, but the Word of God, which bindeth and looſeth Sinne.

Queſt. Whither may the Prince make Lawes in the Gouernment of the Church, or no?

Anſw. The Scripture hath ſet downe ſufficient Lawes for the Worſhip of God, and Gouernment of the Church, to which no Man may adde, or diminiſh.

Queſt. What ſay yow to the Princes Supremacie? Is her Maieſtie ſupreme Head of the Church ouer al Cauſes, as wel Eccleſiaſtical, as Temporal?

Anſw. A ſupreme Magiſtrate ouer al Perſons, to puniſh the Euil, and defend the Good.

Queſt. Ouer al Cauſes? *&c.*

Anſw. No; Chriſt is onely Head of his Church, and his Lawes may no Man alter.

Queſt. The Pope giueth thus much to the Prince.

Anſw. No, that he doth not; he ſetteth himſelf aboue Princes, and exempteth his Preiſthod from the Magiſtrates Sword.

Queſt. What ſay yow to the Oath of the Queenes Supremacie? Wil yow anſwer to it?

Anſw. If theſe Eccleſiaſtical Orders be meant ſuch, as be agreeable vnto the Scriptures, I wil, for I deny al Forreigne Power.

Queſt. It is meant the Order and Gouernment, with al the Lawes in the Church, as it is now eſtabliſhed.

Anſw. Then I wil not anſwer to approue therof.

A breif Summe of the Examination of Iohn Penrie, *by the Right Worſhipful Mr.* Fanſhaw, *and Mr. Iuſtice* Young, *the Tenth of the fourth Moneth* April, 1593.

Fanſhaw. IT is ſtrange vnto me, that yow hold ſuch Opinions, *Penrie*, as none of the Learned of this Age, or any of the Martyrs of former Times mainteyned. Can yow ſhew any Writers, either old or new, that haue bene of your Iudgment?

Penrie. I hold nothing, but what I wil be bound to proue out of the written Word of God; and wil ſhew, in Regard of the ſpecial Pointes controuerted, to haue bene mainteyned by the holy Martyrs of this Land, who firſt aſſailed the *Babylóniſh Romane* Kingdome; as, namely, by Mr. *Wicliffe*, Mr. *Brute*, Mr. *Purvey*, Mr. *White*, &c. with many other the famous Witneſſes and Martyrs of Chriſt in former Times; and by Mr. *Tindal*, Mr. *Lambert*, Mr. *Barnes*, Mr. *Latimer*, &c. the Lordes moſt bleſſed Witneſſes of this latter Age. I ſpeak nothing here of the Doctrine and Practiſe of the Reformed Churches in other Countries, whom I haue wholly of my Side, in the Controuerſies of greateſt Moment.

Fan. But doe the Martyrs teach yow, that there is no Church of Chriſt in *England?*

Pen. If yow mean by a Church, as the moſt doe, that publick Profeſſion, wherby Men doe profeſſe Saluation to be had by the Death and Righteouſnes of *Ieſus Chriſt*, I am free from denying any Church of Chriſt to be in this Land; for I know the Doctrine touching the Holy Trinity, the Natures and Offices of the Lord *Ieſus*, free Iuſtification by him, both the Sacramentes, *&c.* publiſhed by her Maieſties Authoritie, and commaunded by her Lawes, to be the Lordes bleſſed and vndoubted Truthes, without the Knowledge and Profeſſion wherof no Saluation is to be had.

Fan. Seing yow acknowledge, that her Maieſtie hath eſtabliſhed the Truth in ſo many weightie Pointes, ſeing ſhe hath commaunded the true Sacramentes to be adminiſtred, What miſlike yow in our Church? And why wil yow not be Partaker of theſe Truthes and Sacramentes with us?

Pen. I miſlike, 1. The falſe Eccleſiaſtical Offices. 2. The Manner of caling vnto the Offices. 3. A great Parte of the Workes, wherin theſe falſe Officers are imployed. 4. The Maintenance, or Livinges, wherby they are mainteyned in their Offices; al which I wil be bound to proue (by the Lordes Helpe) to be deriued, not from *Ieſus Chriſt*, but from the Kingdome of Antichriſt, his great Enemie. And therfore, for as much as I cannot be Partaker of the former holy Thinges of God, but I muſt be ſubiect vnto the Power of Antichriſt in theſe Officers, and knowen by thoſe Markes, wherby his Subiectes are noted; therfore I am enforced and bound to ſeek the Comfort of the Word and Sacramentes wher I may haue them without the Submitting of my ſelf vnto any Eccleſiaſtical Power in Religion, ſaue onely vnto that which is deriued from *Chriſt Ieſus* the Lord, *in whom al Fulnes of Power dweleth*, Col. i. 19. and from whom al thoſe muſt deriue their Power and Office, vnto whom the Saintes of God are to ſubmitte their Conſciences to be wrought vpon in Religion.

Againe, ſeing the forenamed four Enormities of this Church are Markes which properly belong vnto the Kingdome of the Beaſt, *viz.* of the *Romane* Antichriſt, we dare not haue any Communion and Fellowſhip with them, nor be knowen by them, leaſt we ſhould be Partakers of thoſe moſt fearful and moſt dreadful Iudgementes, which are denounced by the Spirit of God againſt al thoſe, that haue Communion with any of the irreligious Inuentions of that Beaſt, *Reuel.* xiv. 9, 10.

Theſe are the Thinges, togither with the Want of Chriſtes true Order, which I eſpecially miſlike, and the ſpecial Cauſes why I dare not ioyne with the Aſſemblies of this Land: 1. The falſe Offices, wherby theſe Aſſemblies are guided, and by whom the whole Worſhip is performed in them. 2. Their Manner of Caling. 3. A great Parte of the deviſed Workes, wherin theſe Officers are converſant. 4. The Livinges conſecrated ſometimes vnto Idols for the moſt Part, wherby they are ſuſteyned in their Offices.

Fan. What Offices meane yow?

Pen. I meane the Offices of Lord Arch Biſhopes and Biſhopes, Archdeacons, Commiſſaries, Chancellors, Deanes, Canons, Prebendaries, Preiſtes, Deacons, *&c.* al which properly belong to no other Bodie, either Eccleſiaſtical or Ciuil, but onely vnto the *Romiſh* Church, where they were firſt invented, where they now are, and by whom they were left in this Lande, when the Head of that Body, the Pope, and ſome other of his Members, were caſt out by her Maieſtie and our ſoueraigne Lord, her noble Father.

The Church of Chriſt is perfect without them, in al her Offices; the Ciuil State is abſolute without them, for they are Eccleſiaſtical; Heathen Idolatrie hath them not, and requireth them not; onely the Kingdome of Antichriſt can in no wiſe be whole and entire without them, wherof, as I ſay, they are viſible and knowne Members. Now, if it be not lawful for me, or any other Member of Chriſt, to be ſubiect vnto the Orders and Cerimonies of the old Law, as, Circumciſion, *&c.* which ſometimes were the Lordes owne bleſſed Ordinances, How can it be but Sin vnto vs, to be ſubiect to the Conſtitutions of Antichriſt, the maine Adverſarie of the Lord *Ieſus*? The Lord hath not deliuered vs from the Yoke of his owne Law, that we ſhould be in Bondage vnto the Inventions and Order of Antichriſtes Kingdome and Offices.

Fan. Belike yow would haue no other Offices in the Church now in the Time of Peace and Proſperitie, then were in the Apoſtles Dayes vnder Perſecution?

Pen. Ther is great Reaſon we ſhould not; for if the Order, left by *Moſes* in the Church, was not to be altered, to be diminiſhed or added vnto, except it were by ſpecial Commaundement from the Lord, (1. *Chron.* xxviii. 19.) then may not any Man or Angel, but vpon the ſame Warrant, adde any Thing vnto that Holy Forme, which the Sonne of God left for the Ordering of his owne Howſe; for as the Apoſtle ſaith *Hebr.* iii. 3. *He* (yea and his Ordinances) *are worthy of more Honour then* Moſes *his were.* And, *he that addeth vnto the Wordes of this Book*, that is, to the true Order of the Church, and pure Worſhip of God conteyned therin, the *Lord God wil adde vnto him of the Plagues that are written in this Book*, ſaith the Spirit of God. *Revel.* xxii. 19.

Fan. Yow allow of *M. Luther*, I am ſure, What Office had he?

Pen. He was firſt a Moncke, and ſo a Member (by his Office) of the Kingdome of Antichriſt, euen a good While after the Lord had vſed him as a notable Inſtrument to ouerthrow that Kingdome; afterward he was vtterly diſgraded and depriued of al Offices, ſo that as the Spirit of God ſaith (*Reuel.* xiii. 17. he could neither buy nor ſel by Vertue of any Libertie or Freedome that he had within the Kingdome of the Beaſt. And by this Meanes, in the Lords great Favour, he caried not in this Regarde any of the Beaſtes Markes, he was not of his Name, nor of the Number of his Name; he denied himſelf to belong to that Kingdome of Satan, and that malignant Church vtterly refuſed him to be any of her Body and Members. Since his Excommunication and Degradation by the *Romiſh* Church, he nameth himſelf *Eccleſiaſten*, in a Book of his ſo intituled, that is, a Preacher of Chriſtes bleſſed Truth and Goſpel. Now whither be preached by Vertue of a lawful Office wherunto he was called in the Church of Chriſt, or whither he taught by Vertue of his Giftes, and the Opportunitie which he had to manifeſt the Truth, hauing neither Time nor Leiſure, nor yet thinking it needful (it may be) to conſider by what Office he did it, I know not; of this I am aſſured, that he was one of the famous and glorious Witneſſes of the Lord *Ieſus* raiſed vp to teſtifie on his Behalfe, againſt the Abominations of the Kingdome of Antichriſt; and I am aſſured that by his Tongue and Pen the Lord appeared gloriouſlie in the Power of his Goſpel, to the Conſumation of that Man of Sin. (2. *Theſ.* ii. 8.) Of his Office I iudge the beſt, as of a Matter vnknowne vnto me, that is, I thinke him to haue had a Paſtoral Office in the Church of *Wittemberg*; whither he had or not, his Example is no Law for the Church to walke by, it is *Chriſt Ieſus* alone that we muſt heare and folow, according to his Wil and Word muſt we frame our Walking, and if it be an Angel from Heauen that will draw vs to ſwarue from the ſame, we dare not giue Eare vnto him. *Gal.* i. 8, 9.

Fan. And what Office had yow in yowr Church, which meet in Woods and I know not where?

Pen. I haue no Office in that pore Congregation; and as for our Meetings either in Woods or any where els, we haue the Example of our Sauiour Chriſt, of his Church and Servantes in al Ages, for our Warrant; it is againſt our Willes that we goe into Woods, or ſecret Places; as we are not aſhamed of the Goſpel of Chriſt, ſo our Deſire is to profeſſe the ſame openly; we are ready before Men and Angels, to ſhew and to juſtifie our Meetings and Behauiour in them, deſiring earneſtly that we may haue Peace and Quietnes to ſerue our God euen before al Men, that they may be Witneſſes of our vpright Walking towards our God and al the World, eſpecially towards our Prince and Countrie. We know that Meeting in Woods, in Caues, in Mountaines, &c. is a Part of the Croſſe and Baſeneſs of the Goſpel, wherat it is eaſy for the natural Man to ſtumble; but we are gladly Partakers of this mean Eſtate for the Lords ſacred Veritie, and the Queſtion ſhould not be ſo much where we meet, as what we doe in our Meetings, whither our Meetings and Doings be warranted by the Word or not, and what inforced us to meet in theſe Places?

Fan. We wil ſpeak of your vnlawful Aſſemblies afterwards; but what Caling haue yow to preach, were yow neuer made Miniſter according to the Order of this Land?

Pen. I might, if I had bene willing, haue bene made either Deacon or Preiſt, but I thanke the Lorde I euer diſliked thoſe *Popiſh* Orders; and if I had taken them, I would vtterly refuſe them, and not ſtand by them at any Hand. I haue taught publickly in the Church of *Scotland*, being thervnto deſired earneſtly, and caled by the Order of that Church; Charge I neuer had any, therfore I neuer bare Office either there or in any other Church.

Fan. Did not yow preach in theſe your ſecret Meetings; what Warrant have yow ſo to doe, if yow haue no publick Office in your Church?

Pen. Whither I did or not, I doe not tel yow for the preſent: But this I ſay, that if the ſame poore Congregation deſired to haue the Uſe of my ſmal Giftes for the Inſtruction and Conſolation thereof, I would, being thervnto prepared, moſt willingly beſtow my poore Talent to their mutual Edification and mine.

Fan. And may yow teach in the Church publickly, hauing no publick Office therin?

Pen. I may, becauſe I am a Member therof, and requeſted thervnto by the Church, and iudged to be indued in ſome Meaſure with Giftes meet for the Handling of the Lordes ſacred Word. The Body of Chriſt (that is, euery particuler Congregration of the Church) ought to haue the Uſe of al the Giftes, that are in any Member therof; and the Member cannot deny vnto the Body the Uſe of thoſe Graces wherwith it is furniſhed, except it wil break the Lawes and Order of the Body, and become vnnatural vnto the ſame. *Rom.* xii. 1. *Cor.* xii.

Fan. Then euery one, that wil, may preach the Word in your Aſſemblie?

Pen. Not ſo, for we hold it merely unlawful, yea tending to the Anabaptiſtical Inverſion of al good Order in the Church, for any Man to intermedle with the Lords holy Truth, beyond the Boundes of his Giftes; or yet for him that is indued with Gifts, to preach or teach in the Church, except he be deſired, and caled thervnto by the Body.

Fan. But may any preach, that hath not an Office in the Church ſo to doe?

Pen. Yea, that he may, and the Word of God bindeth him to preach, whoſoever he be that intendeth to become a Paſtor or Teacher in the Church of Chriſt, before he take his Office upon him and bindeth the Church to take the Trial of his Giftes before they give him his Office, leaſt otherwiſe he ſhould not to be meet for it, or that the leaſt, that Handes ſhould not be ſuddenly laid vpon him. 1. *Tim.* iii. 10, and v. 23.

Fan. What Office hath he al this While?

Pen. No other Office then euery Member of the Body hath, who are bound to haue their ſeueral Operation in the Body according to that Meaſure of Grace which they deriue from their Head the Lord *Ieſus*, by the Power of his Spirit working in them, *Rom.* xii. 3, 4. The Word caleth theſe by the Name of Prophets, not ſuch as doe foretel Things to come, but thoſe who are furniſhed with Graces meet for the Interpretation and Application of the Word vnto the Edification and Comfort of the Church, as the Apoſtle teacheth vs expreſſely, 1. *Corin.* xiv. and therfore miſtake not the Word, Prophet or Propheſie, as though we leaned vnto any inward Reuelations or Motions, beſides the written Word.

Fan. I know wel ynough what yow meane, and wil not miſtake your Wordes, for the Scripture vſeth them in that Sence.

Pen. Now it ſhould be no new Thing vnto yow, to heare that they may preach who haue no Office in the Church, ſeeing this is ſo common a Thing in the Colleges and Vniuerſities of this Land.

Fan. Yea that is in the Scholes.

Pen. If that Exerciſe, wherof yow and I meane I am ſure, be in your Confeſſion warantable in the Scholes and Colleges, it is much more in the Church and Congregation; for the Lord, in his Word, hath ſet downe the Rules how the Church and Aſſemblies of his Sainčts ſhould haue the Vſe and Exerciſe of his holy Word, and not that it ſhould be brought to humane Scholes, whither it neuer came into the Lordes Minde to command that euer it ſhould enter. Let the Artes, Tongues, and other humane Knowledge be taught in Scholes, and let the holy Truth and Exerciſes of Religion be deriued from the Church of Chriſt, which the Apoſtle for this Purpoſe caleth the Piller and Ground of Truth.

Fan. Wel, then yow beare no Office in this your Church, yow wil not tel vs whither euer yow taught amongſt them or not, but yow would, yow ſay, if they required yow.

Pen. True.

Fan. But how came it to paſſe that yow were not made an Officer amongſt them?

Pen. Surely I was deſired to take a Charge, and to continue with them; but I would not, becauſe it hath bene my Purpoſe alwayes to imploy my ſmal Talent in my poore Countrie of *Wales*, wher I know that the poore People periſh for Want of Knowledge; and this was the onely Cauſe of my coming out of that Country, wher I was, and might haue ſtayed privately al my Life, euen becauſe I ſaw my ſelf bound in Conſcience to labour for the Caling of my poore Kinred and Countrymen, vnto the Knowledge of their Saluation in Chriſt, purpoſing indeed, before I had gone thither, to haue offred my ſelf vnto her Maieſtie, or ſome of their Honours, that it might be made knowne vnto her Highnes, what I hold in Religion, and how cleere I am of thoſe greevous Crimes of Sedition, and Diſturbing of her Maieſties peaceable Gouernment, wherewith I am wrongfully charged.

Fen. Why, yow labour to draw her Maieſties Subiects from their Obedience vnto her Lawes, and from this Church of *England*, to heare yow, and ſuch as yow are, teaching in Woods.

Pen. Nay, I perſwade al Men vnto the Obedience of my Prince, and her Lawes; onely I diſſwade al the World from yeelding Obedience and Submiſſion vnto the Ordinances of the Kingdome of Antichriſt, and would perſwade them to be ſubiect to *Chriſt Ieſus*, and his bleſſed Lawes; and I know this Enterpriſe to be ſo far from being repugnant vnto her Maieſties Lawes, as I aſſure my ſelf, that the ſame is warranted therby. Her Maieſtie hath graunted, in eſtabliſhing and confirming the great Charter of *England* (wherunto, as I take it, the Kinges and Queenes of this Land are ſworne, when they come to their Crowne) that the Church of God, vnder her, ſhould haue al her Rights and Liberties inviolable for euer. Let the Benefite of this Lawe be graunted vnto me, and others of my Brethren, and it ſhal be found, that we haue done nothing, but what is warrantable by her Lawes.

Fen. What, is it meet that Subiects ſhould charge their Princes to keep Couenant with them, and enter to ſcanne what Oathes they haue taken for this Purpoſe? Where finde yow this warranted by Scripture?

Pen. The Subiects are in a moſt lamentable Caſe, if they may not allege their Princes Lawes for their Actions, yea, and ſhew what their Princes haue promiſed vnto the Lord, and to them, when the ſame may be for Declaration of their Innocencie; and it is the Crowne and Honour of Princes, to be knowne not onely to hold, but euen to be in Couenant with their Subiects; that they wil maintaine and preſerue them from Violence and Wrong: Nay, Heathen Princes haue thought themſelues honoured, when their meane Subiectes haue charged them uery earneſtly with the Couenants wherby they were bound vnto their People. The Lawes of this Land ar ſo ful this Way, as no Man, conuerſant in them, can be ignorant, that our Princes haue preferred the Obſerving of thoſe equal Couenants, wherby they are tied vnto their People, before the Accompliſhing of their owne priuate Affections, yea, and Commandements in ſome Caſes. Hence it is, that the Iudges of this Land are bound by Law to adminiſter Iuſtice and Equitie vnto the poore Subiects, notwithſtanding that the Princes Letters be directed to them to the Contrary. And, as to the Law of God, al Kinges and Princes are bound therby, to be ſo far from thinking themſelues tied by no Bands vnto their Subiects, as they are plainly forbidden euen to be lifted vp in Minde aboue their Brethren (*Deut.* xvii. 20.) for ſo the Word, in that Place, calleth their Subiects and Servants. The Kinges of *Iudah*, who had the greateſt Privileges and Prerogatiue, both Eccleſiaſtical and Ciuil, ouer their People, that euer any Kinges or Princes can haue, becauſe they were Types and Figures of that great King of Kings, the *Lord Ieſus*; entred into Couenant, notwithſtanding, with their People, euen particulerly, beſides the general former Law, wherby they were bound vnto them. Yea, the Prophet *Ieremie*, being in no leſſe Daunger and Diſgrace, with al Eſtates, then I and my Brethren are at this preſent, required his ſoueraigne Lord and King *Zedekiah*, to promiſe that he would doe him no Violence and Wrong, nor yet ſuffer others to doe the ſame, for telling him the Truth of the Word, in the Thinges wherin the King required, to be reſolued at his Handes; the which Thing *Zedekiah* yeilded vnto, and that by an Oath and Couenant of the Lord, *Ier.* xxxviii. 15, 16. wherby it appeareth, that it is not without great Warrant of the Word, that Princes ſhould enter Couenant with their Subiects, and that Subiectes ſhould require Promiſe and Oath to be kept with them, otherwiſe, wherto ſerueth the Couenant ? But, alas, I enter not to ſcanne her Maieſties Oath, I onely tel yow what her Lawes alow me and my poore Brethren. And I am aſſured, if her Maieſtie knew the Equitie and Vprightnes of our Cauſe, we ſhould not receiue this hard Meaſure which we now ſuſteine. We, and our Cauſe, are neuer brought before her, but in the odious Weeds of Sedition, Rebellion, Schiſme, Hereſie, &c. and, therefore, it is no Mervaile too ſee the Edge of her Sword turned againſt vs.

Fan. Hath not her Maieſtie, by her Lawes, eſtabliſhed theſe Offices, and this Order that now is in the Church of *England* ?

Pen. Her Lawes haue, I graunt, of Ouerſight, as taking them for the right Offices and Order, which appertaine vnto the Church of Chriſt; the which, becauſe we euidently ſee that they are not, therefore flie we vnto her former Promiſe and Act, wherby ſhe graunteth vs the Inioying of al the Privileges of the Church of Chriſt.

Fan. Why then goe ye about to pul downe Biſhopes ?

Pen. Alas, far be it from vs, that euer we ſhould intend any ſuch Actions; we onely put her Maieſtie, and the State, in Mind of the Wrath of God that is likely to come vpon this Land, for the Vpholding of many *Romiſh* Inuentions. We labor to ſaue our owne Sowles, and al thoſe that wil be warned by vs, in auoiding al Corruptions in Religion, and practiſing the whole Wil of our God, as neere as we can. Further then this we haue no Caling to goe, and therefore dare not ſo much as once in Thought conceiue of any Thing that we ſhould doe, in the Altering or Pulling downe of any Thing eſtabliſhed by her Lawes.

Fan. Why then meet yow in Woods, and ſuch ſuſpicious and ſecret Places, if yow purpoſe no Inſurrection for the Pulling downe of Biſhopes?

Pen. I haue told yow the Reaſon before; our Meetings are for the pure and true Worſhip of God, and ther is not ſo much as a Word or Thought of Biſhopes in our Aſſemblies, except it be in praying for them, that the Lord would ſhew Mercy and Favour vnto them, which we wiſh, as to our owne Sowles. Our Meetings are ſecret, as I told yow, becauſe we cannot, without Diſturbance, haue them more open. Our earneſt Deſire and Prayer vnto our God and our Gouernours, is, that we might haue them open, and not be inforced to withdraw our ſelues from the Sight of any Creature. Of the Lordes pure Worſhip in the Congregation of his People, are we bound to be Partakers, and that in Woods, in Mountaines, in Caues, &c. as I told yow, rather then not at al.

Fan. Then yow are privy vnto no Practiſe or Intent of any Sedition, or Commotion, againſt her Maieſtie and the State, for the Pulling downe of Biſhopes ;

Pen. No, I thanke God, nor euer was ; and I proteſt before Heauen and Earth, that, if I were, I would diſcloſe and withſtand the ſome, to the vttermoſt of mine Abilitie, in al Perſons, of what Religion ſoeuer they were.

Young. But what meant yow, *Penry*, when yow told me at my Howſe, That I ſhould liue to ſee the Day, wherin ther ſhould not be a Lorde Biſhope left in *England* ?

Pen. You doe me great Iniury, Sir, but I am contente to beare it. This was it that I ſaid vnto yow, namely, That I gainſaid nothing in this whole Cauſe, but what I could proue, out of the Word of God, to be the Remnants of the Popiſh Antichriſtian Kingdome ; which Religion, I ſaid, the Lord hath promiſed vtterlie to ouerthrow and conſume ; in ſo much as yow, ſaid I, may liue, though yow be already of great Yeares (for my ſelf, I may be cut of by vntimely Death) to ſee al the Offices, Calings, Works, and Liuings, deriued from, or belonging, at any Time, vnto the Kingdome of Antichriſt, vtterly ouerthrowne in this Land ; for the Lorde hath promiſed, that that Man of Sin, that Body of the Antichriſtian Religion, ſhal be ſo conſumed by the Breath of his Mouth, and the Brightnes of his Appearing in the Power of his Goſpel, before his ſecond Coming (2 *Theſ.* ii.) as that falſe Synagogue ſhal haue no Power in any of her Officers or Partes, either to be lifted vp ouer the Truth and Saincts of God, *viz.* ouer any Thing that is caled Holy, or yet to oppoſe her ſelf, as a bloody Adverſarie vnto thoſe Truthes and Servants of Chriſt, who refuſe to be in ſpiritual Bondage and

Slauery to her. This I ſhewed yow to be verified in the Type, *Babylon* of the *Chaldeans*, according to the Word of the Lorde, ſpoken by *Iſaiah* and *Ieremiah*, and the Caſting of the Stone into *Euphrates*, by *Sheraiah*, at *Ieremees* Commandement (*Iſa.* xiii. 19, 20. *Ier.* l. 40. and li. 61. 64.) and this I ſhewed to be decreed by the Lorde of Hoſtes, againſt the true Body, the Antichriſtian *Babel*, vnder the new Teſtament, for ſo we are taught by the Spirit of God, that ſhe ſhal be conſumed and be no more; that her Chapmen ſhal in this Life bewaile, and the Saincts of God reioice at her vtter Ouerthrow, and at the Spoile and Decay of her Merchandiſe, *Revelat.* xviii. The Comparing of the Act done by *Sheraiah* againſt the Type, and what followed thervpon, with that of the Angel againſt the true *Babylon*, I declared moſt fully to confirme my Speech; for *Sheraiah*, throwing the Stone into *Euphrates*, ſaid, *Thus ſhal* Babel *be drowned, and riſe no more*; and ſo it came to paſſe, the Angel, in the *Reuelation*, caſting the great Stone into the Sea, ſaith, *With ſuch Violence ſhal the great City* Babylon *be caſt, and ſhal be found no more*; and ſo it wil be accompliſhed I am ſure. This was my Speech vnto yow, Mr. *Young*, and I beſeech yow, yea and charge yow, as yow ſhal anſwer in that great Day, not to miſreport my Speeches, but to relate them as they are vttered by me.

Young. I conceiued ſome great Matter of your Speech, I tell yow.

Pen. Yow did me the greater Wrong therin: I pray yow hereafter to conceiue of my Wordes, according to my Meaning, and their natural Signification.

Fan. Yow ſay, that theſe Offices and Livings derived, in your Conceit, from the Body of Antichriſt, ſhal be ouerthrowne by the Lord, we would know how you meane that this wil be accompliſhed?

Pen. I haue already ſhewed yow, that this Worke ſhal be done by the Appearing of *Ieſus Chriſt*, in the ſhining Brightnes of his Goſpel, thro' the Efficacie wherof, the Lord ſhal ſo lay them open, as he wil put into the Hartes of Princes and States, wherin they are now mainteined, to aboliſh their Offices, Calings, and Works utterly from among Men, and to imploy their Livings unto the holy civil Vſes of the Princes and States wherin they are. After this Sort did the Lord conſume the Popes Primacie, Office and Maintenance, which he had in this Land; and after this Manner did he conſume by his Goſpel the Cardinals, Priors, Abbots, Moncks, Friers, and Nunnes, out of this Land; and after this, or ſome other Way ſeeming beſt to Wiſedom, ſhall he (I doubt not) conſume the reſt of that Body of Iniquitie) now remayning whereſoeuer. The Worke, I am aſſured, ſhal be accompliſhed, becauſe the Lord hath ſaid it in his written Word: The Maner how, or the Time when, it ſhal be performed, I leave to Him who ruleth all Thinges according to the Counſel of his owne Wil, and whoſe Wayes and Iudgements are paſt finding out.

Fan. and *Young.* What yow doe or purpoſe to do in theſe your Aſſemblies, we cannot tel; but this is ſure, that the Papiſts ſeeme to be ſo incouraged by this Dealing of yours, that ther were neuer ſo many in this Land ſince her Maieſties Reigne, as are at this preſent; and they themſelues ſay, that your Separating from vs is a great Stombling-block unto them, wherby alſo they take Occaſion to doe the like.

Pen. What we doe in our Meetings, and what our Purpoſes are, I haue told you ſimply, as in the Preſence of the Lord; and we are ready, by the Grace of God, to approue our Actions and Purpoſes to be in al good Conſcience both towards the Lord and our Prince, and toward al Men: If the Number of the idolatrous ignorant Papiſts be increaſed, it is no wonderful Caſe, by reaſon of the ſmal Teaching that the poore People of the Land haue; and their Increaſe is in the iuſt Iudgement of God, in that ſo many Remnants of Popery are left vnbaniſhed in the Land, but ſpecialy becauſe theſe Baits are retained here, wherby the Pope is continualy drawen to ſend ouer his Ieſuits and Seminaries, wherby alſo they are moſt eaſily and willingly induced to come and pervert her Maieſties Subiects from their Obedience unto the Lord and his Lievetenant, and to beſtow their natiue Prince and Countrie into the Hands of Aliants and Strangers.

Fan. What are thoſe Baits that yow meane?

Pen. I meane, the former Popiſh Offices and their Livings, wherof I ſpake, as the Offices and Livings of Archbiſhopes, Lord Biſhopes, Deanes, Archdeacons, Canons, Preiſts, *&c.* the Continuance wherof, and of the Popiſh Corruptions belonging to them, keepeth the Pope, and his ſworne Subjects, in daily Hope of re-planting the Throne of Iniquitie againe in this Land; wherof I truſt in the Lord that they ſhal be vtterly diſappointed. The traiterous Ieſuits, and ſeminary Preiſts, hoping to poſſeſſe theſe execrable Livings and Offices againe, are alſo therby allured readily to become moſt vnnatural Traitors againſt their natural Prince and Countrie; and the Papiſts at Home are by this Meanes kept ſtil in Remembrance of that Romiſh *Egypt*, and in continual Expectation of their long-deſired Day; whereas if theſe Offices and Livings were once removed (the deviſed Works and Calings would fal with them) the Pope and his Trafiquers would be vtterly void of al Hope, to ſet vp the Standerd of the Man of Sin againe in this noble Kingdome, here being not ſo much as an Office, or one Penny of Maintenance, left for any of his Members: The Ieſuits and Preiſts would haue no Allurements to make them Rebelles againſt their Prince, and the other ſeduced Papiſts at Home would eaſily forget their Idolatrie, ther being here neither Office, nor any other Monument of that Antichriſtian Religion left, to put them in Mind of that *Babel*; and ſo the Lord would accompliſh that which the Apoſtle ſaithe ſhal be fulfilled, euen the vtter Conſuming of the Man of Sin in this Land, (2 *Theſ.* ii.) And therfor the Reteining of theſe Offices and Livings are not onely ioyned with the great Diſhonour of God, and the Offence of his Saincts, but turned in the iuſt Iudgement of the Lord to be a Snare of the Peace of this noble Kingdome, yea, and of the Proſperitie and Welfare of her Maieſties moſt Royal Perſon (whom the Lord bleſſe, Body and Sowle, from al Dangers both at Home and Abroad) as it is wel knowne by ouer many Popiſh Trecheries intended againſt her. I marvaile not that the Papiſts diſlike our Separation, and yow may be aſſured, that, if they knew what may bring us into Danger or Diſcredit us with her Maieſtie, with any of our Superiors, the honorable and worſhipful Magiſtrats, under her Highnes, or any els of our Countrymen, they wil be ſure to vtter the ſame, though it were in their owne Conſciences neuer ſo vntrue. For they know, that, of al the Men vnder Heauen, we are the greateſt Enemies vnto their Religion; we leaue the ſame neither Branch nor Root, but would haue al the World to be as clear of that ſpiritual Contagion, as it was the ſame Day wherin the Lord *Ieſus* went up on high, and led Captiuitie captiue. Their Reaſon of their Separation, drawen from our Example, is like their Religion. We dare not ioyne with the Aſſemblies of the Land, notwithſtanding that we know many of the Truthes of *Ieſus Chriſt* to be profeſſed therin, becauſe in the Offices, and many of the Workes remayning in them, we ſhould have Communion with the Religion of the *Roman* Antichriſt, in many of the Workes and Inuentions therof: They, on the other Side, wil not ioyne with the publick Worſhip of the Land, becauſe therby they ſhould haue ouer-much Communion with the Doctrine of Chriſt, and ouer-little with the poiſoned Inuentions ordeined by Satan in the *Romiſh* Synagogue, and who moved them to their Treaſon and Diſobedience, before we took this Courſe. Is their Reaſon any thing tolerable, that, becauſe we indevour to worſhip the Lord purely, they ſhould take Example therby, to giue themſelues wholy to the Worſhip of Satan?

Fan. But why refuſe yow Conference, that yow may be reformed in thoſe Things wherin yow erre?

Pen. I refuſe none: I am moſt willing readily to yeeld unto any, as Mr. *Young* hath it to teſtify vnder my Hand; onely my Deſire and Requeſt is, that I may haue ſome equal Conditions graunted vnto me and my poore Brethren in it, the which yet, if I cannot obteine, I am ready to yeeld unto any Conference, though neuer ſo vnequal; yea, I am deſirous of any Conference that her Maieſty, and their Honors, may be truly informed of that which I and my Brethren do hold, and of the Warrant that we haue therof from the Word of the Lord. Onely I craue, that my Iudgement, my Reaſons, my Anſwers, may be reported in my owne Words, and herof I beſeech your Worſhips to beare Witnes with me. Laſtly, I beſeech yow to conſider, that it is to no Purpoſe that her Maieſties Subiectes ſhould beſtowe ther Tiime in Learning, in the Study and Meditation of the Word of God, in the Reading of the Writings and Doinges of the learned Men, and holy Martyrs that haue bene in former Ages, eſpecialy the Writings publiſhed by her Maieſties Authoritie, if they may not, without Danger, profeſſe and hold thoſe Truthes which they learne out of them; and that in ſuch Sort, as they are able to conuince al the World that wil ſtand againſt them by no other Weapons then by the Word of God. Conſider alſo, I pray you, what a lamentable Caſe it is, that we may ioyne with the *Romiſh* Church in the Inuentions therof, without al Danger, and cannot, but with extreme Peril, be permitted in Judgement and Practiſe to diſſent from the ſame, wher it ſwarveth from the true Way. And, as yow finde theſe Conſiderations to carry ſome Weight with them, ſo I beſeech yow be a Meanes unto her Maieſtie, and their Honors, that my Caſe may be weighed in euen Ballance. Impriſonments, Inditements, yea, Death itſelf, are no meet Weapons to convince Mens Conſciences.

The Travels of three *Engliſh* Gentlemen, from *Venice* to *Hamburgh*, being the grand Tour of *Germany*, in the Year 1734. *MS.* Never before publiſhed.

THE Gentleman, who drew up the following Piece, is a Perſon of Curioſity; and, when he firſt went Abroad, as well as during his Reſidence in foreign Parts, was a Member of the Royal Society, *and of the Univerſity of* Oxford. *The Obſervations it contains, many of which are intirely new, are related with the utmoſt Fidelity. It may, therefore, be conſidered, as a Supplement to the ingenious Dr.* Brown*'s Travels in* Germany; *and will likewiſe ſerve to ſupply various Omiſſions, and illuſtrate ſeveral obſcure Paſſages, of other modern Relations, with which Gentlemen of Erudition, who have viſited the Countries herein mentioned, have entertained the Public.*

SECT. I.

A Journey from Venice *to* Gorizia, *or* Goritia, *the Capital of a County of the ſame Name, in the Dutchy of* Carniola.

THE War breaking out between *France* and her Allies and the Houſe of *Auſtria*, towards the Cloſe of the Year 1733, we took for granted, that the Maritime Powers could not avoid concerning themſelves in that Quarrel; and, therefore, laid aſide all Thoughts of returning to *England* through *France*, as we had propoſed, when at *Rome*. This induced us to make the grand Tour of *Germany*; and, in Order thereto, to meet at *Venice*, the Beginning of *February*, 1734. Here, according to Agreement, we arrived; and having ſeen all the principal Curioſities, and the Concluſion of the Carnival, we went by Water, with our Baggage, and two Poſt-Chaiſes, to *Meſtre*, *February* the twenty-ſeventh, O. S. 1733; or *March* the tenth, N. S. 1734. *Meſtre* is a ſmall Town or Village, about five Miles almoſt Weſt of *Venice*, and the Place where the Barcas, bound from that Capital to the *Venetian* Territories in *Italy*, and particularly thoſe with Gentlemen for *Germany*, frequently land their Paſſengers and Effects. The Padrone of the Barca, whom we paid according to Agreement, upon our Landing, was a Man of ſome Politeneſs and Addreſs, though very deſirous of impoſing upon us; but this is not to be wondered at, ſince it exactly correſponds with the general Diſpoſition of the *Italians*.

The *Vetturino*, who ſupplied us with ſix Horſes from *Venice* to *Gorizia*, for twelve *Zecchins*, or *Sequins*, each conſiſting of twenty-two *Venetian Lire*, or *Livres*, furniſhed us with two very good *Poſtiglioni*. Theſe conducted us firſt to *Treviſo*, *Trivigi*, or *Trevigio*, for it goes by all theſe Names, a Poſt and Half from *Meſtre*, through the Villages of *Mojana*, *La Croce*, and *La Fraſcar*. *Mojana* has a handſome Church, with a pretty high Tower; and, as our *Poſtiglioni* informed us, is famous for the Fineneſs and Whiteneſs of its Bread. It is about four *Italian* Miles from *Meſtre. La Cr[illegible]e* and *La Fraſcar* are not conſiderble enough, to deſerve any particular Notice. The Country between *Venice* and *Treviſo* is a Plain, and, even at this Time of the Year, covered with a beautiful Verdure. We entered *Treviſo, February* the twenty-ſeventh, about ſixteen Hours *, according to the *Italian* Computation of Time.

Treviſo, or *Trivigi,* as it is called by *Leandro Alberti,* is a City of conſiderable Note, as being of great Antiquity, and the principal Place, unleſs we will have † *Venice* itſelf to ſtand in this Territory, of the *Marca Treviſana.* However, ſcarce any Traces of its former Grandeur are now to be ſeen. It is ſeated upon the River *Sile, Silo,* or *Silio,* the *Silis* of *Pliny* (Lib. iii. Cap. 18.) which runs through the Town; and, according to that Author, has its Source in the neighbouring Mountains, called, by him, *Montes Tarviſani.* The firſt Writers of Authority, that mention this City, are *Procopius* (Lib. ii. Bell. Goth.) and *Paulus Diaconus* (Lib. iv. Cap. 3.) though the *Montes Tarviſani* of *Pliny* (Lib. iii. Cap. 18.) ſeem to intimate, that theſe Mountains received their Denomination from *Tarviſium,* the ancient *Roman* Name of *Treviſa,* and, conſequently, to imply, that this Place exiſted in *Pliny*'s Time. Nay, that it was a *Roman* Municipium, in early Ages, evidently appears from Stones dug up near it, with *Roman* Inſcriptions upon them, *viz.* MVN. TAR. and DECVRION. Upon the Declenſion of the Weſtern Empire, it became ſubject to the *Oſtrogoths,* whoſe fifth King, *Totila,* was born here. Afterwards *Alboinus,* King of the *Lombards,* having made himſelf Maſter of *Aquileia,* and other Cities in that Neighbourhood, reſolved to pillage and lay in Aſhes *Trevigi,* becauſe its Citizens had not been early enough in their Submiſſion to him. But *Felix,* the Biſhop, found Means to prevent the Execution of ſo barbarous a Deſign. The *Lombard* Marquiſſes, or Governors, whoſe Buſineſs it was to keep every Thing quiet on the Frontiers, for a conſiderable Time, made this the Place of their Reſidence; and from them it paſſed to the Emperors and Kings of *Italy,* in common with the other *Italian* Towns. Afterwards, one *Ezzelinus,* a cruel Tyrant, poſſeſſed himſelf of it; though the Emperors, as ſhould ſeem, ſoon recovered it. The Emperor *Henry* VI. made one *Ricciardo da Camino,* a Perſon of great Wealth and Popularity here, Vicar of *Trevigi,* reſerving to himſelf the Sovereignty of the *Marca Treviſana.* In ſucceeding Ages, the *Carrareſi* were Lords of the Town and Diſtrict; after them the *Scaligeri,* or *Signori della Scala;* and, laſt of all, the *Venetians,* by Virtue of a Treaty concluded between them, the *Scaligeri,* and *Giovanni Galeazzo Viſconti,* firſt Duke of *Milan,* in 1388. The Emperor *Maximilian* beſieged it ineffectually in 1509. The Diſtrict of *Treviſo* abounds with all the Neceſſaries of Life; and, particularly, with Corn, Wine, Animals, *&c.* The Wine it produces is excellent, and the Bread extremely white and fine. There are, likewiſe, here many delightful Fountains, whoſe pure limpid Water appears as agreeable to the Eye, as it is grateful to the Taſte. The noble Families of *Treviſa* are ſo numerous, that we muſt beg Leave to refer our Readers to the *Italian* ‡ Writers, for a Catalogue of them, which the narrow Limits, we have preſcribed ourſelves, will not permit us to inſert here. The principal Churches are, thoſe of *San Nicolo, Honeſto, Gieſu,* the *Domo, San Martin, San Paulo,* and *Santa Margarita.* Among the great Perſonages born here, may be ranked Pope *Benedict* XI. and *Ponticus Virunius,* who died in 1520.

Having ſtaid ſome Hours here, where, in Truth, few curious Objects preſent themſelves to a Traveller's View, we continued our Route. About Five in the Afternoon, we paſſed the River *Piave,* directing our March towards *Conegliano,* or *Conigliano,* a Poſt and Half from *Treviſo.* Dr. *Brown* thinks the *Piave* to be the *Anaſſum* of the Antients; but Father *Hardouin* looks upon the modern *Stella* as the antient *Anaſſum.* Be that it as will, the *Piave* has a fine Bridge over it at *Belluno*, to whoſe Diſtrict both *Conegliano* and *Sacil* appertain. This Diſtrict is an extremely fertile Country, diverſified with little Hills, Vallies, Mountains, and Woods. It alſo abounds with Game of all Kinds, as well as Veins of Gold, Silver, Iron, and Vitriol. *Conegliano*, though a large Village, has nothing, at preſent, more remarkable, than being ſituated on the Poſt-road. We lay this Night at *Colimbrigo*, in an Houſe belonging to an *Engliſh* Merchant, ſettled at *Venice*; which obliged us to deviate a little from the direct Road to *Gorizia*. From thence, the next Morning, we proceeded to *Conegliano*, where we met with nothing remarkable. This Place ſtands on the River *Mottegano*, whoſe Source is on a Hill, near the Town of *Ceneda*. The People of *Treviſo*, though ſubject to the *Venetians*, ſeemed extremely incenſed againſt the *French*, and their Allies, for ſeizing upon the *Milaneze*, and ſo unjuſtly Attacking the Houſe of *Auſtria*.

---

* The *Italians* compute their Time from Sun-ſet to Sun-ſet, and, therefore, their greateſt Number of Hours is Twenty-four.

† *Buno,* in his Notes upon *Cluverius*'s Introduction to Geography, is clearly of this Opinion, as our Readers will find, by conſulting him there. See *Buno*'s Notes upon *Cluverius,* Lib. III. Cap. xxxiv. Pag. 277. Ed. *Amſt.* & *Lond.* 1697.

‡ See the *Theatro delle Città d' Italia* of Signior *Franceſco Bertelli,* printed at *Padua,* in 1629.

The next Place in the Road to *Gorizia*, where freſh Horſes are to be taken, is *Sacil*, a Poſt and Half diſtant from *Conegliano*. This Village, which ſtands on the *Livenza*, at preſent makes no Figure, but was formerly a Biſhop's See, and under the Patriarch of *Aquileia*. *Pordenon*, a Poſt from *Sacil*, is, at preſent, likewiſe very obſcure. Between *Pordenon* and *Codroipo* we paſſed the *Tajamento*, or, as the Natives call it, *Tagliamento*, a River of ſome Note, on Account of the Swiftneſs and Rapidity of its Stream. The *Tagliamento* we take to be the *Tilaventum Majus* of *Pliny*, and the Τιλαουέμπτος of *Ptolemy*. From *Pordenon* to *Codroipo* is one Poſt. *Codroipo* is a large Village, and has a pleaſant Situation. Many of the Women, in theſe Parts, have a very maſculine Air, quite void of that Softneſs ſo natural to their Sex. We found the *Italian* here, for the moſt Part, very corrupt, and ſometimes ſcarce intelligible.

From *Codroipo* we went to *Palma*, *Palmada*, or *Palma Nova*, a Fortreſs belonging to the moſt ſerene Republic of *Venice*, and two Poſts diſtant from *Codroipo*. This Fortreſs, which is ſeated in * *Friuli*, was built by the *Venetians*, in 1593, and 1594. It was intended to repreſs the Courſes of the *Turks*, who ſometimes, before the Erection of it, committed, on the Coaſt of the *Adriatic*, dreadful Depredations, and, in the Reign of *Mohammed the Great*, A. D. 1477, made an Incurſion as far as *Treviſo*. The Doge *Paſcale Ciconia*, who then preſided over the *Venetian* State, likewiſe imagined, that it might ſerve as a Barrier to the *Venetian* Territories, on that Side, againſt any Attempts of the Houſe of *Auſtria*. The Plans of this Fortezza, given us by Signior *Franceſco Bertelli*, in 1629, and Dr. *Brown*, in 1669, do, in the Main, agree; neither is the preſent Face of it much different from theſe Plans. It is, perhaps, one of the largeſt regular Fortifications in *Europe*. The Town, excluſive of the Fortification, forms a Circle, whoſe Diameter is ſix hundred Paces. There are near ſeven-hundred Pieces of Cannon in the Place. For a particular Deſcription of it, the Curious may have Recourſe to the abovementioned Signior *Bertelli* and Dr. *Brown*.

To oblige our curious Readers, we ſhall here give them the original Names of the Baſtions of *Palma*, *viz.*

San Fortunato.
Santo Hermagora.
Santa Croce.
San Lorenzo.
Santa Giuſtina.
San Stefano.
Santa Maria.
San Clemente.
Santa Euſemia.

We ſtaid ſome Time at *Palma*, to refreſh ourſelves, and to learn the Strength, and other Particulars, of the Place. In Anſwer to ſome of our Queries, we were told, that the Fortezza was gariſoned only by ten Companies of *Venetian* Foot, three of *Sclavonians*, and a ſmall Body of Horſe; and that General *Mocenigo* commanded there. The Cattle of this Country, as well as thoſe of *Carniola* and *Carin-*

---

* The *Latin* Name of *Friuli* is *Forum Julii*; which ſome take to be derived from that of its principal City, ſo called from *Julius Cæſar*, who led a Body of his Troops through this Country againſt the *Helvetians*. Be that as it will, the City of *Friuli*, or *Forum Julii*, now the *Cividad di Friuli*, a Place ſtrong by its Situation, was deſtroyed by *Cancamus*, King of *Bavaria*, according to *Paulus Diaconus*; or, as others will have it, *Cagana* the *Pannonian*. *Pliny* calls the People of *Friuli Forojulienſes Tranſpadani*, to diſtinguiſh them from the *Forojulienſes Ciſpadani*, ſeated in *Umbria*, and tells us that their Territory produced excellent Wine.

thia, are, in many Parts, extremely ſmall. The Habits of the Women, and, particularly, their Hats, or Caps, betwixt *Palma* and *Gorizia*, differ conſiderably from thoſe uſed in any other Part of *Italy*.

Between *Palma* and *Gorizia*, which are diſtant two Poſts, taking a Sort of Detour, we paſſed through *Straſoldo*, *Villes*, and *Gradiſca*. *Straſoldo* is a little Village with a Tower, not far from the River *Liſonzo*, or *Liſonczo*, and probably gave a Title to the Counts of *Straſoldo*, one of which Family, if we miſtake not, was an Imperial General, employed by the Emperor *Leopold* againſt the *Hungarian* Malecontents, in the Year 1680. *Villes* is likewiſe a ſmall Village, ſeated almoſt in the Midway, between *Straſoldo* and *Gradiſca*. But *Gradiſca*[*] is a pretty conſiderable Town, ſituated not far from the Conflux of the *Wibach*, or *Vipaco*, and *Liſonczo*. It is the firſt Fortezza in the Dutchy of *Carniola*, about eight Miles from *Palma*, and four or five from *Gorizia*. Some Authors have erroneouſly placed both *Gradiſca* and *Gorizia* in *Friuli*. The Fortifications of the former Place ſeem to be in a ruinous Condition; but the Imperialiſts are now repairing them. The Gariſon, according to the Natives, does not exceed Two-hundred Men. Here we croſſed the *Liſonczo*, a pretty celebrated River. About twenty-three Hours, or an Hour before Sun-ſet, *Feb.* 28. O. S. we arrived at *Gorizia*, betwixt which Town and *Venice*, the Number of Poſts ſtands thus:

From *Venice* to *Meſtre*, five Miles.
From *Meſtre* to *Treviſo*, a Poſt and Half.
From *Treviſo* to *Conegliano*, a Poſt and Half.
From *Conegliano* to *Sacil*, a Poſt and Half.
From *Sacil* to *Pordenon*, one Poſt.
From *Pordenon* to *Codroipo*, one Poſt.
From *Codroipo* to *Palma*, two Poſts.
From *Palma* to *Gorizia*, two Poſts.

As, therefore, theſe Poſts are reckoned, one with another, to be ſomething above ſix Miles each, the Diſtance between *Venice* and *Goritia* may be fixed roundly, at ſeventy-two or ſeventy-four Miles. According to the *Italians*, *Goritia* is, at leaſt, ſeventy-ſix or eighty *Italian* Miles from *Venice*.

Gorizia, or *Goritia*, called by the *Germans*, *Görz*, or *Görtz*, is a large Town, Capital of a County of the ſame Name, and ſubject to the Emperor. It ſtands on the River *Liſonczo*, partly on an Eminence, and partly on a Plain, about fourteen *German* Miles N. W. of *Laubach*, the Metropolis of *Carniola*. The Streets are long and narrow, and the Houſes, for the moſt Part, mean. It conſiſts of two Parts, the upper and lower Town. The Caſtle, with the upper Town, is ſituated upon a Hill, which commands the lower Town. We found the Fortezza in a bad Condition, and defended only by a Gariſon of Three-hundred Men. Count *Rabata*, the Commandant, has a fine Houſe, which ſeems to be a Part of, or at leaſt adjoining to, the Caſtle, built in an oval Form. The *Wendiſh*, or *Sclavonian* Tongue reaches no farther Weſt than this Place. The Languages, ſpoken here, are the *Italian*, the *German*, the *Sclavonian*, and an odd Corruption of *Latin* inclining to the *French*. The Burghers uſe this laſt, and therefore are, with great Difficulty, underſtood by the *Venetians*, and other *Italians*. The *Italian*, ſpoken here, is the *Friulian* Dialect. All the Proceedings of the Courts of Judicature, and the Edicts of the Emperor, are publiſhed in the *German* Tongue[†]. Some learned Men take *Goritia* to be the antient *Noreia*; but as this Notion depends upon a Suppoſition, that the antient *Noreia* firſt changed its Name into *Noritia*, and afterwards *Goritia*, which is very precarious, not to ſay improbable, it ſeems to deſerve no great Credit. Beſides, there is no Need to have Recourſe to ſuch a Notion, in Order to diſcover the Etymon of the Word *Gorizia*, or to inveſtigate the Origin of this City. For, the Word *Gorizia* is undoubtedly of *Slavic*, or *Sclavonic*, Extraction. In the *Slavic* Language, which is ſpoken here, *Gora* ſignifies a Hill, and *Goriza*, a little Hill, or Eminence, ſuch as that occupied by the Caſtle of *Gorizia*, where Count *Rabata* lives, and the upper, or antient Town. And indeed the antient Town ſeems to have been the only Part of the Place, built by the antient *Slavi*; the other being modern, void of all Fortifications, and ſeated in a Plain, commanded by the aforeſaid Hill. As to the preſent Face of *Goritia*, it has a famous Parochial Church, over which a mitred Archdeacon preſides; a Convent of *Minorites*; another of *Capucins*; a Nunnery, belonging to the Virgins of *Santa Urſula*; another to thoſe of *Santa Clara*; a College of *Jeſuits*, founded by the Emperor *Ferdinand* II. with a noble *Gymnaſium*, where Youth is not only inſtructed in the *Literæ humaniores*, but likewiſe, in the Principles of *Moral Theology*, and the *Ariſtotelian Philoſophy*, appertaining to it. To which likewiſe may be added a Convent of *Carmelites*, on a neighbouring Hill. The *Jeſuits* College ſeems to be the beſt Building in *Goritia*. We could not forbear Obſerving, that, though the Houſes here are, for the moſt Part, mean, and the Streets narrow, a conſiderable Number of Coaches, and Perſons of Diſtinction, were moving about the Town. The principal, if not only, Piazza in *Goritia* is the *Piazza di Traunt*, where the *Jeſuits* College ſtands. We put up at the *Aquila Negra*, or *Black Eagle*, which is reckoned by Foreigners, and particularly *Engliſh* Gentlemen, the beſt Inn here. The Landlord was a very chearful, pleaſant Man, mortally hated the *French*, and ſpoke *Italian*, with ſuch Elegance and Propriety, together with ſo fine a Pronunciation, that he might juſtly be ſaid to have *La Lingua* Toſcana *in Bocca* Romana. One of us told him, *that the* French *would ſoon demoliſh the Emperor*; to which he replied, with great Warmth, *Aſpetta un poco, Signiore mio, adeſſo adeſſo ſaranno ben baſtonati i* Franceſi *da noſtro* CARLO. i. e. *Have a little Patience, my good Sir, the* French *will ſoon be well drubbed by our* CHARLES. The Lodging here was not extraordinary; but in Return, our Bill in the Morning was pretty moderate. We ſhall hereafter have an Opportunity of ſaying ſomething of the Dutchy of *Carniola*.

---

[*] *Gradiſca* is ſuppoſed, by *Cluverius*, to be the ſame Place with the *Ad undecimum Lapidem* of the antient *Romans*.

[†] The *Venetians* beſieged and took *Goritia* in 1508, but the Emperor *Maximilian* I. recovered it in 1509. In 1616, a Body of *Venetian* Troops attempted to ſurpriſe it, but wer obliged to retreat without executing their Deſign.

SECT. II.

A Journey from Goritia *to* Laubach, *or* Lubiana, *the Metropolis of* Carniola.

HAving ſeen every Thing remarkable in *Goritia*, we made the neceſſary Diſpoſitions for leaving that Place; and, amongſt other Things, agreed with the Poſt-Maſter, for three Horſes to each of our Poſt-Chaiſes, and two more for two *Engliſh* Servants that attended us. We had beſides theſe a *Swiſs*; but he rode with one of us, for the moſt Part, in a Poſt-Chaiſe. It is worthy Obſervation, that a Gentleman, who travels in his own Chaiſe, is obliged to take the ſame Number of Poſt-Horſes through the Empire, that he ſets out with from *Goritia*. So that, if the Poſt-Maſter there inſiſts upon his having four Horſes, he will be ſaddled with that Number, every Poſt, throughout the Empire; if three only, then three will afterwards ſuffice. Though there are Inſtances of four Horſes being impoſed upon a Traveller, who had before but three, when the Roads render it neceſſary. But, in ſuch a Caſe, when they become better, the fourth Horſe is taken off. From *Goritia* to *Vienna*, we paid fifteen *Groſſe*, that is, forty-five *Creutzers*, or *Karantani*, a Horſe per Poſt, and eight *Groſſe* per Poſt to each of our *Poſtiglioni*. In Order to meet with the better Entertainment this Lent-Seaſon, we gave a *Venetian* Phyſician a *Zecchin*, to certify, under his Hand, that we were all in a ſickly Condition, and could not live without Fleſh; though our Countenances rendered this very improbable. However, as it happened, we had no Need of ſuch a Certificate; the Inns all along the Road, without producing it, not ſcrupling to ſupply us with whatever Proviſions we deſired. The Wine in *Goritia*, which is white, is of quite a different Taſte from any we met with in *Italy*; but bears ſome Reſemblance to that of the *Rhine* and the *Moſelle*. The Meat is good, and the Cookery ſufficiently elegant, though different both from the *French* and the *Italian*.

All Points relating to our Journey being ſettled, and the Horſes ready, we took our Leave of *Goritia*, *March* 2, O. S. early in the Morning; and ſet out for *Laubach*, or, as the *Italians* call it, *Lubiana*. About Nine o'Clock we reached *Czerniza*, a ſmall Town, or Village, which terminates the firſt Poſt. Though this Poſt muſt be allowed a long one, the Country, through which we paſſed, being a Plain, appeared agreeable enough; but the Road in ſome Parts was very rough. It deſerves to be here remarked, that the Gentleman who wrote this Account, though he tried ſeveral Times, could not pronounce the Word

Czerniza as our *Poſtiglioni*, who were Natives of *Carniola*, did. This was owing to the Power of *Cz*, which an *Engliſhman*'s Organs of Speech will not permit him exactly to utter. It ſeems to be a Sound of a middle Nature betwixt thoſe of S H and C H, in the *Engliſh* Words *Shoe* and *Cherry*. The *Sclavonians*, *Hungarians*, *Bohemians*, and *Moravians* begin ſeveral of their Proper Names with *Cz*, as *Czerna*, *Czaſlaw*, *Czacki*, *Czernin*, *Czechorod*, &c. in ſome of which they pronounce it not very differently from the People of *Carniola*. The complex, or compound, Conſonant *Cz* properly belongs to the *Hungarians*, who have a Character equivalent to it in their old *Hunnic*, or *Hunno-Scythian*, Alphabet. This we learn from the famous[*] *Matthias Belius*, in his curious Treatiſe, intituled, *De vetere Literatura* Hunno Scythica *Exercitatio*; to whom, for farther Satisfaction on this Head, we refer our ingenious and inquiſitive Readers.

From *Czerniza* we went to *Pipaco*, a conſiderable Village, where freſh Poſt-Horſes are taken in. The *Italians* call this Village *Pipaco*, and *Vipaco*, the *Carnioleze Vipava*, and the *Germans Wipach*. It was formerly a large and populous City, ſubject to its own Prince, or, at leaſt, poſſeſſed by a Family who derived their Surname from it. Afterwards it came into the Poſſeſſion of Count *Oſterwicz*, whoſe Family was one of the nobleſt in *Carinthia*. In 1487, the Emperor *Frederic* IV. made a Preſent of it to *Leonard* Count *Herberſtein*; and with that Family it remained for ſome Time. The *Turks* pillaged *Wipach*, and all the adjacent Country, in 1478; and the *Venetians* took it by Surprize, in 1508. It ſtands upon a River of the ſame Name, which firſt iſſues from a neighbouring craggy Mountain. This River is the celebrated *Frigidus* of the Antients, taken Notice of by *Peutinger*'s Table, the *Itinerary* of *Antoninus*, and *Claudian*. It has been rendered famous by a great Victory obtained, in a moſt wonderful, and even miraculous, Manner, over the Tyrant *Eugenius*, by the Emperor *Theodoſius*, A. C. 394. This Victory has been minutely deſcribed by *Ruffinus*, *Oroſius*, *Socrates*, *Sozomen*, *Jornandes*, and *Claudian*; the laſt of which Authors, in his Deſcription of it, breaks out into the following moſt beautiful Exclamation:

> O nimium dilecte Deo, cui fundit ab Antris
> *Æolus* armatas Hyemes, cui militat Æther,
> Et conjurati veniunt in Claſſica Venti!
> *Alpinæ* rubuere Nives, & FRIGIDVS Amnis
> Mutatis fumavit Aquis, Turbaque cadentum
> Staret, ni rapidus juviſſet Flumina Sanguis.

It is ſeated at the Southern Foot of the *Carnian Alps*, or, as the Natives term them, the *Czalin* Mountains. Count *Lanthieri* has a fine Palace here. All the adjacent Country is famous for the pleaſant and generous Wine it produces. Between *Czerniza* and *Pipaco*, which are diſtant about two *German* Miles, we paſſed through a Village, and croſſed a little River. The Village ſtood on the River. The Name of the former, our *Poſtiglione* informed us, was *Aiduſchna*, or *Aduſhna*, and of the latter *Fouble*. Beſides *Aduſhna* and the *Fouble*, nothing meriting our Attention occurred this Poſt.

The next Poſt-Town, or Village, we came to was called *Reſderda*, which made no very great Figure. The Road was rough and mountainous, and the Poſt pretty long.

From *Reſderda* to *Planino* is one Poſt, two *German* Miles long. The *Germans* and *Carnioleze* call *Planino Plania*. It ſtands upon the River *Alben*, about a *German* Mile from *Logatiz*, or *Logitſch*. As this laſt Place is a Poſt from *Vernich*, *Planino* muſt be a Poſt and half, or at leaſt a very long Poſt, from that Village, as will appear to every Perſon who conſults the Map of *Carniola*. Here we ſtaid an Hour, to refreſh ourſelves and our Servants, having all of us been pretty much fatigued by the Badneſs of the Road, the two laſt Poſts. We met in this Place, though a Village of no great Note, a Glaſs of very good Wine, which not a littte raiſed our drooping Spirits. The Wheels of the Poſt-Chaiſes had conſiderably ſuffered, ſo that we were obliged to have them greaſed here, which coſt us ten Groſſe, or half a Florin. We took a Poſt-Chaiſe for our two *Engliſh* Servants at *Reſderda*, and another here; which having done, we immediately proceeded on our Journey.

Nothing remarkable occurred betwixt *Planino* and *Vernich*, the next Place that furniſhed us with Poſt-Horſes and a Chaiſe for our Servants. The *Carnioleze* and *German* Name of *Vernich* is *Franicz*. The Town ſtands upon the River *Franicz*, and not far from its Source. *Vernich*, the *Italian* Name of *Franicz*, confirms what we have before obſerved in Relation to the Power of the complex *Carniolian* Conſonant *Cz*. *Vernich* is a ſmall Town, or Village, eminent for Nothing, as far as we could learn, but being ſituate on the Poſt-Road. We ſtaid about half an Hour here; and then, after having had our Wheels greaſed again, ſet out for *Laubach*, or *Lubiana*. We paid our Servants *Poſtiglione*, the two preceding Poſts, 20 *Creutzers*, or *Karantani*, *per* Poſt.

---

[*] Vid. *Matth. Bel.* de vet. Lit. *Hunno-Scythic.* Exercit. p. 34. Ed. *Lipſiæ*, 1718.

The Road is exceſſively bad from *Vernich* to *Lubiana*. Therefore ſome Paſſengers chuſe to go by Water from the former to the latter of theſe Places; which they may eaſily do, by Means of the Rivers *Franicz* and *Laubach*. The Poſt between *Vernich* and *Lubiana* conſiſts at leaſt of three *German* Miles. We entered *Laubach* about an Hour before Sun-ſet; and found the Landlord of the *Black-Horſe*, where we put up, very obliging and agreeable. From what has been obſerved, our Readers will eaſily collect the Number of Poſts between *Goritia* and *Laubach* to be as follows:

From *Goritia* to *Czerniza*, one Poſt, three *German* Miles.

From *Czerniza* to *Pipaco*, or *Wipach*, one Poſt.

From *Wipach* to *Reſderda*, one Poſt.

From *Reſderda* to *Planino*, or *Plania*, one Poſt.

From *Plania* to *Franicz*, or *Vernich*, one long Poſt.

From *Vernich*, or *Franicz*, to *Laubach*, three *German* Miles.

Laubach, the Metropolis of *Carniola*, in *Latin Labacum*, is called by the Natives *Lublana*, by the *Germans Laybach* and *Laubach*, and by the *Italians Lubiana*. It ſtands upon a River of the ſame Name, in N. Lat. 46 deg. 10 min. and Long. 38 deg. 40 min. about 27 *German* Miles South of *Gratz*, the Capital of *Stiria*. It is ſurrounded by a Wall, has ſix Gates, and is divided into two Parts by the River *Laubach*, that runs through it. That River moves ſo ſlowly here, that its Motion is ſcarce diſcernible, till it comes to a Deſcent a little farther, down which it ruſhes with great Rapidity into the *Save*. It ſeems to be the *Nauportus* of *Pliny* and *Strabo*. According to the *German* Writers, who have Probability on their Side, *Laubach* occupies the ſame Spot of Ground that the antient *Æmona*, *Hæmonia*, or *Hemona*, did; though it cannot be ſaid to have put on the Form of a City till the Year 1416. The Inhabitants then erected a ſlight Sort of Wall round it, which was afterwards ſtrengthened and improved by the Emperor *Frederic* IV. in 1475, to ſecure it againſt the Inſults and Excurſions of the *Turks*. This being afterwards demoliſhed, the City remained without a Wall from the Year 1520. to the Year 1553. when the Citizens built a new one much ſtronger than the former, adding to it ſeveral Bulwarks, and Ditches excavated within, ſtill extant; which made it look like a regular Fortification. The greateſt Part of the Expence of this neceſſary Work was defrayed by *Ferdinand* I. King of the *Romans*. There is appertaining to the City a Ducal Caſtle, or Palace, of great Extent, ſeated on the Top of a Hill, covered with a Wood that is always green. This *Fortezza* is a Place of conſiderable Strength, being fortified by a ſingle ſolid Wall towards the Eaſt, and with a triple one in ſome other Parts, which, at preſent, ſeems very antique. That the antient *Æmona* either ſtood where the modern *Laubach* at preſent does, or at a very ſmall Diſtance from the Spot taken up by it, may be collected from ſeveral Stones, with *Latin* Inſcriptions upon them, dug up at *Laubach*. If we admit the former Notion, *Laubach* may vye with moſt Cities of *Europe*, in Point of Antiquity; ſince, according to *Zoſimus* and *Sozomen*, *Æmona* was built by the *Argonauts*, in their Return from their *Aſiatic* Expedition. In this Caſe, *Laubach* will be, at leaſt, Four-hundred Years older than *Rome*.

As for the Churches here, if we include thoſe in the Suburbs, they are thirteen in Number. 1. The Cathedral Church of St. *Nicholas*, ſaid to have been built long before the Year 1386, by ſome Sailors and Fiſhermen; which is probable enough, ſince being burnt down that Year, it was afterwards rebuilt and adorned with many Altars. 2. The Church of the Bleſſed Virgin *Mary*, annexed to the Houſe of the Knights of the *Teutonic* Order, built in the Form of a Croſs, and ſuppoſed to ſtand upon the Ruins of the Walls of the antient *Æmona*. 3. The Church of the *Minorites*, called the Church of the glorious Aſſumption of the Bleſſed Virgin. The Foundations of this were firſt laid in the Year 1403, upon the Ruins of another built in 1073. 4. The Church of the *Jeſuits*, founded in the Year 1596, a large Account of which has been given by the Baron *Valvaſor*. Before the Front of it is a beautiful and ſpacious Area, on one Side of which ſtands the *Jeſuits* College, and on the other their Gymnaſium, where all Kinds of polite Literature are cultivated, as likewiſe *Moral Theology*. The Scholars here are divided into ſeven Schools. This Gymnaſium has a very large *Auditorium*, which is graced with a noble Theatre. We were told, that the Schools are always extremely full of Scholars; and that the *Jeſuits* took Care of their Education.

Oppoſite to the *Jeſuits* Church there is a brazen *Coloſſus* of the *Immaculate Virgin* ſtanding on a Marble Baſe, the four Corners of which are adorned by the Statues of St. *Joſeph*, St. *Leopold*, St. *Ignatius*, and St. *Francis Xavier*. 5. The Church of St. *James*, which is large, but not of a very high Antiquity. 6. The little Church of St. *Elizabeth*, adjoining to the Hoſpital, which muſt be very antient, ſince it was deſtroyed by Fire in 1386. 7. The Church of St. *Frideline*, which the common People call the Church of St. *Lawrence*, becauſe on that Saint's Day they annually celebrate its Dedication with great Solemnity. 8. The Church of St. *Florian*, built by the charitable Contributions of pious Perſons ſince the Year 1660, when a great Part of the City was laid in Aſhes. 9. The Church of St. *George*, within, and appertaining to, the Caſtle or Citadel. 10. The Church and Convent of the *Auſtin* Friars in the Suburbs, conſecrated in the Year 1669. 11. The Church of St. *Joſeph*, together with the Convent of diſcalceated Friars, built by the Prince of *Eggenberg* in 1657. 12. The Church and Convent of the *Capuchins*, founded and endowed by *Ferdinand* II, when Archduke of *Auſtria*. At the Foundation of this Church and Monaſtery, *Anno* 1607, *Thomas Chrön*, Biſhop of *Laubach*, laid the firſt Stone. The Building was finiſhed the Summer following, and conſecrated with great Solemnity, 20,000 Men, under 500 Banners, from all Parts of *Carniola*, *Stiria*, and *Carinthia*, attending that Ceremony. 13. The Church of St. *Peter*, one of the oldeſt in this Place, and very large. There is extant a Liſt of all the Paſtors of this Church, from the Year 1385, to the preſent Time. It will be proper likewiſe to obſerve here, that there is in *Laubach* a Religious Houſe, or Nunnery, belonging to the Virgins of *Santa Clara*, founded by one *Michael Hiller* in 1648.

Laubach has likewiſe other elegant Edifices, that deſerve the Attention of every curious Traveller; the principal of which are the following: 1. The *Domus Provincialis*, *Comitium*, or *Province-Houſe*, where the States of the Province meet, and have their *Comitia*. Theſe States conſiſt of four Orders: The *Firſt* or Eccleſiaſtical, compoſed of the Biſhops of *Laubach*, *Freiſingen*, *Brixen*, *Pedena*, and *Trieſte*, beſides ſome Heads of Religious Houſes, and Canons of the Cathedral Church; the *Second* made up of Princes, Counts, and Barons; the *Third* formed of Knights, or, as ſome of the *German* Writers ſtile them, Provincials; and the *Fourth* conſiſting of the Judges of Ducal Cities. 2. The Town-Hall, built in 1484, in the Room of another erected in the old Market-place, about the Year 1297. 3. Three noble Armories; the two firſt, belonging to the Emperor and the Province, ſtand upon the Hill where the Caſtle is ſeated, ſeparate from all other Buildings; but the third, appertaining to the *Citizens*, has its Situation in the Town. 4. The Houſes of ſeveral of the *Carniolian* Nobility reſiding here, which are built in a very elegant Taſte. Here is likewiſe a Printing-Preſs, from whence many curious and learned Pieces have been ſent out into the World. *Laubach* was made a Biſhopric by the Emperor *Frederic* IV. in 1461, who firſt inveſted with the Epiſcopal Dignity there *Sigiſmund de Lamberg*, conſtituting, at the ſame Time, for his Aſſiſtance and the Support of his Dignity, a Provoſt, a Dean, and ten Canons. The following Year Pope *Pius* II. declared this See, made up of ſeveral Diſtricts formerly belonging to thoſe of *Saltzburg* and *Aquileia*, free from all Patriarchal and Archiepiſcopal Juriſdiction. From the Foundation of this See to the Beginning of the preſent Century, *Laubach* has had thirteen Biſhops Princes of the Holy *Roman* Empire.

Laubach has produced many learned Men, and among the reſt *Joannes Ludovicus Schönleben*, S. T. D. Apoſtolic Prothonotary, who publiſhed an ingenious Piece, intitled CARNIOLA ANTIQUA ET NOVA, being an Eſſay towards a Natural, Civil, and Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of *Carniola*, in 1681; and *Joannes Weichardus Valvaſor*, who printed another curious Piece intitled GLORIA CARNIOLÆ EXPLICATA, being a great Improvement of the former, in 1689. Both theſe Pieces were printed at *Laubach*, and do Honour to the Place. Many antient *Latin* Inſcriptions are found at *Laubach*, as above obſerved, and in the Neighbourhood of that City. Some of theſe have been deſcribed by *Lazius*; but a much greater Number by *Schönleben*, who frequently cenſures *Lazius*, and rectifies his Miſtakes. The principal Tongue ſpoken here is the *Carniolian*, which is a Dialect of the *Sclavonic*; though the *German* and *Italian* are very well underſtood. It is no Wonder the *Carniolian* complex Conſonant Cz ſhould be of *Hungarian* Extraction, ſince the *Avares* and *Huns*, the Progenitors of the *Hungarians*, where formerly in Poſſeſſion of this Country. The Wine here is generous and good, and exactly anſwers the Character *Valvaſor* gives of the Wine of *Carniola*.

Our Landlord here was a chearful agreeable Perſon, and a Man of very good Senſe and Underſtanding. He talked *Italian* with great Fluency, and *Latin* tolerably well. In theſe Languages the Gentleman who penned this Account converſed with him, and aſked him many Queſtions relating to the Dutchy of *Carniola*. To all of which he gave very ſatisfactory Anſwers, containing, amongſt many others, the following Particulars :

Carniola, called by the Natives *Krainſka des Kela*, at different Times went under different Names. This was occaſioned by the various Nations that inhabited it, who had various Appellations. The principal of theſe were the *Aborigines*, *Japydes*, *Tauriſci*, *Pannones*, *Norici*, *Romani*, *Vandali*, *Gothi*, *Hunni*, *Avares*, *Longobardi*, *Slavi*, *Franci*, &c. The Air in general is good, as appears from the great Number of old People to be met with in every Part of this Province ; moſt of whom, that are near an hundred Years of Age, are hearty, robuſt, and ſtrong. However, in the ſeveral Parts of it, the Air varies extremely, inſomuch that in ſome of them Peaches and Grapes are ripe, when Cherries are ſcarce ſo in others. Theſe laſt are ſometimes gathered about *Michaelmas*-Day. Neither is the Diſtance betwixt the Places where Peaches, Grapes, and Cherries arrive at Maturity, about the ſame Time, frequently greater than three *German* Miles, tho' this Tract is generally covered with Woods. As a farther Argument of the Salubrity of the Air in general here, it may alſo be obſerved, that many of the antient People abovementioned ſeem not to be above fifty or ſixty Years old ; and that there are more Births than Burials every Year in *Carniola*. The Peaſants are noted for their vaſt Strength, though they live in a very ſparing abſtemious Manner. The Soil in many Parts is ſo fertile, that it produces two Crops a Year; and the Wine, though fine-flavoured and generous, as limpid as Water itſelf. The pooreſt People in *Carniola* drink a Liquor made of Juniper-berries, of which here are incredible Quantities, of a Scarlet-colour, ſuch as thoſe that grow in *Iſtria*. Some of theſe Berries are however black, like thoſe in moſt other Countries. The Weather here is often very tempeſtuous ; and the *Carnioleze* have, almoſt every Day in Summer, Thunder and Lightning, which, with the violent Storms of Hail not ſeldom attending them, deſtroy annually a fifth Part of the Corn and Fruits of the Earth. This Havock the Vulgar attribute to the Malevolence of Witches and Wizards, without inquiring into the natural Cauſe. All Perſons of Taſte and Learning in *Carniola* have in high Eſteem the Piece of Baron *Valvaſor*, intitled GLORIA DUCATUS CARNIOLÆ, which, they ſay, is wrote with the utmoſt Truth, Accuracy, and Exactneſs. According to him, in the Year 1689, *Carniola* contained Twenty-one Cities, Thirty-nine Towns, above Four-thouſand Villages, and Two-hundred Fifty-four Caſtles; not including thoſe Places, called in the *Carniolian* Language *Tabor*, being the Ruins of Fortifications, raiſed in the Mountains, for the Security of the Country againſt foreign Invaders. The ſame ingenious Gentleman informs us, that this Dutchy is divided into five Parts *Carniola Superior*, *Carniola Inferior*, *Carniola Media*, *Carniola Interior*, and *Portio Iſtrenſis*, or that Part of *Iſtria* annexed to it. Each of theſe he likewiſe tells us is governed by a proper Officer. Here are alſo ſeveral Baths, called by the People of the Country *Töplitz* ; as likewiſe a Sort of Beacons on the Mountains, conſiſting of Heaps of Wood piled on one another, to give Notice of the Approach of any Enemy, and particularly of the *Turks*, who formerly made Irruptions into this Province. The Fires lighted here were preceded, or attended, by the Exploſion of ſeveral Mortars placed upon the aforeſaid Heaps of Wood, in Order the more effectually and expeditiouſly to alarm the Country, and draw together the People, either to defend themſelves, or make their Eſcape from the Enemy. Theſe Places are ſtiled by the *Carnioleze Kreutt*, or *Creutzfeuer*. This Region is very mountainous, and therefore more capable of affording ſuch early Intelligence to the Natives of an Enemy's Approach. The eſtabliſhed Religion here is the *Roman Catholic*, though the *Uſgoki*, or *Uſgoks*, obſerve the Rites and Ceremonies of the *Greek* Church. The Men among the *Uſgoks* eſteem it honourable to defer the Conſummation of Marriage four or five Years; which they frequently do. Some of them attain to an extreme old Age, of which *Valvaſor* mentions one, who died a little before the Year 1689, aged 124 Years. But he was much younger than a *Turk*, who died in the Caſtle of *Peruſſich* about 1684, and compleated his 190th Year. *Uſgok* in the *Sclavonian* Language ſignifies a *Fugitive*, or *Deſerter*, this People having fled from *Turkey* into *Carniola* near Two-hundred Years ago. *Carniola* is watered by ſeveral Rivers, and ſome of Note, of which the principal is the *Save.* Theſe abound with Fiſh of various Kinds, particularly Pikes, or Jacks, and River Crabs: Of the former ſeveral weigh twenty, thirty, and even forty Pounds; and of the latter many are fifteen or ſixteen Inches long. They alſo produce a Fiſh called *Pfrillen*, ſo extremely ſmall, that Twenty or Thirty of them may be ſwallowed at once; and Trouts of a purple Colour, often Twenty-five Pounds Weight. As for the Woods in this Province, they are large and numerous, and harbour a great Variety of Animals; of which at preſent we ſhall mention only two or three Species. There are ſome Vipers here as thick as a luſty Man's Arm, though not above three Spans long. Scorpions are found under the large Stones in theſe Woods, and particularly thoſe on the *Carnian Alps*, in ſuch vaſt Numbers, that incredible Quantities of them are exported from hence into Foreign Countries. The Bramble-Buſhes alſo are frequently in a Manner covered with a ſmall lucid Worm, about an Inch and Half long, and as thick as a Gooſe-Quill, emitting Light in the Night-time from its whole Body, and not from one particular Part only, as Glow-worms do. There is, beſides, an Animal that lives in Woods, particularly thoſe conſiſting chiefly of Beech-trees, peculiar to this Country, called by the *Germans Pilich*, or *Bilch*, and by the *Carnioleze Pouh.* It is a little bigger than a Dormouſe, of an Aſh Colour, and not unlike a Squirrel. It lives under Ground all the Winter-Seaſon, and has no other Nouriſhment, whilſt in that Situation, than what it receives by licking a certain Stone. But, in Summer, ſome Thouſands of theſe Animals iſſue frequently out of one Hole. The Vulgar think that they are drove out from thence in theſe Numbers by the Devil to feed, who for this Purpoſe makes Uſe either of the Sound of a Whip or a Whiſtle; and that chiefly on Sabbath-Days, and other Holidays, in the Evening. It is likewiſe ſaid, that this infernal Shepherd, at their firſt Appearance, makes an Inciſion in one of their Ears, in Order to mark them. Be that as it will, it is certain ſuch an Inciſion is viſible in every one of theſe Creatures, after it has been ſome Time out of its Hole; whereas all the young Ones taken in the Hole, though full-grown and advult, have nothing of that Kind diſcernible upon them. Moſt of the *Carnioleze* uſe them for Food, the Fat with which they abound, when rightly ſeaſoned with Salt, rendering them very elegant and delicious; but ſeveral will not touch them, on Account of the vulgar Notion above mentioned. They likewiſe make Uſe of their Skins or Furs to line the Garments which they wear in cold Weather. They cover theſe with a Preparation made of Chalk or Lime, in ſuch a Manner, that they appear full of black Spots, and extremely beautiful. And of theſe Furs they ſell vaſt Numbers to the *Dalmatians*, *Turks*, *Croats*, and neighbouring *Germans*. The Bears, Stags, and wild Boars, in the Woods of *Carniola*, are ſaid to be larger than thoſe met with in any other Part of *Europe*; and the Eagles, many of which Birds are found here, according to ſome, are of ſuch an enormous Size, that they will carry in their Talons through the Air a full grown Sheep. There are likewiſe here numerous Flocks of Pigeons that lie concealed, all the Winter, in the Caverns of the Mountains, but at the firſt Appearance of the Spring fly from thence by Myriads, and diſperſe themſelves all over the Country. Many of the Stones called by Naturaliſts *Gloſſopetræ* are produced in four Diſtricts of *Carniola*, as well as the Iſland of *Malta*, of different Sizes, the ſmalleſt weighing about the eighth Part of an Ounce, and the largeſt ten Ounces. Conſiderable Quantities alſo of petrified Cockles, Oyſters, &c. occur in ſeveral Places. *Valvaſor* relates, that there are in this Region thirteen Sorts of Marble, of different Colours, ſome of which are finely variegated; but ſeveral of the Natives increaſe this Number. Many of the *Gloſſopetræ* abovementioned perfectly reſemble a Viper's Tongue, and ſome of them, eſpecially the largeſt, are eſteemed as great Curioſities. The iron Mines here it will be ſufficient juſt to mention; among thoſe of Quickſilver, or Mercury, the moſt famous is that at *Idria*, deſcribed by Dr. *Pope*, Dr. *Brown*, and Baron *Valvaſor*, which was firſt diſcovered in the Year 1497. For a Deſcription of the famous Lake of *Circkniz*, or *Circknitz*, the *Palus Lugea* of *Strabo*, we ſhall beg Leave to refer[*] our curious Readers to M. *Schönleben*, and Baron *Valvaſor*; and in the mean Time obſerve, that the ſubterraneous Fountains and Rivers in the Neighbourhood of the Place, together with the ſtormy and tempeſtuous Weather abovementioned, will enable us to account ſufficiently for the wonderful Phænomena of that Lake. Sometimes it has been known to appear and diſappear ſeveral Times in a Year; and at other Times, though rarely, to remain one, two, three, four, or even five Years together, as in the Year 1655, *&c.* The Town, from which it derives its Name, ſtands about ſix *German* Miles from *Laubach*, and was plundered four Times by the *Turks*, between the Years 1522 and 1560.

---

[*] See likewiſe Philoſ. Tranſact. Num. 191. where a full and ample Account of this ſurprizing Lake is given.

We muſt not omit Obſerving here, that our Landlord ſeemed to pay ſome Regard to what Baron *Valvaſor* has related of the *Vampyres*, ſaid to infeſt ſome Parts of this Country. Theſe *Vampyres* are ſuppoſed to be the Bodies of deceaſed Perſons, animated by evil Spirits, which come out of the Graves, in the Night-time, ſuck the Blood of many of the Living, and thereby deſtroy them. Such a Notion will, probably, be looked upon as fabulous and exploded, by many People in *England*; however, it is not only countenanced by Baron *Valvaſor*, and many *Carnioleze* Noblemen, Gentlemen, *&c.* as we were informed, but likewiſe actually embraced by ſome Writers of good Authority. M. *Jo. Henr. Zopfius*, Director of the *Gymnaſium* of * *Eſſen*, a Perſon of great Erudition, has publiſhed a Diſſertation upon them, which is extremely learned and curious, from whence we ſhall beg Leave to tranſcribe the following Paragraph: “The *Vampyres*, which come out of the Graves in the Night-time, ruſh upon People ſleeping in their Beds, ſuck out all their Blood, and deſtroy them. They attack Men, Women, and Children, ſparing neither Age nor Sex. The People attacked by them complain of Suffocation, and a great Interception of Spirits; after which, they ſoon expire. Some of them, being aſked, at the Point of Death, what is the Matter with them, ſay they ſuffer in the Manner juſt related from People lately dead, or rather the Spectres of thoſe People; upon which, their Bodies, from the Deſcription given of them, by the ſick Perſon, being dug out of the Graves, appear in all Parts, as the Noſtrils, Cheeks, Breaſt, Mouth, *&c.* turgid and full of Blood. Their Countenances are freſh and ruddy; and their Nails, as well as Hair, very much grown. And, though they have been much longer dead than many other Bodies, which are perfectly putrified, not the leaſt Mark of Corruption is viſible upon them. Thoſe who are deſtroyed by them, after their Death, become *Vampyres*; ſo that, to prevent ſo ſpreading an Evil, it is found requiſite to drive a Stake through the dead Body, from whence, on this Occaſion, the Blood flows as if the Perſon was alive. Sometimes the Body is dug out of the Grave, and burnt to Aſhes; upon which, all Diſturbances ceaſe. The *Hungarians* call theſe Spectres *Pamgri*, and the *Servians Vampyres*; but the Etymon, or Reaſon of theſe Names, is not known.” Vid. *Diſſert. de* Vampyris Servienſibus *quam Suprem. Numin. Auſpic. Præſid.* M. Joan. Henr. Zopfio *Gymnaſ.* Aſſind. *Direct. publicè defend.* &c. Chriſt. Frid. Van Dalen Emmericenſ. &c. P. 6, 7. DUISBURGI *ad* RHENUM, Typis JOHANNIS SAS, Academiæ Typographi, Anno MDCCXXXIII.

Theſe Spectres are reported to have infeſted ſeveral Diſtricts of *Servia*, and the Bannat of *Temeſwaer*, in the Year 1725, and for ſeven or eight Years afterwards, particularly thoſe of *Mevadia*, or *Meadia*, and *Parakin*, near the *Morava*. In 1732, we had a Relation of ſome of their Feats in the Neighbourhood of *Caſſovia*; and the publick Prints took Notice of the Tragedies, they acted in the Bannat of *Temeſwaer*, in the Year 1738. Father *Gabriel Rzaczynski*, in his Natural Hiſtory of the Kingdom of *Poland*, and the great Duchy of *Lithuania*, publiſhed at *Sendomir*, in 1721, affirms, that in *Ruſſia*, *Poland*, and the great Dutchy of *Lithuania*, dead Bodies, actuated by infernal Spirits, ſometimes enter People's Houſes in the Night, fall upon Men, Women, and Children, and attempt to ſuffocate them; and that of ſuch Diabolical Facts his Countrymen have ſeveral very authentic Relations. The *Poles* call a Man's Body thus informed *Upier*, and that of a Woman *Upierzyca*, i. e. *a winged* or *feathered Creature*; which Name ſeems to be deduced from the ſurpriſing Lightneſs and Activity of theſe incarnate Demons. If we remember right, an Account of them alſo, from *Poland*, is to be met with, in ſome of the News-Papers for 1693, perfectly agreeing with thoſe of the *Servian Vampyres* given us by M. *Zopfius*. In Fine, the Notion of ſuch peſtiferous Beings has prevailed from Time immemorial over a great Part of *Hungary*, *Servia*, *Carniola*, *Poland*, &c. as is * evinced by ſeveral Authors in Conjunction with the afereſaid M. *Zopfius*. To which we ſhall beg Leave to add, that the antient *Greeks* alſo ſeem to have been firmly perſuaded, that dead Bodies were ſometimes acted by evil Spirits, as appears from a Fragment of *Phlegon* †. Neither is this Opinion, however it may be ridiculed by many People, altogether without Foundation; ſince the Supreme Being *may* make wicked Spirits his Inſtruments of Puniſhment here, as well as Plagues, Wars, Famines, *&c.* and, that he *actually has* done ſo, is ſufficiently apparent from ‡ Scripture, to omit what has been ſaid on this Head by ſome of the moſt eminent profane Authors.

---

* *Eſſen* is an Imperial City in the *Dutchy* of *Bergue*, that enjoys many Privileges granted it by the Emperor *Charles* V. in 1523. Here is a noble and rich Nunnery, founded by St. *Alfrid*, Biſhop of *Hilderſheim*, about the Year 877: to which at preſent belongs the greateſt Part of the Town, together with ſeveral large Manours in the Neighbourhood. The Revenues were at firſt ſettled for the Maintenance of fifty-two Nuns and twenty Canons; but theſe Numbers have ſince been retrenched. Some Time ſince, ſcarce any Girls were admitted into the Nunnery, but the Daughters of Barons, and other ſuperior Nobility. Theſe Ladies are at Liberty to marry, when they pleaſe. Here is alſo a fine Gymnaſium for the liberal Education of Youth.

Before we take Leave of the City of *Laubach*, it will be proper to obſerve, that, though the Bulk of the People there ſpeak the *Carniolian*, or *Sclavonian*, Tongue, and have ſome Cuſtoms peculiar to themſelves, they agree in moſt Points with the other *Germans*. All the People of Faſhion and Diſtinction ſpeak *German* fluently and purely.— *Laubach* was taken by *Ottocar*, King of *Bohemia*, in 1269; and attacked ineffectually by the *Turks* in 1472, and 1484. *Albert*, Archduke of *Auſtria*, likewiſe failed in his Attempt upon it, in 1441. The Streets are not very broad, nor the Houſes grand; though, every Thing conſidered, it may be eſteemed a fine City. Here we lay, for the firſt Time, betwixt two Feather-beds; which threw the Writer of this Account into ſo violent a Sweat, that he had ſcarce any Reſt all Night, and found himſelf extremely faint the next Morning. Many of the *Germans*, however, like this Sort of Lodging; though it is very diſagreeable, for the moſt Part, to Gentlemen of other Nations.

---

* Many Authors might here be produced, but we ſhall content ourſelves with the two following. *P. Gengell*, S. I. in Everſ. Atheiſm. & *P. Gabr. Rzaczynski*, in Hiſt. Nat. curioſ. Regn. Polon. magn. Ducat. Lituan. annexarumque Provinciar. in Tract. 20 diviſ. P. 365. Sandomiriæ, 1721.

† *Phlegon. Trallian.* de Reb. admirabil. Cap. 1.

‡ See *Calmet's* Diſſertation upon good and bad Angels, prefixed to his Comment. on St. *Luke*; as alſo his Biblical Dictionary, at the Words *Angels*, *Demon*, *Devil*, *Diabolus*, *Satan*, &c. Many Texts might be produced on this Occaſion; but the following will be ſufficient to prove what is here advanced. *Pſalm* lxxviii. v. 49. *Job* Chap. i. *Matth.* Chap. xii. v. 22——32. *Mark*, Chap. iii. v. 22——31. *Luke*, Chap. xi. v. 14——31. Chap. xiii. v. 16. *Acts*, Chap. xix. v. 13——17.

[To be continued.]

Rome for *Canterbury*: Or, a true Relation of the Birth and Life of *William Laud*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. Together with the whole Manner of his Proceeding, both in the *Star-Chamber*, High-commiſſion Court, in his own Houſe; and ſome Obſervations of him in the *Tower*. Dedicated

dicated to all the *Arminian* Tribe, or *Canterburian* Faction, in the Year of Grace 1641. Whereunto is annexed a Poſtſcript in Verſe. Printed in the Year 1641. *Quarto*, containing eight Pages.

Greatneſs and Goodneſs are two ſeveral bleſſed Attributes conferred upon Man; but ſeldom meet in one Perſon: Greatneſs may be ſtiled a Gift inferred by Fortune: But Goodneſs, a Grace infuſed by God. The firſt labours in Miſtruſt, and is born the Bondſlave of Chance, ſeldom attended without Envy; and, though to many Perſons it appears exceeding pleaſant, yet the higher we are ſeated, although by Virtue, the greater is our Fall, if corrupted by Vice. By Honour and Office Men become great; yet it is not the Place that maketh the Perſon, but the Perſon that maketh the Place honourable: And that Preferment and Power, which is both well acquired, and worthily conferred. *Non eſt invitamentum ad tempus, ſed perpetuæ virtutis præmium*; is no temporary Invitation, but a perpetual Inheritance.

Goodneſs is of a contrary Condition; Men are not to be accounted good, either for their Authority or Age, but for their Sincerity and Actions: He, that is good, is better than the Good he doth; and he, that is evil, is worſe than the bad Deed done by him. All great Men are not conſiderately good; but all good Men are conſequently great. Greatneſs and Goodneſs, with Grace added, to cement them together, make unqueſtionably a perfect and compleat Man. Here was Grace, which, had it been celeſtially inſpired, as it was but temporally diſpoſed, might to that Greatneſs have ſo combined Goodneſs, as, from thence, could have grown no ſuch Tribulation.

Howſoever, let no Man grieve at his preſent Afflictions; for they are the Rods, by which God chaſtiſeth his Children: There is Nothing that the World can take away from us, becauſe it can give Nothing unto us: Fame fadeth, Potency periſheth, Wealth waſteth; true Riches conſiſt in our Conſtancy in Caſualty, and, though Perturbation and Puniſhment be the Priſon of the Body, yet Courage and Comfort are the Liberty of the Soul, to which I only add Patience, which is ſo allied to Fortitude, that ſhe ſeemeth to be either her Siſter or her Daughter. Things, that compulſively come upon us, ſhould be borne with Patience and Courage, of which we have had a late Precedent; and more generous it is for a Man to offer himſelf to Death in Triumph, than to be drawn unto it with Terror: *Gaudet patientia duris.* I come now to the Perſon.

He was born at *Reading*, of honeſt Parents; his Father was a Clothier in that Town, of a competent Eſtate, and careful to ſee his Children to be well educated and inſtructed. This his Son *William* being of an excellent Wit, and pregnant Capacity, was ſent from the Grammar School to *Oxford*, where he was admitted into St. *John*'s College, where ſhortly he proved an ingenious Diſputant; and before he took his firſt Degree of Batchelor, was well verſed in Logick, Philoſophy, and the liberal Arts; after he devoted himſelf to the Study of Theology, in which he proceeded Doctor, with no common Applauſe, attaining to the Dignities belonging to ſo famous an Academy; and, being of an active Spirit, was called from thence to the Court, where he grew ſo gracious, that, after ſome private Preferments, he was firſt made Biſhop of St. *Davids*, and thence, removed to *London*; and, after the Deceaſe of the right Reverend *George Abbot*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, was inaugurated into that prime See, and was Metropolitan of all *England*: Steps that his Predeceſſor, who was a Clothier's Son in *Guilford*, had trod before him, who in leſs than two Years was Biſhop of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, *London*, and *Canterbury*.

What this Prelate's Deportment (now in Agitation) in ſo high a Dignity was, is ſufficiently noiſed amongſt all; made apparent by his *Draconical* Cenſures in the *Star-chamber*, the High Commiſſion Court, &c. And it was a great Aſperſion juſtly caſt upon ſuch high Authority, that he ſo much affected *ſummum jus*, Juſtice without Mercy, as ſparing neither Perſon nor Profeſſion; and, to leave all others, witneſs, how he did perſecute the good Biſhop of *Lincoln*, Dr. *Williams*, being of his own Degree and Function: His (more than) Severity in his rigorous Cenſure and Sentence upon Maſter *Burton* the Divine, Maſter *Prynne* the Lawyer, and Doctor *Baſtwick* the Phyſician, and even that poor Fellow *Thomas Benſted*, whom he cauſed to be hanged, drawn, and quartered; he could make that a Matter of Treaſon, though he was but a Subject: His Threatening of honeſt Judges, his Menacing other Officers and Miniſters of the King, his Sternneſs and ſurly Anſwers even to Gentlemen of Worth, and now Parliament-men, who have but pleaded for poor Men, in juſt Cauſes: It was a good Wiſh, that either he might have more Grace, or no Grace at all, which is now come to paſs.

It is obſerved by ſome, that, in all the Time of his Pontifical Prelacy, he never promoted any to Church Preferment, that favoured not of the *Arminian* Sect; and ſtill, when Benefices fell, that were either in his Gift, or where his Power was to have them beſtowed, he hath cauſed ſuch Men to be inſtituted, and inducted, as either were Dunces in Learning, or debauched in their Lives: Such Men being moſt apt, for their Temporiſing or Ignorance, to embrace any Innovation that ſhould be brought into the Church: Nay, when Places have not been void, but ſupplied by pious Paſtors, and devout Miniſters, that were conſtant Profeſſors of the Proteſtant Faith, yet, by Spies and Intelligencers, ſuch Cavils have been made at their Doctrines and Diſciplines, that, notwithſtanding their Charge of Wife and Children, and that their utter Undoings impended upon the Taking away of their Means, yet they have been ſupplanted, that the other might ſubſiſt in their Places; the firſt turned out, the latter taken in; but that which far tranſcends the former, that he hath laboured to ſuppreſs the *French* and *Dutch* Proteſtant Churches here in *London*, who, for their Conſcience and Religion's Sake, have abandoned their Countries to avoid Perſecution, and have made this famous City their Aſylum and Sanctuary for themſelves and Families.

It hath been obſerved alſo, that he never gave Cenſure upon a Jeſuit, or Seminary, or any Popiſh Prieſt, though brought before him, by his own Warrant, and the Purſuivant employed by himſelf. For, though apprehended, yet they were never puniſhed; but, if To-night impriſoned, To-morrow infranchiſed and ſet at Liberty; or elſe he ſo cautelouſly and cunningly dealt by his Agents, Secretary *Windibank*, Sir *John Lambe*, and others, that they were ſent Abroad, and he ſeen to have no Hand in the Buſineſs; when, in the Interim, all the rigorous Sentences, that paſſed him, were againſt the zealous Profeſſors of our Proteſtant Religion.

A poor Curate, having long waited to ſpeak with this great Archbiſhop, and being, after much Attendance, admitted to his Preſence, in their Diſcourſe, the great Metropolitan told him, he was an idle Fellow; to whom the other replied, it is moſt true, for, had I not been ſo, I could not have ſpared ſo many idle Hours to attend upon your Grace, to ſuch ſmall Purpoſe. At which he being much moved, ſaid, Why, what Fellow doſt thou think of us Biſhops? Who replied, I will, in plain Terms, tell your Grace, what I think of you: I can no better compare you, than unto the huge Braſs Andirons, that ſtand in great Men's Chimnies, and us poor Miniſters to the low Creepers: You are they that carry it out in a vain glorious Shew, but we the poor Curates undergo, and bear the Burthen. Another told him, when he uſed to play upon other Men's Miſeries, that his Lordſhip muſt needs be witty (he being a very little Man) that his Head and his Heart were ſo near together.

Some have obſerved, that, as he was a Prelate, and Primate, ſo he greatly favoured the Letter *P.* (by which may be conjectured) the Pope, whoſe Emblaſons, amongſt other of his Pontifical Eſcutcheons, are three Biſhops, *viz.* (I take it three Bibles); and, to ſhew he much affected that Epiſcopal Letter, his three benevolent and well beneficed Chaplains were *Browne*, *Bray*, and *Baker*. And, for the Letter *P*, he was alſo a great Patron and Protector to Dr. *Pocklington*, who, for Publiſhing one Book, called, *Sunday is no Sabbath*, wherein he vilified all the Obſervance due to *Dies Domini*, the Lord's Day; and another, intituled, *The Chriſtian's Altar*, wherein he would have firſt produced, and after propagated Popiſh Superſtition, he did confer upon him three or four Benefices, worth ſome Two or Three-hundred *per Annum*, and a Prebendary in *Windſor*, valued at Three-hundred more by the Year.

Many are the Probabilities that he purpoſed to bring Popery into the Kingdom; as the *Scotch* Service-Book, differing from our *Engliſh* Liturgy, eſpecially in Words concerning receiving the Euchariſt, or Lord's Supper, which was the firſt Incendiary of all theſe late Troubles between the two Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*, in which ſome Blood hath been drawn, but infinite Treaſure exhauſted. Apparency needeth no Proof; but that we leave to the Cenſure of the higher Powers, being an Argument, as it hath been long, ſo now at this preſent in Agitation: Yet the better to define that which before was diſputable, when he came firſt into the *Tower*, and not being acquainted with the Place, he deſired, that by no Means he ſhould be lodged where the Biſhop of *Lincoln* had before lain; and being demanded the Reaſon, becauſe they were ſweet and good; he made Anſwer, *O, but I fear they ſmell ſo of Puritaniſm, that the very Air will half ſtifle or choak me.* Theſe, ſympathiſing with the reſt, may give the World Room to ſuſpect his Religion.

Upon *Monday*, being the Tenth of *May*, when it was known that the Lieutenant ſhould prepare himſelf to die, Tidings was brought to the Archbiſhop of the ſetting up of the Scaffold upon *Tower-hill*, whereon the Deputy of *Ireland* was to ſuffer Death; he immediately ſpoke to his Men, ſaying, It is no Matter when or where we die, ſo we firſt have Time to make our Peace and Reconciliation with God; we are all of us born to die, though there be many ſeveral Ways to Death; for Death muſt at laſt conquer, and have Victory over the Bodies of all Fleſh whatſoever. Be of good Comfort, do not ye be diſcouraged for me; I am a Man of Sorrow, and born to this Sorrow: Lord, give me Strength to bear thy Chaſtiſements patiently, and endure them conſtantly, even to the End and Period of my Life: I am indeed a Man born of a Woman, of a ſhort Continuance, and full of Trouble and Heavineſs; a Man indeed, made like to Vanity, and compared to the Flowers of the Field, here this Day, it may be, gone To-morrow; nay, I am worſe, a Child of Wrath, a Veſſel of Diſhonour, begotten in Uncleanneſs, living in Care and Wretchedneſs, and dying in Diſtreſs. O Lord, I will cry unto thee Night and Day, before I paſs through this Vale of Miſery; I will ſum up all my Offences, I will confeſs my Vileneſs before thee, and will not be aſhamed; for true Confeſſion is the very Way whereby I may come unto thee, who art the Way, and the only true Way, that leads unto Life eternal.

O the moſt happy Life which the Angels enjoy, in the right bleſſed Kingdom, void of Death everlaſting; where no Times ſucceed by Ages, where the continual Day without Night hath no End; where the conquering Soldier, joined to that joyful Choir of Angels, and crowned with the Crown of Everlaſting Glory, doth ſing to his God a Song amongſt the Songs of *Sion*.

I meddle not with any State Buſineſs whatſoever; but it ſeems he bore no great Affections to the *Scots*, which is probable, by the little Love they bear unto him: But moſt ſure we are, that he was arreſted of high and capital Treaſon, firſt committed to the Knight of the Black Rod, and thence conveyed to the *Tower*, where, ever ſince he hath been in Cuſtody of the Lieutenant, of whoſe Demeanor, during his Abode there, I ſhall next ſpeak, by the true Information of ſome credible Perſons that have obſerved his Deportment. He was not only frequent and fervent in, and at his Oriſons in his own Chamber, where he ſpent the greateſt Part of the Morning at his private Meditations, but very careful and obſervant at the Week Day's Service, at the Chapel; but eſpecially on the Lord's Day he came duly, and proſtrated himſelf devoutly on his Knees, giving great Attention both to the Service and Sermon; and taking ſpecial Notice of ſome particular *Pſalms* that were ſung before the Parſon went up into the Pulpit, eſpecially the Second Part of the Three and thirtieth Pſalm, the Second Part of the Forty-ninth, and the Firſt Part of the Hundred and fortieth, which are worthy any Man's Reading, being ſo aptly picked out for that Purpoſe, he called the Clerk unto him, and courteouſly demanded of him, Whether he happened on them by Accident, or had called them out by his own Conceit? The plain old Man ingenuouſly confeſſed unto him, That he choſe them out purpoſely to put him in Mind of his preſent Eſtate; at the which he modeſtly ſmiling, made him no further Anſwer, but departed towards his Lodging. Further, he was heard to ſay, that, if ever God delivered him from that preſent Durance, and that the King would reſtore him to his priſtine Dignities, he would much improve that Place, meaning the Church, in Remembrance that he had been there a Priſoner. It is alſo reported, that a Gentleman of Quality coming to the *Tower* to give him a Viſit, and aſking his Grace how it fared with him at that Preſent; he made him Anſwer, I thank God I am well, for it hath pleaſed his ſacred Majeſty, my Sovereign, to provide for me an honourable and convenient Lodging, where I have good and wholeſome Fare, and where, notwithſtanding all my Troubles and Tribulations, I never yet broke an Hour of my uſual and contented Sleep. And the Morning when the late Earl of *Strafford* paſſed by his Lodging, as he was led to the Place of Execution, and moved his Hat unto him, then ſtanding, and looking out of his Window, he held up his Hands and Eyes towards Heaven, without ſpeaking any Thing audible to the Obſervers, as if he prayed earneſtly, and inwardly, for the Salvation of his Soul, *&c.* He was obſerved alſo ſometimes to ſpeak thoſe Words of the Pſalmiſt, *Pſal.* lxxxii. ver. 6, 7. *I have ſaid, Ye are Gods, and Children of the moſt High, but ye ſhall die as Men, and ye Princes fall like others*, &c.

POSTSCRIPT.

Ah, Biſhops! Where's your Power you brag'd of late
Was unremoveable? Where's that glorious State
You pray'd in? Are your pompous Mitres, Copes,
Thus quickly chang'd for Halberts, if not Ropes?
What! has the Blue-head *Scot* thus turn'd the Game,
That what before was Glory, now's your Shame?
Can *Leſley*'s Regiment thus wheel about,
The Brigade of our Clergy? Put to Rout
Our Biſhops, Deans, and Doctors; not a Man,
Amongſt ſo vaſt a Multitude, that can,
With all their Titles, Dignities, withſtand
The *Switziſh-Scottiſh* Elderſhips command?
Has *Calvin*'s Doctrine puzzled all your Choir,
Silenc'd your Organs, and yourſelves with Fear?
Can neither *Laud*'s, nor *Wren*'s, ſtrong Canons make
Stiff *Henderſon* ſubſcribe; nor yet to quake
At the Report? What! Were they not of Strength?
Or naught'ly caſt? Or did they fail in Length?
Invent ſome Stratagem, employ your Brains,
And anſwer the pure Challenger with Strains
Of Primitive Doctrine; that the World may ſee
The Apoſtolick Warrant for the Prelacy.
Employ your Chaplains Pens, and muſter all
The Stalls of Prebends; for the Time doth call,
And waits an Anſwer: Give ſome Living to
Some Scholar, that this venturous Taſk ſhall do.
The Cauſe concerns you nearly: Will ye not
Now vindicate the Quarrel with the *Scot*?
Why did ye enter in the Liſts, and mould
Your Canons to diſmount *Geneva*'s Hold?
Ye did begin the Counter-march, and would
Ye thus fly off again, if that ye could?
The *Exonian* Prelate hath twice given a Charge,
One Jeſuit hath given Fire unto't at large:
Both miſs'd the Mark, march on, and quickly mine
Yourſelves, and prove your Prelacy divine.
Where are your Chaplains, all ſo far renown'd,
Who for your Cauſe, the like could not be found?
They have great Skill in cringing, bowing, writing,
Let's ſee their Weapons, and their Skill in fighting:

Produce their Arg'ments for ſuch Store of Wealth,
Gotten by Simony, baſe Uſury, and Stealth.
Let's know your Tenure, by what Right ye hold
Such Store of Livings? And yet ſtarve the Fold.
Do not delude us longer with ſuch Toys,
More fit for mimick Apes, or Slaves, or Boys:
Now ſpeak, or never, elſe you will be thought
To be *Rome*'s Calves, far better fed than taught.

A Catalogue of Petitions, ordered to be drawn up and preſented to the honourable Houſe at their next Seſſion. *Quarto*, containing four Pages.

A PETITION of the Brewers and Butchers, that the Former may be incorporated with the Vintners, and the Latter with the Apothecaries.

A Petition of the Bandbox-men and Trunk-makers, that the *Athenian Mercury*, and all Weekly Papers of the like Nature, be continued.

A Petition of Twenty-thouſand Tradeſmen, that, if their Wives offer to draw Bills more than once a Night upon them, they may be impowered honourably to reject them.

A Petition of the Quack-doctors, that the Conſtables may not diſturb the induſtrious Night-walkers in the *Strand*, *Fleetſtreet*, and *Cheapſide*.

A Petition of Dr. *Salmon*, and two more of the Fraternity, that they may have the ſole Benefit of a new Religion, by them lately invented; and that no other Perſons preſume to interlope upon them.

A Petition of the Quakers, that their bare Word may be equivalent to Swearing, and Nonſenſe to true Reaſoning; and likewiſe, that it may be lawful for them to fornicate out of their own Tribe.

A Petition of all the married Women in the Kingdom of *England*, Dominion of *Wales*, and Town of *Berwick* upon *Tweede*, that the *Dog-days* be immediately repealed.

A Petition of the moderate Divines, that the Thirtieth of *January* and Twenty-ninth of *May* be diſcarded out of the Almanack, as being great Eye-ſores to the godly Party.

A Petition of the Maids, that the *Moſaical* Signs of Virginity be declared void and unneceſſary, and unfit to be required under the *Chriſtian* Diſpensation.

A Petition of the Ribbon-weavers, that Shoulder-knots and Pantaloons of happy Memory be revived.

A Petition of the Bookſellers to declare, that Licenſing of Books is Popiſh and ſuperſtitious, and deſtructive of the *Liberty of the* Subject.

A Petition of the Inhabitants of *White-Friars*, that their Bounds be enlarged, that they may have Room enough to receive the broken Merchants and Tradeſmen, that daily flock in to them.

A Petition of the Poets, for a ſpeedy Reſtoration of Claret, and the utter Baniſhment of little diminutive Pagan Bottles.

A Petition of the Midwives and Highwaymen, that *Savin* and *Hemp* may be rooted out of the Commonwealth.

A Petition of the Glaſiers and Tallow-chandlers, that it may be lawful to break Windows, on Thankſgiving-days, where no Lights are ſet out.

A Petition of Dr. *Otes*, that every Evidence, for the Future, ſhall be obliged to repair to him for a Licenſe.

A Petition of the Priſoners in *Newgate*, that their Confeſſions and Dying-ſpeeches may not be printed before they are hanged.

A Petition of Dr. *Partridge*, that no Almanack-maker pretend to propheſy for the Government, but himſelf.

A Petition of the Fiddlers, that Kicking down Stairs and broken Heads be reckoned no Scandal.

A Petition of the Players, that they may be allowed Plurality of Wives, in order to be ſure of a Maidenhead once in their Lives.

A ſecond Petition of the Bookſellers, that, when a dull heavy Book lies upon their Hands, it may be publickly burnt, to promote the Sale of it.

A Petition of Bully *Dawſon*, and the reſt of his Brethren, that Swearing and Roaring be adjudged as effectual a Sign of Valour, as Fighting.

A Petition of ſeveral young Gentlemen of the Inns of Court, that a Statue be erected to Dr. *Wall*, at the publick Charge.

A Petition of the Northern Attornies, for a ſpeedy Concluſion of the War, becauſe, at preſent, the People cannot ſpare Money to go to Law.

A Petition of the Harlots, that Pluralities be denied to all married Women, of what Degree or Quality ſoever.

A Petition of the Coffee-houſes, that they may be privileged in Fornication up Stairs, and for Treaſon and falſe News below.

A Petition of the Country Parſons, that, in Favour of them, the Houſe will be pleaſed to take off the additional Duty upon Tobacco.

A Petition of the City Clergymen's Daughters, that *Increaſe and Multiply* be made the Eleventh Commandment.

A Petition of the Knights of the Poſt, that all the Pillories in the Kingdom be burnt on the next *Thankſgiving-day*.

A Petition of the Drawers, about the *Temple* and *Covent-Garden*, that they may be allowed to lie a-bed till Eleven.

A Petition of the *Royal Society*, that the Comb-makers, Mouſe-trap Men, and *Athenians* be ſuppreſſed, as Interlopers upon them.

A Petition of the Chimney-ſweepers, that they may have the Scouring of all *Eccleſiaſtical* Conſciences, every Spring and Fall.

A Petition of the City, that none be ſuffered to talk Treaſon, but ſuch as are well-affected to the Commonwealth.

A Petition of the *College of Phyſicians*, that the Importation of *Dutch* Doctors be prohibited, as prejudicial to the Manufacture of our own Univerſities.

A Petition of the Taylors, that Leave be given to bring in a long Bill to promote new Faſhions.

A Petition of the Seamen, that the Parſons may not meddle with Politicks, but every one keep in his own Element.

A Petition of the Barbers, that they may be made free of the Church, ſince the Divines have uſurped upon their Trade, by turning Trimmers.

A Petition of the Country Inn-keepers, that the Soldiers, quartered in their Houſes, would be content to tap their Hogſheads, but not their Wives, or Daughters.

A Petition of the Diſſenting Divines, that none ſhall be admitted into that *Claſs*, but Men of ſtrong Lungs and ſtronger Backs.

A Petition of the *Anabaptiſts*, that they may be impowered to erect a publick Dipping-pond at *Lambeth Ferry*.

A Petition of the Painters, that they may have Leave to enter all the Conventicles in Town, and draw their reſpective Paſtors in their proper Colours.

A Petition of the Waiſtcoateers of *Wapping*, that it may be lawful for them to go ſixteen Months with Child, in Caſes of Neceſſity.

A Petition of the Printers, that all Diſtinctions of Bawdry, Blaſphemy, and Treaſon be utterly aboliſhed.

A Petition of the Proctors of the Commons to have Fornication encouraged, that they may have the ſole Puniſhing of it afterwards.

A Petition of the Claret-drinkers, that red Noſes ſhall qualify People for all Sorts of Preferment.

A Petition of ſeveral Mayors and Aldermen, that Money be adjudged to comprehend both Wit, Senſe, and good Breeding.

A Petition of ſeveral Recorders in the Kingdom, that Making of Speeches be utterly aboliſhed, unleſs *Bulls* be tolerated.

A Petition of the Ordinary of *Newgate*, that all Sorts of Breaking be declared ſinful, but eſpecially *Sabbath*-breaking.

A Petition of the Orphans that the *Monument* be hung with Mourning once a Year, and that at the Expence of the Chamber.

A Petition of the ſeveral Ladies living near *Weſtminſter*, that all Deſerters be brought to condign Puniſhment.

A Petition of the *Athenians*, that they may have a Patent for their new Invention of making ſecond-hand *Spira's*.

A Petition of the Pariſh-clerks, that a Day be ſet a-part to celebrate the pious Memory of *Hopkins* and *Sternhold*, and that the City Poet draw up the Service for the Day.

And for your Worſhips then we'll pray,
For eke, for ever, and for ay.

How to advance the Trade of the Nation, and employ the Poor. *Folio*, containing four Pages.

Humbly offered to the Honourable the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes aſſembled in Parliament.

TO employ our Poor, and advance the Trade of the Nation, are Matters of great Concern at this Time: This honourable Aſſembly are not inſenſible of the Abundance of Complaints throughout the Kingdom in general in moſt Trades, for Want of Sale for their Goods: It is ſuppoſed there may be Five-hundred Thouſand Poor of one Sort or other in the Nation; and if theſe Poor are to be put to work on the ſame Manufactories which we are over-ſtocked with already, what will be done with all thoſe Goods ſo many Thouſand Hands ſhall make more every Year? It is but undoing in one Place to make another: The Merchants generally ſend but very little more to Markets Abroad one Year than another; they commonly know what Quantities of Goods will glut each Market Abroad: Moſt Commodities and Manufactories are brought to ſo low an Ebb, that ſlow Workmen cannot get their Living at their Trades, and many of ſuch, with their Families, are become the Poor of the Pariſh wherein they are; yet the ſloweſt of Handicraft Tradeſmen will out-do thoſe Poor which never wrought before in each Trade, if they were put into a Work-houſe together; and for any Number of Perſons joining together to employ the Poor in the Woollen Manufactories, or any other where the Price is beat down to ſo low a Rate that the ſlow Workmen cannot maintain themſelves, what thoſe Perſons gain by ſuch Poor is by oppreſſing the Oppreſſed, and the Cries of them will rage againſt the Kingdom and Government, becauſe of the hard Uſage of ſeveral of their Taſk-maſters for Lucre of Gain to themſelves; the Poor ought to be encouraged, and mercifully dealt with, and kindly uſed until their ſlow Hands be brought to ready Working, and ought at firſt to have the higheſt Price the Commodity will bear to themſelves; and their Overſeers, and Maſter-workmen that teach them, be paid by the Pariſh; it is ſufficient Advantage for them if they can in ſome ſmall Time bring thoſe Poor to maintain themſelves, which has been ſo burthenſome to them heretofore: But how to ſet ſo many Hands to work at this Time, when Trade is at ſo low an Ebb, requires great Conſideration; and ſeveral Manufactories, which at preſent are manufactured Abroad, muſt be encouraged at Home; there are ſeveral Commodities in this Kingdom, which cannot be had in any of our neighbouring Countries, which ought to be wrought up at Home; but we encourage Foreign wrought Goods to be brought here, and ſend our unwrought Goods to our neighbouring Countries, who manufacture the ſame. By ſuch Methods we may well wonder what is become of the Trade of the Nation, whereby our Merchants are underſold at Markets Abroad in thoſe Commodities which cannot be well had elſewhere but from *England*; which, if they were manufactured at Home, and kept amongſt our Merchants to export, it would be an Inlet to the Selling of ſeveral other Commodities, which are ſupplied now by the *Dutch*, and others of our neighbouring Countries; but our Trade is over-burthened by Duties laid on our wrought Goods, and our unwrought encouraged too be exported, with ſeveral other Obſtructions to tedious to ſet forth; by which the poor Tradeſmen and their Families are become a far greater Tax to the Nation than all that the King's Cuſtoms amount to.

Likewiſe in our Merchants Goods, which are imported and exported again in leſs than a Year, are allowed to draw back the Duty ſo formerly paid by them, if the Property be not altered, by chipping, cutting, grinding, garbling, ſhaving or raſping; or otherways altering thereof; ſo that the *Dutch* and other Countries employ their Poor, in doing that which ours ought to do; by which their Merchants ſerve Abundance of Markets Abroad with ſuch Goods as we cannot do, becauſe, if the Property be altered, the Draw-back will not be allowed; which is in ſeveral Goods above Twenty-five Pounds *per Cent.* which is a great Hindrance to the Merchant, and quite loſes the Profit of working the ſame here: And ſuppoſe the Property ſhould be altered, ſo that the ſame be exported in Time, it would occaſion a greater Employ of the Poor, and it would be no Detriment or Hindrance to the King in his Cuſtoms, nor obſtruct our Navigation, and our Merchants may ſerve other Countries with thoſe Commodities as well as the *Dutch* and others.

The *Dutch* conſider how to employ their Poor, and prepare all the Work they poſſibly can contrive for them; and all Goods, which are capable of Labour, they commonly have it done before they will part with it; which is the Reaſon they have none but what get their Living at one Thing or other; they employ their Poor in raſping Dyers Woods, which they have commonly from us, and ſerve all Markets Abroad with that Commodity, which we cannot do, by Reaſon of that Obſtruction at the Cuſtom-houſe, in not allowing the Draw-back where the Property is altered: And in Abundance of other Goods too long to inſert here.

The *Dutch* buy their Hemp at *Riga*, and other Places where we buy ours; but they employ their *People* to manufacture the ſame into Sail-cloth, and they import it on us, and we, to encourage them, uſe it for our Royal Navy, and all our Merchants Ships, and all other ſmall Veſſels, Hoys, Buſſes, Lighters and Boat-ſails; which Trade, were it encouraged here, would go a great Way in the Maintenance of our Poor, and great Gain is to be had thereby; we had at firſt our Woollen Manufactory from the *Dutch*, we ſold them Wool and Fulling-clay, and we took their Woollen-cloth, and now we take their Sail-cloth; but after we prohibited our Wool and Fulling-earth from being ſent to *Holland*, and their Cloth from coming here, it put our Workmen on Invention, and in a little Time we became the famouſeſt at that Trade in the World; and ſo we might be as well at Sail-cloth, were we encouraged, and the *Dutch* diſcouraged; we ought to contrive all Ways to employ our Poor, and keep within ourſelves the Working up of all our own Commodities; as Leather, Lead, Fulling-clay, Wool, Copper, *Calaminaris*, Tin, Pewter, and all other of our own Product; the Planting of Trees is neglected, by which in a little Time we ſhall loſe the making of Iron and Steel, the Refining our Braſs and other Metals, and great Part of our Lands lie waſte and barren, not cleared or tilled, whilſt Thouſands of our People want Employment, and many Thouſands hide themſelves in Obſcurity, in Places remote from their Beings, for Fear of Arreſts, who are not able to pay their Debts, and would willingly fly any where for Refuge: Bad Debts contracted to relieve ſome in Neceſſity, and many others in Priſons without any Satisfaction to the Creditor but Revenge, and their Families become chargeable to the Pariſhes wherein they are; many by their Poverty, are driven to the laſt Extremity, take to ill Courſes to rob and ſteal, and our Counties ſued; great Sums of Money paid for Apprehending and Trying theſe Robbers, and ſeveral other great Miſchiefs occaſioned by Poverty, which is burthenſome to the Country; which if all Matters were computed is more Loſs to the Nation than the Charge will amount to in clearing moſt of our barren Lands throughout the Kingdom; and rightly conſidering, ſo ſure as the People work in clearing and tilling the Ground, ſo conſequently thoſe Lands will be ſo much richer, and what is laid out will bring in again with conſiderable Profit, and inrich the Nation: It would be better for the Kingdom in general, that there were a Tax laid on every Pariſh to regulate theſe great Miſchiefs, than to lie under the Burthen thereof, without any Hopes of Relief: Therefore this following Method is humbly propoſed,

By *William Goff*.

The PROPOSALS.

IMPRIMIS, That there be a Tax laid on every Pariſh throughout the Kingdom, according to the Poor Tax-rate, to be continued for three Years, and paid Quarterly.

2. That there be ſix Pounds *per Cent*, *per Annum*, allowed to any Perſon or Perſons who ſhall lend the ſaid three Years Tax at once, that there may be Money ſufficient to carry on the Undertaking.

3. Near each Fiſhing-port throughout the Kingdom, there are commonly barren Lands, which may be rented at four Pence or ſix Pence, *per Annum*, an Acre.

4. That a convenient Parcel of ſuch Lands, near each Fiſhing-port, be rented or purchaſed at the Nation's Charge, to erect Fiſhing Factories on, for ſowing Hemp and Flax, and planting of Trees, ſuch as are convenient for Building of Ships, Hoys and Buſſes.

5. That there be ſome knowing Men choſen out of the neighbouring Pariſhes, near each of theſe Fiſhing-ports, to mark out the Land into Parcels, and that they aſcertain the Price of every Acre what the Labour is worth to clear the ſame.

6. That there be a Proclamation publiſhed throughout the Kingdom, that all Perſons that are willing to work in clearing thoſe Lands, at the Price aſcertained, ſhall have ready Money for their Labour as they conſtantly do their Work; and each of them ſhall have Ground given them to build a Houſe on free: And all thoſe who are in Debt, and do deliver up to their Creditors all the Effects they have, Wearing Apparel and Houſhold Goods only excepted, ſhall be protected from being arreſted or moleſted from any ſuch Debt or Debts; and all Tradeſmen likewiſe, that are willing to inhabit or ſettle there on any of the Fiſhing-factories, ſhall be likewiſe protected.

7. That theſe Perſons ſhall not be protected at any other Place or Places, but at theſe Fiſhing-ports or Factories, or whilſt theſe Perſons are fiſhing or ſelling their Fiſh in any other Markets throughout the Kingdom.

8. And that whereas, at moſt of theſe Ports are Places, where Wool is commonly ſent away by Stealth, and prohibited, and other Cuſtom-goods privately run a-ſhore, that any Perſon belonging to theſe Fiſhing-factories, who ſhall ſeize any of ſuch Goods, ſhall be allowed one Half-part of all ſuch Goods, to themſelves.

9. That, at every of theſe Fiſhing-ports, there be four Fiſhing-buſſes belonging to each Factory, with all Nets and other Fiſhing-tackle, provided with the Maſter, and manned with Fiſhermen to teach the People to catch Fiſh, and they to be paid firſt, at the publick Charge: And all thoſe belonging to theſe Factories, that are willing to go a Fiſhing, may every one take their Turn each Month; and that two Thirds of all ſuch Fiſh be divided amongſt thoſe who go a Fiſhing; the other Third of the Fiſh to be ſold, and applied towards Wear and Tear and Charges in Nets and Tackle: And, that ſome of the Maſters and Officers belonging to the neighbouring Pariſhes be choſen to take Charge of the ſame, and ſee all Things performed.

10. That, in every of theſe Factories, ſome of the Military Officers be appointed to diſcipline theſe Men, every Week or Fortnight, and they to be the Governors over theſe People, at each of theſe Fiſhing-factories; the Men to be paid by the Publick, thoſe Days they exerciſe.

11. That all the Pariſhes throughout the Kingdom do ſend their ableſt Poor to be employed at theſe Factories; ſome to dig, plant, and till the Ground, and the others to be employed to work up the Hemp and Flax, and to make Sail-cloth, Cordage, Nets, Twine, Lines, and Sails; the Women to ſpin, and make coarſe Linnen, *&c.* and, as the Profits come in by this Undertaking, the Pariſh-Taxes will abate throughout the Kingdom.

12. That there be a large Work-houſe, or Work-houſes, erected at every of theſe Fiſhing-ports, and that there be Maſter-workmen, paid at the Publick Charge, to teach the People to work, which, in Time, will teach one another; that theſe Maſter-workmen be Men of Knowledge and Underſtanding in making of Sail-cloth, Nets, Cordage, Twine, Lines, and all other Neceſſaries belonging to the Fiſhing-trade: And that they do take Care, that the People's Stock of Goods be not embezzled, and that they do give Account to the Maſters of the neighbouring Pariſhes, who ſhall be appointed for that Purpoſe every Week, and that they be appointed to pay and receive all Goods,

and, to keep the Stores, and give an Account of all Riſing Profits.

13. That, in every particular Sort of Work the full current Price for every Thing be aſcertained, and that they be allowed a ſufficient Rate for their Work, until their ſlow Hands be brought to quick Working, for afterwards, the Price will fall in Courſe, and thoſe which are become uſed to Clearing of Lands will take Lands of their own Accord, and clear it to get themſelves a Livelihood; and ſo likewiſe, in Fiſhing, they will in Time be able to join together, and go a Fiſhing at their own Charge, when they find the Profit thereof.

14. To encourage this Undertaking, that all the Sail-cloth which ſhall be uſed for the Royal Navy be wrought up at theſe Workhouſes belonging to theſe Fiſhing-factories; and to bring the Merchant-men to buy theirs, in the Nation, the following Method is propoſed:

15. That there be a high Duty laid on all new Sails of foreign-made Cloth, which ſhall be uſed to any of our *Engliſh* Ships, Hoys, Lighters, Buſſes, Boats, or any others; that the Duty be collected at the *Cuſtom-houſe*, which will in Time hinder Merchant-men, and others, from buying their Sails at Markets Abroad; and that all our Sail-cloth be made with ſome blue Stripe or other Mark through every Piece.

16. That all foreign Nets be prohibited from being imported, becauſe now moſt Nets come from *France* and other Parts.

17. That in every Pariſh throughout the Kingdom there be Work-houſes erected; and, inſtead of ſupplying the Poor's Neceſſities with Money, as now they do, that they be obliged to ſupply them with a Stock of Goods to work up, and let them have the full Price for the ſame. It is better for each Pariſh to receive Goods, which carry the intrinſick Value with them, than to loſe all the Money ſo gathered every Year, as they now do.

18. That all Charity-money, voluntarily given by any Perſon or Perſons to the Poor of each Pariſh, be laid out in unwrought Goods, a[illegible]lly divided, to every one Share and Share alike; and that the Pariſh be obliged to take all ſuch Goods ſo made by the Poor, and give them ready Money for the ſame, or more Stock of unwrought Goods to put them to Work again.

19. That the Poor be moſt encouraged to work on thoſe Commodities, which at Preſent are wrought beyond Sea, as, Sail-cloth, Hemp and Flax-dreſſing, Making of coarſe Linnen and Woollen-cloth, *&c.* We ought to conſider how to force all Trades, and how to find as much Employment for our Trades, as poſſible; therefore it is propoſed,

20. That all foreign Hemp and Flax be imported Duty-free.

21. That there be a high Duty laid on all unwrought Lead and Tin exported.

22. That all manufactured Lead, or Tin, be exported Duty-free.

23. That there be a Duty laid on all Fulling-earth, Tobacco-pipe Clay, and *Calaminaris*, to be paid at the Pit, at ſo much a Yard, or Rod; and not ſuffered to be dug without Oath firſt made, and a Certificate from the next Juſtice of the Peace, of what Quantity, and what Uſe, and where to be ſent, and the Duty gathered by thoſe of the Pariſh, who collect the King's Tax, *&c.* For the Duty-ſake theſe Pits will be taken Notice of, which will hinder the Carrying it away by Stealth.

24. That there be a Duty laid on all unwrought Leather exported.

24. That all Leather, manufactured into Shoes, Boots, Harneſſes, *&c.* be exported Duty-free.

26. That all raw Silks, Cotton, or any other Commodities, which are uſeful to employ the Tradeſmen, imported, may not be allowed any Draw-back at the *Cuſtom-houſe* on Exportation, as in other Goods, which will hinde[illegible] Merchants from exporting them Abroad ag[illegible] that our Tradeſmen may be ſupplied, as c[illegible] as our neighbouring Countries, with thoſe Goods they want to put them to Work.

27. That all Goods, which are imported, and exported again in Time, may be allowed the uſual Draw-back at the *Cuſtom-houſe*, as well in Goods where the Property is altered, as in others where the Property is not altered; by which Means ſeveral of our Poor may be employed, and all thoſe who want Work, and are in Debt, and have not to pay, will flock to theſe Fiſhing-factories; and, inſtead of lying in Jails, and their Families becoming burdenſome to the Pariſhes, we ſhall have our barren Lands cleared, tilled, manured, and well wooded with fine Groves of Trees fit to build Shipping; which will ſhelter thoſe bleak and wild Places; and thoſe Ports in Time will be-

come famous Fiſh-markets, and theſe Men well diſciplined, which will be good Outguards for our Kingdom, ready to aſſiſt in Time of Neceſſity, and will breed up a Nurſery of Seamen ready to man our Royal Navy on any Occaſion. By this, our Lands and our Livings will be ſecure from the Attempts of any foreign Enemy, our Trade will flouriſh, and our Poor be provided for, and will be an everlaſting Safety and Happineſs to our Kingdom and Government: Which God long preſerve.

A Synopſis, or contract View of the Life of *John Armand*, Cardinal of *Richlieu*, great Favourite and Miniſter of State to *Lewis the Thirteenth*, King of *France*. To be engraven on his Tomb. Firſt written in *Latin*, and now, *verbatim*, rendered *Engliſh*.

Quis leget hæc? ——
Vel duo, vel nemo. PERSIUS.

Printed in the Year, 1643. *Quarto*, containing eight Pages.

Cardinal Richlieu's *Epitaph.*

THE firſt Thing requeſted of thee, O Paſſenger, is, that thou wouldſt bleſs Almighty God, that in *France* thou mayeſt now read theſe Lines ſecurely.

Next, wonder, that he, whom the Earth was too anguſt for, when he was alive, ſhould be impriſoned in ſo ſmall a Space of Ground, now he is dead.

When he had commoved Earth, he aſpired to rule even Heaven itſelf; as appears by his Arrogating to himſelf this *Symbolum*, or Motto, *MENS SIDERA VOLVIT.*

And, that thou may underſtand what Kind of Intelligence this was, know that he was of a ſagacious Induſtry, but unquiet; an Enemy both of the publick, and of his own private Tranquillity.

In a great Wit, by many revered, not a few, that knew him, found a great Mixture of Madneſs.

He had a Mind that was made worſe by every Thing, bettered by nothing.

He ſtood thus long; not ſo much through Favour, as his Power with a mighty King; and was happy in the Event of Things, rather than in a prudent Management of them.

Only he was unhappy in the Diſfavour of Almighty God; for, having continually conflicted with noiſome Diſeaſes, he was ignorant of the Seat of Happineſs, which yet, to the rendering both himſelf and others unhappy, he ſought after.

Nor did he ever ſeem happy even in his own Eyes, as not honeſt in the Eyes of thoſe who called him happy.

He was vexed with two great Tormentors of Life, Choler, and Melancholy. In the Flames of the former, and the Fumes of the latter, he continually ſuffered.

So that Venom which he ſpit out, to the Perdition of others, he could not keep in, without Hurt to himſelf.

He outwent moſt Men in Covetouſneſs, all Men in Ambition. A Waſter of the Royal Exchequer, but a Niggard of his own Purſe. Cruel, if offended; but more cruel, where he offended others.

By the Conferrings of the Queen-Mother he was made rich, by her Plottings preferred, and, by her Power, made more potent. Yet her did he deprive of the King's Favour, of her Liberty, of her Eſtate, of *France*, and, at laſt, of her Life, ſhe being an Exile at *Cologne*. And, leſt he ſhould ſpare her, when ſhe was dead, he nulled her laſt Will, and cauſed her Corps to lie five Months (at the End of which, himſelf followed her) in her Chamber unburied.

The Honour of Monſieur, the King's Brother, he violated, and endeavoured to ſupplant even his Perſon.

He not only withdrew the Affections of * Son from Mother, and of * Brother from Brother, but of * Huſband from Wife.

Mariliack he cauſed to be beheaded by the greateſt Wrong; *Montmorency* by the greateſt Right; *Cinkmart*, partly by Right, partly by Wrong; M. *de Thow*, whether by Right or Wrong, no Man knows.

Some Noblemen he condemned to perpetual Impriſonment, more to Baniſhment; but thoſe he drove from Court were innumerable.

He proſcribed many, leſt they ſhould hinder his Deſigns. Nor did milder *France* ever behold ſo frequent Puniſhments.

Building upon the Power of a great King, whom, with a great deal of Art and Study, he deceived, and ſupplied with the Wealth of a moſt fruitful Kingdom, he ſpent an infinite Number of Arrows, in aiming to hit the main Mark, which he had miſſed.

A continual Working and Agitation of Mind, backed with many mad Attempts, together with a rigid Severity, and an all-trying Boldneſs, produced a few fortunate Iſſues. But he had ſoon been ſupplanted, if, among foreign Enemies, he had found ſome more wary, or among *Frenchmen*, ſcarce any of whom but were averſe to him, had met but with one Adverſary.

It well beſteaded him, that hardly any Body knew him, or believed thoſe that did.

He was ſo fortunate, that thoſe of the Nobility, as well as of the Army, whom he had irritated, did yet, for his Honour, ſhed their own and others Blood, whilſt himſelf mingled his with the King's.

He had periſhed in the ſame Deſign, in which *Sejanus* once periſhed, had he not taken out of the Way, O Grief to think on! the Royal Count of *Soiſſons*.

Germany, *Spain*, *Italy*, and the *Low-Countries*, but eſpecially *France*, will hardly be able, in a whole Age, to efface the bad Impreſſions of ſo hurtful an Authority.

Taking Pleaſure in the Miſeries both of the Citizens and Suburbers, that he might fleece theſe, he lanced the very Entrails of thoſe.

Nor did he any wiſe indulge to the ſacred Health of the King, but diſturbed that, whilſt, with Anxieties and various Paſſions of Mind, he wore out his own.

The Divine Juſtice firſt ulcerated his Arm, which he had ſtretched out againſt Heaven. Next, it took from him the Uſe of his right Hand, which had ſubſcribed to unneceſſary Wars. His Arm, eight Months before his Death, rotted, by Reaſon of which his Hand withered.

And yet, which is a ſad Thing, he, that ſo plainly felt God an Avenger, would not plainly enough acknowledge him.

This appears, in that he more hotly exerciſed his Fury upon his private Enemies.

In that, Death approaching, rather out of a politick Prudence, than a Chriſtian Piety, he commended his Favourites to the King, more than his Soul to God.

In that, a few Days before the Cataſtrophe of his tragick Life, he cauſed a Play of his own deviſing, which he called *Europâ Triumphata*, to be acted in the moſt Royal Pomp, that could be, though himſelf could not behold it.

In that, being a Cardinal, he afflicted the Church; being a Prieſt, he ſhed Blood; being a Chriſtian, he forgave no Injuries; and being a Man, he yet would not remember himſelf to be mortal, even when the Worms, crawling out of his many Ulcers, did admoniſh him to how frail and noiſome a Mortality he was obnoxious.

When by all Ways, the moſt impious not

---

* King of *France*.

unaſſayed, he had, for the Space of eighteen Years, proſecuted his private Ends, to the Undoing of the Publick, he, at length, arrived to the ordinary End of Men, by a Death, to Appearance, peaceable, but more lingering than that of many, whom he had ſent before him.

He died at *Paris*, where he had been born fifty-ſeven Years and three Months before.

Forſaking *France*, and his own Houſe, he ſeemed to endeavour the Combuſtion of them both; of that, by an extorted Declaration againſt the King's Brother; of this, by a Will framed to a * Woman's Fancy.

For the reſt; nor did the Kingdom of *France*, being opulent, ever deal with any ſo bountifully; nor, being of a Genius impatient, did it ever bear with any ſo continuedly; nor, affecting Quietment, did it ever part with any ſo gladly.

I aſſert theſe Things openly, which thou, O Paſſenger, didſt privily ſuſpect, and, in Wiſdom, kept to thyſelf.

If thou encountereſt any one who ſtill doubts, intreat him not to give Credit to abuſed Men, nor to corrupt Flatterers; but rather to me, who ſpeak nothing but Truth, and that out of a conſcientious Sincerity.

And I would have all Men perſuaded, that the leaſt Juſtice is more acceptable to God, than the greateſt Power; that a Name is to be eſteemed, not for being far and wide diffuſed, but for being good; that to trouble and unſettle many Things is not to do much, but, being unſettled, to compoſe them, more; to keep them from being unſettled, moſt of all.

Proſperous Wickedneſſes are, by the Multitude, accounted for Virtues; but do thou, on the Contrary, think nothing more wretched, than ſuch thriving Impieties.

This egregious Artiſan of Cheats, *Richlieu*, deceived many for a While, and himſelf haply to Eternity.

Who, alas, ſhall reduce to Order that Infinity of Things which he hath confuſed? Who deemed of Peace, becauſe it ſuited not with his turbulent Brain, that it was diſagreeable even to his Fortune. From whence ſprang thoſe many Evils, which, for theſe laſt fifteen Years, have ſo oppreſſed the Chriſtian World.

Pray, that God would not eternally avenge it upon the Author; who needed much Mercy, and many of God's Compaſſions, amidſt his many and great Crimes.

Do thou, O Chriſtian, ſeriouſly perpend, what a Nothing that is, which is ſubject to a momentary Vaniſh: † 'None of thoſe, whom thou ſeeſt clad in Purple, are therefore happy, no more than they, whoſe Part in a Comedy allows them a Robe and Scepter; who having buſkined, and, on Tiptoes, ſtrutted it before the ſtaring Spectators, as ſoon as they come to their Exit, are, un-pantoffled, and return to their own Stature.'

Furthermore, ſee how ſmall an *Aſh*-heap he now is, who once was ſo great a Fire; how fetid a Stream he now ſends forth, who lately darted a Splendor ſo coruſcant, that every one's Eyes were thereby *dazzled*.

I wiſh he prove not a Firebrand to *himſelf*, in another World, who was ſo to *Europe* in this.

Poor *Europe* now hopes for Peace, the Fewel of her Wars being extinct.

I ſhould intreat thee, O Paſſenger, to pray for Peace to this ſo mortal an Enemy even of his own Peace; but that I fear thou wouldſt but trouble him, in wiſhing a Thing to him, which he ſo greatly hated. Yet pray notwithſtanding, in that thou art commanded to love thy Enemies; if the Peace, thou prayeſt for, reach not him, it will return unto thyſelf: Such was the Commandment of our Saviour; in whom I wiſh thee Peace whilſt thou liveſt, that thou mayeſt ſweetly reſt in him when thou dieſt. In the mean Time, *Farewel*.

---

* The Ducheſs of *Eguillon*.

† *Seneca*.

Encouragement for Seamen and Mariners. In Two Parts. Being a propoſed Method for the more ſpeedy and effectual furniſhing their Majeſties Royal Navy with able Seamen and Mariners: And for ſaving thoſe immenſe Sums of Money, yearly expended in attending the Sea Preſs. In order to prevent thoſe many Miſchiefs and Abuſes daily committed, by diſorderly Preſs-Maſters, both at Sea and Land, to the great Prejudice of their Majeſties, and Injury of the Subject. By *George Everett*, Shipwright. *London*, Printed in the Year 1695. *Quarto.* Containing twenty-four Pages.

To the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons of *England*, aſſembled in Parliament.

With Submiſſion,

I*N humble Reſpect to his Majeſty's moſt gracious Speech, I do moſt humbly offer theſe following Propoſals, for the Encouraging of Seamen, in order to furniſh their Majeſties Royal Navy on all Occaſions: Wherein is briefly ſet forth the great Hardſhips and Sufferings of thoſe employed in the Sea-Service, together with proper Remedies to prevent the ſame; whereby their Majeſties, and the Publick, may ſave thoſe immenſe Sums of Money yearly expended on ſuch Occaſions; the Seamen be happy and eaſy in ſuch Service; the Merchants enjoy a free Trade, without Interruption; the whole Nation be happy under the preſent Influence of a War, many Grievances attending thereon be redreſſed, Vice puniſhed, Virtue promoted, our Enemies terrified, and ourſelves encouraged, by the Bleſſing of the Almighty, to proſecute this ſo great and glorious Undertaking, and thereby regain our former Honour of being Maſter of the* Britiſh *Seas, to the Glory of their Majeſties, and the Peace and Happineſs of the whole Nation: Moſt humbly begging your Honours to pardon this my Undertaking, to paſs by my Errors with Patience, and to correct all that is amiſs with Prudence, and to conſider my former Propoſals, humbly offered for the ſaving One-Hundred-Thouſand Pounds* per Annum *in Building and Repairing the Royal Navy; which, by his Majeſty's Order of the 22d of* March *laſt, was referred to the Right Honourable the Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, and, at the Writing hereof, is yet lying under their Lordſhips Conſideration. All which, out of a hearty and zealous Inclination of ſerving their Majeſties, and the Publick, I do moſt humbly recommend to your Honours Conſideration, as the only Phyſicians under God, from whom a Redreſs of our Grievances is deſired and expected, in Hopes of your favourable Acceptance* *and Encouragement thereof, for the Service of their Majeſties, the Benefit of the Subject, and the Good and Welfare of the whole Nation; moſt humbly praying, that a Committee may be appointed to examine and conſider the ſame; and that I may be admitted to give Reaſons, and anſwer to all Objections. I humbly ſubmit myſelf,*

Yours Honours moſt faithful and obedient Servant,

George Everett.

PART I.

Foraſmuch as it is altogether needleſs to give an Account of the particular Charge of the Nation, in impreſſing Seamen for their Majeſties Service, that being already performed by Others; and it being well known, that, after all the Charge and Trouble therein, many of the moſt able and fitteſt for Sea-Service, do lie lurking and concealed, taking an Opportunity to make a Voyage or two to *Newcaſtle*, or otherwiſe, as they ſee moſt convenient for their own Advantage, to the great Hindrance of their Majeſties Service, the Diſcouragement of others belonging to the Fleet, and great Prejudice of many, who, being unfit for Sea Service, are forced to ſupply in ſuch Caſe.

Propoſal 1. For Remedy thereof, upon the eſpecial Approbation of the honourable Admiral *Ruſſel*, and ſeveral other eminent Perſons of known Experience in Maritime Affairs, it is humbly propoſed, 'That in every Sea-port Town, according to the Greatneſs thereof, an Office or Officers, being Perſons of known Integrity, and good Repute, may be erected and ſettled, for taking and keeping a Regiſter of Seamen and Mariners: And, to that End, the Churchwardens and Overſeers of the Poor of every Pariſh, within ten Miles of any Sea-Coaſt, or navigable River, within this Kingdom, ſhall, within fourteen Days after Notice given by Proclamation, be ſworn duly to enquire and take a Liſt of all Seamen and Mariners, inhabiting and reſiding within their reſpective Pariſhes, being between the Ages of Sixteen and Sixty, whether at Home or Abroad, and ſhall deliver the ſame, under their Hands, to the Sheriff of the County to which they do belong; which ſaid Sheriff ſhall, within twelve Days after the Receipt thereof, tranſmit a Copy of the ſame to the next Port-Office, where the ſame ſhall be carefully entered Alphabetically, for every Pariſh and County diſtinctly, in a Book or Books for that Purpoſe to be provided.'

⁎ This cannot be accounted any great Trouble, there being in every Pariſh four or ſix ſuch Officers at leaſt, who dividing themſelves, with their Beadle, who is generally acquainted with all the Pariſhioners, may perform the ſame effectually in one Day.

⁎ Neither can it be accounted troubleſome to the Sheriffs, it being not expected to be more than once a Year at moſt; and may, by their Directions, be performed by their Servants: And, being a National Concern, ought to have a National Aſſiſtance, which will partly be effected by ſuch Officers changing Places every Year.

Prop. 2. 'And that all Maſters of Ships, and other Veſſels, uſing the Sea, or trading from Port to Port Coaſt-wiſe (except ſuch Veſſels as are, or ſhall be employed in the Home-trade of Fiſhery, for ſupplying the ſeveral Markets of this Kingdom) ſhall, at the Beginning of their Voyage, and before they depart the firſt Port, give into that Port-office a true Liſt of the Names of all Seamen and Mariners retained to ſerve on Board their ſaid Ships, or Veſſels, together with their Age, and what outward Marks may be found, as alſo their Place of Reſidence, or Habitation, if any ſuch they have; which being performed, the ſaid Maſters, if not reſtrained by Embargo, or other Order, may, with their Company, have Liberty [illegible] proceed on their intended Voyage, both out and Home, without Danger of being impreſſed; one of the ſaid Officers firſt giving a Certificate under his Hand and Seal, as a Protection, for the Uſe of every Seaman thereunto belonging, being between the

'Age of ſixteen and ſixty Years, as aforeſaid; and alſo a Duplicate thereof to the Maſter, for which he ſhall pay unto the ſaid Officer, if a Coaſter, two Shillings and ſix Pence, and, if a Trader to foreign Parts, five Shillings *per* Head for every Perſon therein nominated; which ſaid Monies may be allowed for and towards the Maintenance and Encouragement of ſuch Officers.'

⁂ By the aforeſaid Means it may be poſſible to obtain a full Regiſter of all the Seamen of *England*, and thereby know who is in Service, and who is not; whereby the Royal Navy, upon all Occaſions, may be readily manned with able Seamen, and no Hiding-place left for Deſerters, or others; and the Head-money propoſed will be gladly paid, to avoid thoſe great Perils and Loſſes, which too often happen, to the great Prejudice of their Majeſties, and all others concerned at Sea, by Means of the Sea-preſs.

Prop. 3. 'And, upon Return of the ſaid Ship, or Veſſel, to her Port of Delivery, or Unlading, that then the ſaid Maſter thereof ſhall be further obliged (if belonging to a Ship or Veſſel uſing the Coaſt-trade) within four Days; or, if a Merchant-ſhip trading to foreign Parts, within ten Days, or more, as may be thought convenient, to pay ſuch his Ship's Company, in the Preſence of one of the aforeſaid Officers, at a Place and Day prefixed. And, if it happen that any Change or Alteration hath been made amongſt the ſaid Company, during the ſaid Voyage, that then the ſaid Maſter do give an Account to the ſaid Officer, who may be impowered to make Enquiry therein; and whoſoever of the ſaid Company, ſhipped outward or homeward, appeareth not in Perſon to receive his Wages, at ſuch Time and Place prefixed (without ſome lawful Cauſe or Let ſhewed to the Contrary, being ſuch as may be allowed by the Directors of ſuch Office, or Officers) ſhall loſe and forego his whole Wages, one Half to the Uſe of their Majeſties, and the other to the Cheſt at *Chatham*, or otherwiſe, as may be thought convenient.'

⁂ And the ſaid Officers, being impowered to make Enquiry, as aforeſaid, will cauſe Maſters to be more cautious how they do impriſon and pack their Seamen off in foreign Countries; an Abuſe too much practiſed, even to the Ruin of many Families, which brings much Poverty on the Nation, eſpecially about Rivers and Sea-port Towns.

Prop. 4. 'And, if it ſhould happen, that any of the ſaid Ships, or Veſſels, ſhould deliver, or unlade at any other Port within this Kingdom, that then the Officer of ſuch Port may, by the Maſter's Duplicate (he being obliged to produce the ſame, or otherwiſe by a Copy of the Regiſter from the other firſt Officer) be enabled to proceed, in all Reſpects, as aforeſaid.'

⁂ For Conveniency, a Copy of all Regiſters may be tranſmitted from all Ports to *Yarmouth* and *Portſmouth*, for the ready Diſpatch of all ſuch Affairs; but more eſpecially to the Port-office of *London*.

Prop. 5. 'And that every Officer, in his reſpective Place (at the Time of paying ſuch Seamen, as aforeſaid) ſhall then cauſe all ſuch, as are fit for their Majeſties Service, to be forthwith ſent on Board ſome Ship belonging to the Fleet, as Occaſion ſhall require; the Charge thereof to be paid by their Majeſties; and all ſuch, as are ſo ſent on Board their Majeſties Ships, ſhall have equal Benefit with thoſe Seamen who do, or ſhall enter themſelves as Voluntiers.'

⁂ By ſuch Means, there will be a conſtant Supplying of the Royal Navy with able Seamen; and, by this Means, ſuch, who uſe to ſteal a Voyage or two, will unavoidably be brought into their Majeſties Service, without Prejudice to any; which will be an Encouragement to others belonging to the Fleet, and will prevent the Preſſing of Tradeſmen from their Buſineſs.

Prop. 6. 'And, as every Merchant-ſhip, or Veſſel, hath a Carpenter or two belonging unto it, who for great Wages go voluntarily to Sea, their Majeſties Ships may, by the Means aforeſaid, be plentifully ſupplied with able Shipwrights, the moſt experienced and fitteſt for Sea-ſervice.

Prop. 7. 'And, at the End of every Year, the ſaid Officers ſhall preſent their Majeſties with a general Liſt of all Seamen and Shipwrights, ſo ſent on Board of every particular Ship; and, if thought convenient, ſhall have an additional Allowance from their Majeſties.

‘ ſties, of two Shillings and ſix Pence *per* Head, as an Encouragement and Maintenance for ſuch their Service.

Prop. 8. ‘ And whatſoever Officer or Ship-maſter offendeth herein, contrary to the true Intent and Meaning thereof, ſhall forfeit   Pounds to the Uſe of their Majeſties,   Pounds whereof may be allowed to the Informer.’

⁎ This Charge cannot be accounted great; for, by this Means, the prodigious Expence of hiring Smacks and Ketches to attend the Preſs will determine; and one Thouſand Men and Boys, commonly employed therein, may be at Liberty to ſerve their Majeſties on Board the Fleet, beſides the Charge allowed and expended by Captains and Lieutenants, on ſuch Occaſions.

⁎ And the Seamen and Shipwrights belonging to Merchant-ſhips, being ſo ſecured for their Majeſties Service, may enjoy the Benefit of ſelling and diſpoſing of what they have, as an Adventure on Board their reſpective Ships, together with the Happineſs of receiving their Wages, and providing themſelves with Apparel and other Neceſſaries fit for Sea-ſervice, and be ſent on Board the Fleet like Men; who otherwiſe, after a long and tedious Voyage, without Recruit or Money, are forced on Board their Majeſties Ships in a poor and ragged Condition, which is one main Occaſion of Sickneſs and Diſtempers on Board the Fleet; and for ſuch Reaſons many refuſe to go to Sea, and others forſake their Ships, in foreign Nations.

⁎ And by ſuch Means, as aforeſaid, Merchant-ſhips at Sea, and under Convoy, may be ſecure from the Rage and ill Uſage of ſome Commanders; who, if denied their unreaſonable Demands for Light or Convoy-money, do often cauſe the Seamen to be impreſſed; whereby ſuch Ships or Veſſels are too often diſabled, and the Ships and Goods, with the ſmall and helpleſs Number of Men left on Board, do often miſcarry, or periſh at Sea; whereby the Merchants loſe their Goods, their Majeſties loſe their Cuſtoms, the Subjects loſe their Lives, the Owners their Ship, or Veſſel, and many become Widows and Fatherleſs thereby; which brings great Complaints and Poverty throughout the Nation.

PART II.

Propoſal 1. ‘ AND, as the Honour and Glory of the *Engliſh* Nation doth ſo much depend upon the Strength and good Conduct of the Royal Navy, ſo it may be highly neceſſary at ſuch Time, when the common Enemy is ſo potent and powerful, that all due Encouragement be given to Seamen and Mariners; and, to that End, it is moſt humbly propoſed, That no Offices belonging to the Fleet be bought or ſold, but that every Perſon may be preferred according to his Deſerts and Merits.

Prop. 2. ‘ That the ſaid Seamen be allowed their full Share of all Prizes that ſhall be taken, and that ſome Law be paſſed to prevent Embezzlements therein; and that thoſe Perſons, in what Station ſoever, that ſhall endeavour to defraud them of ſuch Parts and Shares, as have by Cuſtom, or may hereafter be allowed, ſhall (being convicted thereof) forfeit his ſaid Office, or Employment.

Prop. 3. ‘ That, if any Seamen be diſmembered in their Majeſties Service, ſuch Smart-money, as hath been formerly allowed, may be advanced, and be forthwith duly paid. And further, that there may be an additional Allowance made for all ſuch Penſioners, as ſhall be diſmembered in their Majeſties Service.

Prop. 4. ‘ That, if any Seamen be killed in their Majeſties Service, that the Bounty-money, generally allowed on ſuch Occaſions, be forthwith paid to thoſe who ſhall produce a juſt Right to receive the ſame.

Prop. 5. ‘ That all Profaneneſs, which having, by long Cuſtom, gotten the Aſcendant on Board the Fleet, be forthwith ſuppreſſed and aboliſhed; and all Offenders, being Officers, may be diſplaced, and others receive ſuch Puniſhment, as may be appointed by Authority of Parliament.

Prop. 6. ‘ And that no Seaman or Mariner, that hath ſerved twelve Months in any of their Majeſties Ships, ſhall be turned over, to ſerve on Board any other of their Majeſ-

'ties Ships, before he be paid all Wages due 'to that Time.

Prop. 7. 'That when, and ſo often as their 'Majeſties, by their Royal Proclamation, ſhall 'require the Service of ſuch Seamen, on Board 'the Royal Navy, by ſuch a Day or Time 'prefixed; that all able Seamen, who ſhall, 'in Obedience thereunto, voluntarily enter 'themſelves, by applying to the next Port-'Officer, or Officers, ſhall be allowed, during the whole Voyage, twenty-eight Shillings *per* Month, according to the Courſe of 'the Navy; and that ſo often as any of their 'Majeſties Ships ſhall arrive into any Harbour, to lay up for any Time, that then 'the Seamen and Mariners, thereunto belonging, ſhall be forthwith diſcharged; and that 'all Wages, to them then due for ſuch Service, be fully paid, not in Tickets, but in 'Money: And, if the Voyage be long, that 'then their Wives or Friends, having a lawful Power to receive the ſame, may be paid 'ſix Months Wages out of every nine Months, 'that ſuch Ship ſhall be Abroad.

Prop. 8. 'That all ſuch Seamen, now belonging to the Royal Navy, as ſhall be continued on Board the Fleet, at ſuch Time 'as the Service of others ſhall be required by 'Proclamation as aforeſaid, may have and receive the full Benefit of ſuch, as ſhall then 'enter themſelves Voluntiers.

Prop. 9. 'That there be one Clerk at the 'Navy-Office, to attend all accidental Buſineſs that may happen touching the Premiſes, 'and that he be allowed, by their Majeſties, 'fifty Pounds *per Annum*, to anſwer and receive Money for all ſuch Perſons, as ſhall 'employ him on ſuch Occaſion; and that 'he may be allowed ſix Pence or twelve Pence '*per* Pound, as ſhall be thought fit, for all 'ſuch Money as he ſhall ſo receive; and the 'ſaid Clerk, making Default therein, to be 'diſplaced, and ſuffer ſuch Fine, or other 'Puniſhment, as the Parliament ſhall think 'fit.'

⁂ By ſuch Payments, as aforeſaid, Seamen may be inabled to provide for themſelves and Families, and to pay their Debts; which is one Means to make Money plenty, throughout the Nation, and will encourage them, when Occaſion ſhall require, freely and gladly to enter themſelves into their Majeſties Service, without the Charge of being preſſed, or continued in Pay for the whole Year. And being certain of ſuch Proviſion, made for the Maintenance of themſelves and Families, it will make them bold and daring, not being afraid to look Death in the very Face of their Enemies.

⁂ It is to be obſerved, that, for Want of ſuch Payment as aforeſaid, the Seamen are greatly injured and diſcouraged; *firſt*, eſpecially, when, inſtead of Money, they are put off with Tickets, whilſt many of them, and their Families, wanting Food and Raiment, are compelled to ſell ſuch Tickets at one-third Part, and, ſometimes, one-half Loſs; ſo that, thereby, the Seamen's Pay is very ſmall and inſignificant; who, after having expoſed themſelves to the greateſt Dangers, are ſo cut off, being but as Slaves and Drudges to the common Ticket-buyers, and their Upholders; who, for ſupplying them ſo with Money, do carry away the greateſt Part of their Labour, when many of their poor Families are ready to periſh. *Secondly*, The Paying ſuch their Wages on Board the Fleet, at ſuch Time as they are ready to ſail, is very injurious both to Seamen and others; for, by ſuch Means, they have not the Opportunity to ſerve themſelves or Families, but are obliged to buy all their Neceſſaries on Board the common Higlers or Boomboats, and they not many, who, making it their Buſineſs to attend the Fleet, do, by their Extortion, bring away the greateſt Part of the Seamen's Wages. So that a great Part of the Treaſure of the Nation, which ought to be divided amongſt all, falls into the Hands of a few private Perſons; whereas, if ſuch Payment were to be made on Shore, as aforeſaid, they may have the Benefit to buy all they want at the beſt Hand, to pay their Debts, and relieve their Families. And, by this Means, all ſuch Money would, as from a Fountain, pleaſantly diſtil itſelf into ſo many ſilver Streams, until it returns again to its firſt Riſe; which would be a great Encouragement to Seamen, and all other their Majeſties good Subjects, who, being now obliged to give them, and their Families, Credit, are forced to ſit down by Loſs, which is one great Cauſe of the Decay and Detriment of Trade.

⁎ If it ſhould be objected, that Paying the Seamen their Wages on Shore, upon the Diſcharge of their Service, as aforeſaid, will cauſe them to deſert their Majeſties Service, it is humbly anſwered, That, there being, in *England*, a ſufficient Number, to ſerve both their Majeſties Royal Navy and Merchants Ships, at one Time, as, by ſufficient Teſtimony, did appear this laſt Summer, it is impoſſible to believe the Royal Fleet ſhould ever want Seamen, if good Payment was to be made, and Encouragement given, as aforeſaid, for theſe Reaſons following: *Firſt*, They, being in ſuch Service, are more ſecure from the Enemy, than in Merchants Ships. *Secondly*, Being allowed thirteen Months to the Year, without After-claps, or paying Damages, which, in Merchants Ships, often cuts off one Month's Pay in three. *Thirdly*, If a Ship of their Majeſties happen to be loſt, the Seamen's Wages ſtand good. *Fourthly*, Being out of all Danger of being impreſſed, during the whole Voyage; by Means whereof, in Merchants Ships, they often loſe both their Wages and Adventure. *Fifthly*, Having a Proſpect in making Advantage, by taking of Prizes. *Sixthly*, If Loſs of Members happen, Smart-money is allowed, with a yearly Penſion, during Life. *Seventhly*, If killed in Fight, a conſiderable Bounty-gift is beſtowed on their Families, according to the Greatneſs thereof; when Seamen, in Merchants Ships, running all Riſques, as aforeſaid, fall ſhort of theſe ſo great Advantages.

Prop. 10. ‘Furthermore it is propoſed, that if any Difference ſhould happen, within the Term of the ſaid Voyage, between the Maſter of ſuch Merchant's Ship, or Veſſel, and any of the Seamen, belonging thereunto, for, or by Reaſon of any Wages due, or Goods damaged, by Leekage of the Ship, or Veſſel, ſuch Differences may be determined by ſuch Officer, as aforeſaid; who may be impowered to call to his Aſſiſtance two, three, or more, honeſt and indifferent Men, being ſufficient Houſe-keepers, who may have Power to hear and determine all ſuch Differences, as aforeſaid, which would be of great Advantage to poor Seamen; who, by Reaſon of Poverty and the Preſs, being not in a Capacity to maintain or attend a Suit of Law, are often ruined and undone.

⁎ If it ſhould be objected, that this may prove prejudicial to the Government, it is humbly anſwered, That the Seamen in general, by ſuch Injuries, and for ſuch Reaſons, as aforeſaid, are not in a Capacity to go to Law; ſo that, where nothing is, nothing can be expected.

⁎ So that by thus civilly impreſſing of ſome, and paying and encouraging of others, as aforeſaid, it may be preſumed, their Majeſties Royal Navy may, at all Times, be readily and plentifully provided, with the moſt able Seamen and Mariners, on all Occaſions, and all extraordinary Charge of impreſſing and maintaining them on Board the Fleet, in the Winter-ſeaſon (which, by Captain *St. Lo*, was computed at five-hundred and four-thouſand Pounds for one Winter-ſeaſon, beſides ſixty-thouſand Pounds, expended for Conduct, Bounty, and Impreſs-money) avoided and ſaved, as well now as in former Times. And, to this, all the Seamen, and faithful People of *England*, will ſay *Amen*.

⁎ If any Objection ſhould be made, that, in Manning the Royal Navy, according to the Methods of this ſecond Propoſition, their Majeſties Affairs may be prolonged or prejudiced thereby, then it is humbly propoſed, That a Recourſe may be had to the aforeſaid Regiſter, as followeth.

Prop. 11. ‘That the right Honourable the Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, calling to the Port-Officers of *London* for a general Liſt of all Seamen in each County, taken as aforeſaid, may direct their Warrants to the ſeveral Sheriffs of the Counties aforeſaid, requiring them to direct their Precepts to the ſeveral Conſtables of each Pariſh, as aforeſaid, who, with the Aſſiſtance of the Churchwardens and Overſeers of the Poor, ſhall forthwith, to the utmoſt of their Power, cauſe ſuch, and ſo many as are required, by an equal *Quota*, to appear before the next Port-Officer, who ſhall diſpoſe of them on Board their Majeſties Ships, as ſhall be moſt meet and convenient for their Majeſties Service; and ſuch as preſs-Men, to be allowed but twenty-four Shillings *per* Month. And what Seamen ſoever ſhall abſcond from their Habitation, or uſual Place of Being, at ſuch Time as the Service of their Majeſties ſhall require them on Board the Fleet, ſhall ſuffer Impriſonment, or as

' the Parliament ſhall think fit. And that
' the Port-Officer do then forthwith pay unto
' the ſaid Conſtables, for travelling, and other
' neceſſary Charges, the Sum of two Shillings
' and ſix Pence *per* Head, for every Perſon by
' them delivered, or produced as aforeſaid;
' and that the ſaid Port-Officer be allowed
' the ſame (with other neceſſary Charges, for
' ſending ſuch on Board the Fleet, out of their
' Majeſties Treaſury.

By what hath been propoſed, I hope, it will appear, that the Impreſſing of Seamen, and others, by Sea-Officers, may be wholly laid aſide, which hath, hitherto, been very chargeable to their Majeſties, and injurious to the Subjects, as is briefly ſummed up as followeth.

1. That ſeveral Veſſels, employed in that Service, after having laid twelve or fourteen Days in the River of *Thames*, on that Occaſion, have, by the ill Management of ſome Lieutenants, thereunto belonging, been ſent on Board their Majeſties Ships with twenty or thirty Men at one Time, who, being not fit or uſeful in ſuch Service, have been often diſcharged, and turned Aſhore; by which Means, their Majeſties Treaſure hath been vainly expended, and many Landmen and Tradeſmen have been often carried from their Habitations to the *Downs*, *Portſmouth*, and *Plymouth*, to their great Charge and Prejudice.

2. That the Impreſſing and Detaining Seamen in their Majeſties Service, on ſuch hard Terms as before ſpecified, cauſeth many to deſer their Majeſties Service, who, by ſuch Means, come to an untimely *Exit*. And many Seamen there be, who, having Families, will rather expoſe themſelves to ſuch vile and ſhameful Ends, than leave their Families to periſh for Want of Food and Raiment.

3. Many other Inconveniencies there be attending the preſent Diſcipline of the Navy; as, paying the Fleet at *Portſmouth*, &c. whereby their Majeſties Affairs are often retarded, and the Seamen, whoſe Wives or Friends are very populous about the River of *Thames*, do, by travelling and attending at ſuch remote Parts, often expend more than they receive, whereby many Families are ruined and undone: And many others there be, who, for Want of Money, are obliged to take up all they want upon Truſt, paying One Shilling for the Value of Ninepence, loſing thereby 25 *l. per Cent.* and, by ſelling their Tickets, as aforeſaid, they generally loſe 30, 40, or 50 *l. per Cent.* ſo that, by a modeſt Computation, their whole Loſs amounts to 60 *l. per Cent.* out of their ſmall Wages.

4. The turning of Seamen over from one Ship to another, after having been in ſuch Service, one, two, or three Years, without Money, produceth the ſame Effect as the former.

5. For the aforeſaid Reaſons, the Seamen, their Wives and Friends, are at a great Charge and Trouble, by petitioning and attending the Admiralty and Navy-Board, on ſuch Occaſions, who ſpend great Part of their Time in Hearing and Examining theſe and ſuch like Grievances.

6. Whereas if Seamen were paid and encouraged, as aforeſaid, theſe Miſchiefs and Diſorders, with many others, occaſioned by ſeveral indirect Practices of Clerks of the Navy, &c. would ſoon ceaſe and be aboliſhed.

7. And, for promoting the ſame, it is further propoſed, That a ſuitable Fund of Money be raiſed and ſet a-part for ſuch Uſes and Purpoſes: And if the ſame ſhould fail, or fall ſhort of what is intended, that then they may be ſupplied with ſuch Funds as ſhall be appropriated to pay Merchant-Dealers and Tradeſmen, who, being under no Compulſion in making Agreement for their Commodities, are in a Capacity to help themſelves.

8. And if a Sufficiency of Money cannot be raiſed, as aforeſaid, that then it may be borrowed; and ſuppoſe at 10 *l. per Cent. per Annum*, yet will be of ſo great Uſe in anſwering theſe Ends, that it is preſumed their Majeſties will thereby ſave 200,000 *l. per Annum*, or more: But if the late ingenious Propoſals to ſupply their Majeſties with Money, at 3 *l. per Cent. per Annum*, be put into Practice, the Advantages accruing to their Majeſties by this propoſed Method will be much greater, and the Doubts and Objections that may ariſe touching the Inſufficiency of making ſuch orderly Payments, as aforeſaid, will be removed.

9. Thus, by preferring Frugality, and aboliſhing Extravagancy, their Majeſties, with the uſual Funds generally raiſed and allowed for ſuch Occaſions, will ſoon be in a Capacity of paying and providing, with ready Money, all Things neceſſary for the carrying on the War; and the Enemy, taking Notice of our Induſtry and Abilities, the uſual Forerunners of great Actions, will be thereby diſcouraged, as they

are certain Preſages of their approaching Downfall.

10. And that, by ſuch Means, the general Trade of the Nation will be better ſupplied at Home, and ſecured Abroad; and the Subjects thereby inabled and encouraged to give Supplies to carry on the War, and their Majeſties thereby be the better ſupported to proſecute and continue the ſame.

11. Thus having, as I humbly conceive, propoſed a ſure and certain Method to prevent thoſe Evils occaſioned by the Sea preſs, which, if put in Practice, I dare affirm, will be a uſeful Inſtrument to vanquiſh and overcome all our Enemies, both Foreign and Domeſtick; it being obſervable, that, ſince my former Propoſals made for performing of Shipwrights Work, the Impreſſing of Workmen for that Service hath been little practiſed.

In all that hath been moſt humbly offered, I have ſtudied Brevity more than Curioſity, my Deſign being to ſerve my Country, rather than to ſhew my Skill in Learning; and therefore do preſent the ſame, not as the Labour of my ſpare Minutes, but as the Fruit of a laborious Brain, that hath and will be always ready to ſerve their Majeſties and the Government upon all Occaſions. I ſhall only offer theſe following Queries, moſt humbly praying they may be conſidered:

1. Whether the Nation, under the preſent Circumſtances of a War, can long continue a ſuitable Supply of Money to carry on the ſame, under the pernicious Effects of Extravagancy?

2. Whether Money raiſed in Parliament with Care, collected with Trouble, and paid with Tears, requires not the moſt ſerious Thoughts and Endeavours of all its Diſpoſers, for converting the ſame, in all Circumſtances, to the moſt uſeful and advantageous Purpoſes?

3. Whether the King expoſing his Royal Perſon, in ſo many Dangers Abroad, for promoting the Happineſs and Well-being of the Nation, doth not expect the due Aſſiſtance of all other his Officers and Subjects, indiſpenſably to uſe their utmoſt Endeavours for the full Accompliſhing his Royal Purpoſes?

4. Whether the Saving thoſe immenſe Sums of Money, as aforeſaid, will not ſettle the Minds of their Majeſties good Subjects, and ſtop the Mouths of the moſt diſloyal and reſtleſs Spirits, who raiſe Animoſities amongſt us, and inſtil wicked Notions into the Minds of their Majeſties Subjects, repreſenting the Government as under an unſettled Condition, and groaning under Oppreſſion, by Reaſon of great Taxes, and a lingring and expenſive War, and a Want of Trade, and raiſing their Expectations of a ſpeedy Change, who finding their Hopes defeated, by an unanimous Reſolution of rooting out the Evils occaſioning the ſame, can have no future Pretence to ſuch calumniating Reflexions on the Government for bringing to paſs their evil Purpoſes?

5. Whether the Buying and Selling of publick Places be not an undoubted Inlet to bring their Majeſties Enemies into ſuch Stations, being of dangerous Conſequence to the Government?

6. Whether it will not be for their Majeſties, and the Nation's Intereſt, to advance Perſons to Places of Truſt according to their Merits, and not permit thoſe to be diſcountenanced, and to labour under Difficulties, who expoſe Frauds and Extravagancies, and propoſe proper Remedies for the Cure of thoſe Evils? And whether the Brow-beating and Diſcouraging thoſe, who endeavour to make ſuch Diſcoveries, is not an effectual Means to prevent all Others from appearing in ſuch like Caſes? Much more might be added, which, for Brevity-ſake, is omitted. I ſhall humbly conclude with the following Admonition of King *Henry the Fourth*, who, upon his Death-bed, ſpoke to his Son as followeth: 'So long as *Engliſhmen* have Wealth, ſo long ſhalt thou have Obedience from them; but, when they are poor, they are then ready for Commotions and Rebellions.' From which, and all other Evils, good Lord deliver us, both now and for evermore.

The Petition of the Widows, in and about *London* and *Weſtminſter* for a Redreſs of their Grievances. *London*, printed for the Uſe of the Wide---o's, 1693. *Quarto*, containing four Pages.

By the ſame Sollicitor that drew up the Petition for the Ladies.

LAST Week a Petition ſubſcribed by the unmarried Ladies came before you, and what Reception it found yourſelves know beſt. It is true we wondered to find an Army of Maids, from whom the World uſually expects Modeſty and Silence, ſo emboldened on the ſudden as to petition for Husbands, and that in the Face of the World. Widows indeed, who lie under no ſuch Reſtrictions, are allowed in all Countries to ſpeak for themſelves; and it is but reaſonable we ſhould, for few beſides will ſubmit to the Trouble. It is our Privilege to be obſtreperous, when we are not heard; and there is one of our Predeceſſors upon Record in the New Teſtament, who by Virtue of her everlaſting Clack, forced an old muſty Gentleman of the long Robe at laſt to grant her Requeſt.

Now Heaven be praiſed, we are not acquainted with Mankind, which the Maids, we ſuppoſe, will not pretend to; and therefore may appeal to them without infringing the Rules of Decency: We have ſeen them in their beſt and weakeſt Intervals. We know what Weapons they carry about them, and how often they can diſcharge in an Engagement. We have in our Times had very ſevere Conflicts with them, and ſometimes they were uppermoſt, and then they fell on like Thunder and Lightning; but for all that your Petitioners obliged them ſoon to quit the Field, and leave Part of their Ammunition behind them. Give us Leave, good Gentlemen, to talk of theſe our Combates; for we always fought upon the Square, and therefore have no Reaſon to be aſhamed of a Recital. As we hinted to you before, we have been concerned in ſeveral fierce Engagements, and the Men played their Sharps againſt us, when we could only produce Flats on our Side; and, beſides, they drew their heavy Cannon upon us, while we were forced to lie by and receive their Shot. After all, though we were ſo diſadvantageouſly ſet upon, and the Blood-ſhed, that happened on theſe Occaſions, was always on our Part; yet when the Fortune of the Battle began to change, and declare herſelf in Favour of us, we never treated them otherwiſe than Chriſtians; we never nailed up their Cannon when we had it in our Poſſeſſion, ſo to render it unſerviceable for the future, but gave them Time to recover Breath again, and furniſh themſelves with a new Train of Artillery: Is not this a generous and honourable Way of treating an Enemy? In ſhort, the Devil take that Word *ſhort*, for your Petitioners mortally hate it; but in Fine, we have been intimate with the Men, and the Men have been no leſs intimate with us; but what is the chief Errand that ſent us here, we have every Woman of us buried her reſpective Man.

Not that we value ourſelves upon that Score, for God forbid we ſhould; but Widows will ſpeak the Truth, let the Conſequence be what it will, and ſhould you make Ten-thouſand Acts, to oblige us to hold our Tongues, it would ſignify juſt nothing, we ſhould break them all in a Moment, and that with as much Alacrity as the Vintners in Town daily break the Adultery Act. Well then we have all of us buried her reſpective Man, which we mention not, Heaven knows our Hearts, out of Oſtentation, but with due Grief and Sorrow. We know a Man's Value too well, not to regret the Loſs of ſo ſerviceable a Creature. We had all of us good Huſbands, at leaſt we will ſay ſo now they are gone; and though perhaps we had ſome Reaſon to complain of them when they were alive, yet we forgive them all their Faults and Infirmities, for that ſingle good-natured Act of dying, and leaving us once more to ourſelves.

The fooliſh People of *Athens*, after they had loſt a good King, would have no more of the Kind, forſooth, leſt a bad one ſhould ſucceed him. But your Petitioners are not ſuch a ſcrupulous Sort of People: We, that have had good Huſbands, are encouraged to try once more, out of Hopes of meeting the ſame Succeſs; and we, that have had bad ones, are not for all that deterred from Matrimony, but hope to mend our Hands in a ſecond Bargain. After all, ſhould we be deceived in our Expectations, the firſt may afford to undergo a little Penance, ſince they were ſo happy before; and the latter, being accuſtomed of old to bear Burdens, are therefore the better enabled to ſupport themſelves under them.

The Body of your Petitioners, for after ſo much Preface it is high Time to come to Buſineſs, conſiſts of four ſeveral Claſſes; *viz.* the old Widows, the young or middle-aged Widows, the rich Widows, and the poor Widows, and each of them preſents you with a different Petition.

To begin then with the old Widows, and that Preheminence is due to them upon the Score of their Age and Experience, they humbly ſupplicate that you would be pleaſed to take their miſerable Condition into Conſideration. Old People according to the Proverb are twice Children; What Wonder is it then if they ſtill have a Hankering after Childiſh Play-things, and long to have their Gums rubbed with Coral? Pray do not miſtake them, good Gentlemen, they mean it in a lawful, matrimonial Senſe, and hope you will not cenſure or think the worſe of them for uſing this Freedom. They appeal to all the World who it is that moſt ſtand in Want of warm, comfortable Things, the Young or the Old: That it is the greateſt Charity to relieve the laſt, needs no formal Proof, all the Hoſpitals in the Kingdom ſpeak as much; but alas! in this uncharitable Age they do not expect to meet with many Friends. Upon this Conſideration they intirely ſubmit themſelves to the Mercy of the Houſe, not preſuming to carry their Petition ſo high as to requeſt you to force People to marry them; but only that you would recommend their Caſe to the Benevolence of thoſe Perſons, who, having lived wickedly and at large all their Life-time, are willing to compound for their Sins, and do Acts of Supererogation in the laſt Scene of it. Nor are they difficult in their Choice, they will ſit down content with any Thing; and Cripples with wooden Legs will be chearfully entertained, if they have received no Damage in the diſtinguiſhing Part.

Next to theſe come the rich Widows; and they earneſtly beg of your honourable Houſe that you would make it Felony, without Benefit of the Clergy, for any one to make Court to them before the mournful Twelvemonth is expired. They are ſo perpetually peſtered with Suitors of all Complexions, that they can neither eat, nor ſleep, nor pray for them. A new Favourite has not more humble Servants in a Morning at his Levee, nor the Commiſſioners of the Pay-Office a greater Croud of ſurly, grumbling Seamen than they have. Nay, ſome of their paſſionate Admirers, have had the Impudence to accoſt them upon this Chapter, as they have been following their Huſband's Corpſe to the Grave, in the very Heighth of their Sorrow, and in the midſt of the Funeral Pomp. If you think it too ſevere to make it Felony in Perſons ſo offending, they deſire you to commute the Puniſhment, and oblige every Perſon treſpaſſing after that Manner to marry ſome Widow as Fancy inclines him: Which is all the Favour that the poor Widows beg at your Hands.

And now comes up the main Body of the young and middle-aged Widows, who, as they are by far the moſt numerous, eſpecially ſince the Wars have made ſuch Havock among the Huſbands, ſo they crave Leave to lay their Petitions at your Feet. But, before they do that, they think it convenient to remove all thoſe popular Slanders and Objections, which ill-natured People have been long accuſtomed to level againſt Widows in general; and, becauſe their Adverſaries ſhall have no Reaſon to complain that their Arguments are mangled, they will urge them as Home as either themſelves, or their beſt Advocates, could do it for them.

It is in the firſt Place pretended, that Widows want ſeveral of thoſe Recommendations that ſet off the Sex, and particularly a Maidenhead, without which no Wife, they ſay, can be acceptable; that they are ſtill trumping up Stories of their former Huſbands, purpoſely to confront their new ones, and ſo exceſſively talkative, that nothing but Deafneſs is an Antidote againſt the Noiſe; that Marrying a Widow is like Splitting upon a Rock where others have been ſhipwrecked before. After this, they run the Metaphor into *Long-Lane*, Second-hand Gloves, Cloaths of another's Wearing, and the Lord knows what impertinent Stuff. But we ſhall anſwer them all in Order.

To begin then with the Loſs of a Maidenhead, about which they make ſo horrid a Clamour, we could tell them ſad Stories of ſeveral of their Betters, that on the Wedding-Night have fancied they have dug up this ſame chimerical Treaſure, though it was ſtolen many Months before; nay, we have a Hundred and more of our Company here, that, if Occaſion were, could atteſt this upon their own perſonal Knowledge. So certain it is, that the niceſt Criticks among the Men may be as eaſily impoſed upon in this Affair, as your Pretenders to Antiquity in counterfeit Medals. But, if no Woman can pleaſe them without this imaginary Wealth, and indeed it is no more, for moſt People take it upon Truſt, we ſee no Reaſon why a young Widow may not be as capable of obliging them as the beſt Virgin in the World. It is but uſing a few Aſtringents before, and, at the critical Minute, crying out, 'Fie, Sir, pray, Sir, will you ſplit me up? Will you murder me alive? Can you take any Pleaſure in what is ſo painful to another?' And the Sparks are ſatisfied they have made a real Sacrifice, though, in Truth, no more Blood was ſhed in the Encounter, than we ſee upon the Stage when one Actor kills another. If this is their dear Diverſion, and, by the bye, it is a ſure Sign of their ill Nature, that they cannot be pleaſed but at the Expence of the Party, whom they pretend to love ſo dearly, rather than loſe them, we promiſe them to howl, and ſigh, and roar every Night in the Year, as heartily as an Ox, when he's led to the Slaughter-houſe, and ſo entertain them ſtill with the Ceremony, at leaſt, of their dearly beloved Maidenhead.

In the next Place, why ſhould we not be permitted to refreſh the Memory of a dull, lazy Huſband, with the noble Performances of his Predeceſſors? The Men, in King *Charles the Second*'s Reign, took the Liberty to talk of the glorious Conqueſts of our former fighting Monarchs, and yet, for all that, thought themſelves as good Subjects as any in the Kingdom. If the Reproof is juſt, where a God's Name lies the Harm; and ſurely the Wife muſt be allowed to be the beſt Judge of that Affair. 'Oh no, ſay they, it is not the Horſe, but the Man, that beſt knows whether he rides eaſy. Content. But does not the Horſe likewiſe know, whether his Rider carries true Horſeman's Weight, and whether he ſits even in the Saddle.' If not, why would *Bucephalus* ſuffer himſelf to be backed by none but *Alexander the Great*?

But then we are exceſſive talkative. So are they, and ſo are moſt of our Sex, but eſpecially the longing Maids, and under Correction, if it is a Sin, we are of Opinion it ſits better upon us than upon them. This is not all, Marrying a Widow is like Splitting upon a Rock where others have been ſhipwrecked. Well, we are glad however it is like ſomething. But, ſince one Simily is beſt drove out by another, Why not, like Drinking in a Room where ſome honeſt Gentleman has made merry before? Since nothing will go down with theſe ſqueamiſh Creatures in the Matrimonial Way but a ſpick and ſpan new Virgin, we wonder why they do not keep up the Frolick in every Thing elſe; why, as often as they drink, they do not call ſtill for a Virgin Glaſs; why they do not every Meal call for a Virgin Plate; why they do not ſtill pull out a Virgin Snuff-Box, lie in Virgin Sheets, talk Politicks in a Virgin Coffee-houſe, and purſue their dearly beloved Variety to the End of the Chapter. Laſtly, their Indignation riſes at the Thoughts of *Long-Lane*, and all Second-hand Things whatever. If the Sparks are reſolved to be true to their Argument, we are well ſatisfied they muſt even ſay Good-night to all Thinking, and Writing, and Talking: For at preſent they think at Second-hand, and write and talk at Second-hand; and this Objection, as terrible as it looks, is a thread-bare weather-beaten Second-hand Objection with a Witneſs.

A late Monarch, of happy Memory, who was inferior to none but *Solomon* in Natural Philoſophy, and chiefly in what relates to our Sex, was often heard to ſay, that Getting of a Maidenhead was a Drudgery fit for none but Porters. We ſave all that Labour and Pains, for there needs no great Trouble to enter a City when a Breach is once made in the Walls, and our Huſbands have that Satiſfaction, as to ſee their Ground ploughed up ready to their Hands. To conclude all, a

Widow is a tried Gun, and carries the *Tower* Mark upon her; now who knows but a Maid may ſplit in the proving?

Having thus juſtified the State of Widowhood againſt all the Objections that are uſed to be made againſt it, we have nothing more to add, but that you would be pleaſed to give your Conſent to the three following Articles:

Firſt, That all Perſons, who are not of known Parts and Abilities, may not only be rendered uncapable of marrying Maids, or ſuch as are reputed Maids, but confined to the Choice of Widows only. This we requeſt not ſo much for our own Advantage, as for the Eaſe of the Men; for you know ſeveral People can make a Shift to keep the King's Highway, that are not able to leap a Ditch, or break open a Quickſet.

Secondly, That all Perſons reſolving to marry before the Age of Twenty-one, if they have made no Natural Experiments before that Time, ſhall be likewiſe obliged to take a Widow, as they do Pilots, in difficult or unknown Places. It is an ancient but well-grounded Complaint, that, where two Maidenheads meet, they produce nothing but mere Butter Prints, addle-pated Fops, and dull ſenſeleſs, ſleepy Boobies. Now, if you paſs this into an Act, in all probability it will contribute much to the Improving of our preſent degenerate Race, and certainly, if ever we wanted ſolid Heads, it is at this Conjuncture.

Thirdly and *Laſtly*, That all Widows, during their Widowhood, may be excuſed from the Taxes; for is it not hard, good Gentlemen, to pay Four Shillings in the Pound for empty Houſes. We hope you will conſider farther of theſe our reaſonable Supplications.

And your Petitioners, as in Duty, &c.

N. B. *The Remonſtrance of the Batchelors will be publiſhed in the next Number.*

The State Gameſters; or the old Cards new packed and ſhuffled. *Folio*, containing two Pages.

A Set of Gameſters all together met,
Some came to play, and others came to bet.
The Cards produc'd, they firſt for Dealing cut,
Some play'd at *Noddy*, and the reſt at *Put*.
The *Noddy* Gameſters, having drunk too hard,
Could not diſtinguiſh *Knave* from other Card;
But like true *Scots*, being eager of the Cup,
They cou'd not tell the Game when it was up.
Inſtead of minding how the Cards were laid,
Fell all aſleep, while t'other Gameſters play'd;
But, being wak'd to pay their drunken Scores,
They chang'd their *Noddy* Game into *All-Fours*:
And then, with one Conſent, new Cards they buy,
And vow'd they'd play the ſtrict Severity.
A cunning Blade, that knew each Card i'th' Pack,
And gain'd Experience in the Art that's Black:
Says he, 'I'll fairly lay the Cards all down,
'And hold a Wager of an even *Crown*,
'That we will have both Loweſt, Jack, and Game,
'Tho' you have ſhuffled them, and cut the ſame.'
With that the Cards being dealt about again,
Inſtead of *Jack*, comes up a ſingle *Ten*;
And *Clubs* were Trumps, at which the Standers-by
Cry'd it was foul Play, and gave this Reaſon why,
Becauſe the *King o'th' Hearts*, which ſhould have come,
Was put below the *Knave*, by th' Dealer's Thumb.
So quick and nimble was that Card convey'd,
None knew how it was dealt, nor how 'twas play'd.
But yet the other Gameſters hop'd that *Jack*
Was not in Hand, but ſtill among the Pack.

Yet ſome, who fear'd the Worſt, were in the Dumps,
Leſt *Jack*, next Time, he ſhould be turn'd up Trumps.
Says one, 'Chear up, I've Cards I will not name,
'Tho' they are *Loweſt*, we'll ſecure the *Game*;
'And, if we loſe it, then we are to blame.'
With that he play'd the *Queen*, a Card of Honour,
But t'other threw the *Knave* of Trumps upon her;
When thoſe, that betted, ſaw the Queen was loſt,
They knew which Way the Game was riding Poſt.
(Yet, like true Voters at a new Election,
Who ſcorn to yield it up by bare Inſpection,
Call for a Poll, and ſo, by telling Noſes,
Know which Side wins, and which Side 'tis that loſes.)
So theſe high Gameſters, they would tell for Game,
For Chalks, on both Sides, are the very ſame.
But, ſeeing them produce two *Knaves* and *Jack*,
Concluded they had all the *Knaves* i'th' Pack.
Alas! ſay they, what good doth *Higheſt* do,
When they have got both *Jack* and *Loweſt* too?
Beſides, we now muſt yield our Game is gone,
For you have got three *Knaves* to our one;
Which proves the Proverb true, juſt to a Letter,
Moſt Knaves in Number makes Men's Luck the better.
We'll game no more, till we have learn'd more Skill,
Knaves will be Knaves, let Men play ne'er ſo well.
But we this Reſolution have laid down,
Never to play ſo high as for a *Crown*.

A Journey from *Laubach*, or *Lubiana*, to *Gratz*, the Metropolis of the Dutchy of *Stiria*. *MS.* Never before publiſhed.

SECT. III.

THE Poſt-Horſes we took at *Laubach* carried us to a Village called by the * Natives, *Puotpoiz*, and by the *Germans*, *Podbetſch*. This ſeems to be the *Popetſch* of *Mercator*; and if ſo, that Author has placed it too near the *Save*. About a *German* Mile from *Laubach*, we paſſed the *Save*, at *Porator*, over a very large wooden Bridge. *Porator* is a Place of ſo little Note, that it is not to be met with in any of the Maps of *Carniola*. About Half a *German* Mile from *Porator* we alſo paſſed the River *Feiſtricz*, which has its Source in a neighbouring Ridge of Mountains that ſeems to ſeparate *Carniola* from *Carinthia*. Theſe Mountains we take to be the ſame with thoſe called by Baron *Valvaſor* the Mountains of *Feiſtricz*, which, according to him, are the higheſt in *Carniola*. Some of them he affirms to be ten-thouſand two-hundred and ſeventy-four Geometrical Feet high. The moſt famous Mountains of *Carniola* taken Notice of by the Antients were *Carvanca*, *Caruſadius*, *Cetius*, *Ocra*, *Albius*, *Phlygadius*, *Alpius*, and *Picis*, whoſe reſpective Situations are determined with great Accuracy by *Valvaſor*. *Cetius* in particular, according to him, is a long Chain of Mountains extending from *Laubach* to *Vienna*; though the Diſtance between theſe two Cities is above fifty *German* Miles, of which Mount *Kalenberg* is a Part. The Country between *Laubach* and *Podbetſch* was pleaſant enough, ſeveral Species of Flowers appearing in ſome Parts of it, as Forerunners of the Spring. It may not be improper to obſerve on this Occaſion, that a vaſt Variety of Flowers is found in *Carniola*; that Region producing at leaſt thirty-five different Species of *Anemone's*, eighteen or twenty of *Ranunculus*'s, and above ſeventy of *Hyacinths*. We paid for paſſing the *Save* and the *Feiſtricz* about Half a Florin. *Podbetſch* is near two *German* Miles and a Half from *Laubach*, and a

---

* *Carniola* belonged to *Sclavonia*, before it was annexed to the Dominions of the Houſe of *Auſtria*; and even at this Day the Language of that Country is a Dialect of the *Sclavonian*, and the *Carnioleze* in almoſt all Points reſemble the *Sclavonians* much more than the *Germans*. For which Reaſon we here diſtinguiſh between the *Carnioleze* and the *Germans*.

Place that makes no great Figure. Here we ſtaid about an Hour, greaſed our Chaiſes Wheels, took freſh Horſes, and then ſet out for *San Oſgualdo*, the next Poſt-Town.

Nothing curious or remarkable preſented itſelf to our View this Poſt. We were drawn up the Hill of *San Oſgualdo*, which is very high and ſteep, by Oxen. This coſt us fifteen *Groſſe*, and pretty much fatigued us. The Emperor's *Poſtiglioni* here, as well as in the other hereditary Dominions of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, have Strings going over their Shoulders, to which their Horns are faſtened, ſtriped with Black and Yellow. They are all in this Country extremely ſtrong and hail young Men. Not only the *Poſtiglioni*, but almoſt all the Men in a lower Station, wear Fur-Caps, like the *Croats* and *Sclavonians*, and not unlike the *Hungarians*, *Ruſſians*, and *Poles*. Nay a great Part of the poorer *Carniolian* Women likewiſe wear ſuch Caps. *San Oſgualdo* is a poor inconſiderable Place, and ſtands on the Borders of the County of *Cilley*. After having ſtaid here about an Hour, we ſet out, with freſh Horſes, for *Franz*.

Not far from *Franz*, we ſaw an Obeliſk, or Column, ſtanding on the left Hand of the Highway, with two *Latin* Inſcriptions upon it. This, we were told, ſerved for a Boundary to *Carniola* and *Stiria*, on that Side. The Inſcriptions being long, we did not take them down in Writing.— But, from the Beginning of one of them, it appeared, that the Obeliſk was erected, in Order to notify to Paſſengers when, and by whom, theſe Roads were repaired, and brought to that Perfection in which Travellers now find them. *Jo. Caſp.* Count *Cobentzel*, Governor of *Carniola*, firſt began this important Work; which was finiſhed by *Wolfgang Weichard* Count *Gallenberg*, a ſucceeding Governor. Several other great Officers of *Carniola* are likewiſe mentioned in this Inſcription, *viz.* *Orpheus* Count *Straſoldo*, who is ſtyled *Prætor & Locum tenens*, *Francis Anthony* Count *Auerſperg* Marſhal, *Erneſt Ferdinand* Count *Saurau*, called *Dep. Præſ. Geor. Xav. de Marotti*, Biſhop of *Pedena*, &c. As we did not read the whole Inſcription, we cannot ſay any Thing more particular about it; but we are of Opinion, that this Column, or Obeliſk, was erected in the Year 1728. when the Emperor *Charles* VI. viſited *Gratz*, *Laubach*, *Goritia*, *Fiume*, and *Trieſte*; for then the Roads of *Stiria*, *Carniola*, &c. were rendered more commodious than ever they had been before, and that chiefly at the Expence of the *Oriental* Company of *Vienna*.

Franz, or *Franiz*, ſtands upon the River *Soano*, *Saan*, or *Saana*, two ſhort *German* Miles from *San Oſgualdo*. It appertains to the County of *Cilley*, which ſome make a Part of *Stiria*[*]. At *Franz* there is a Sort of Turnpike, for paſſing through which, with our three Poſt-Chaiſes, and two ſingle Horſes, we paid three *Groſſe*. After a ſhort Stay here, we departed for *Cilley*, or, as the *Italians* call it, *Cila*.

From *Franz* to *Cilley* is a very long Poſt, at leaſt three *German* Miles. Between theſe two Places is a Village called *Saxenfeld*, where there is a Bridge over the *Soano*. The Country between *Franz* and *Cilley* is a fine beautiful Plain, and the Road here good. Before we leave *Cilley*, though it does not at preſent make any conſiderable Figure, our Readers will expect a ſhort Deſcription and Hiſtory of a Place that has been ſo remarkable in antient Times.

Cilley, or *Cilly*, the *Celeia* of *Pliny*, and the *Celia* of *Ptolemy*, is a very antient Town, ſeated not far from the Conflux of the *Saan* and the *Save*. *Pliny* and *Ptolemy* fix its Situation in *Noricum*. It ſtands at a ſmall Diſtance from the Borders of *Sclavonia*. In ſome antient Inſcriptions, publiſhed by *Velſerus*, it is ſtiled *Celeia Claudia*, probably from *Claudius* Succeſſor to *Caligula*. In others, publiſhed by the ſame Author, it is called a *Municipium*, and in one produced by *Panvinius* it has the Title of *Colonia*. It is famous for the Birth and Martyrdom of *St. Maximilian*, in the Year 284, according to *Schönleben*, or, as *Megiſer* will have it, 288. On the Place where he was buried, ſtands at preſent, a little out of the Town, the Church of *St. Maximilian*. *Cilley* was formerly a Biſhopric, but at preſent it is only a Pariſh and Archdeaconry ſubject to the Patriarch of *Aquileia*. The City was deſtroyed by the *Bavarians*, but, in the Year 850, rebuilt by one *Bruno*, or *Brino*, who was expelled from *Moravia*, and obtained from *Louis* Duke of *Ba-*

---

[*] Some *Italian* Writers make the County of *Cilley* a Part of *Carinthia*; but this runs counter to the general Opinion of the *German* Geographers. See *Il Viaggio in Pratica, da* Gio. Maria Vidari, P. 168. In Venezia, 1730. *Preſſo* Luigi Pavino.

vania a large Tract of Ground bordering upon the *Saan* and the *Save*. This Tract was afterwards dignified with the Title of the County of *Cilley*, according to *Megiſer*; who relates, that another *Louis* of *Bavaria* created *Fridericus à Sanneck* Count of *Cilley*, in 1339. The ſame Author gives us a Series of the Counts of *Cilley*, from the abovementioned *Fridericus à Sanneck* to *Udalricus*, who lived in 1457. This *Udalricus*, according to *Megiſer*, bearing an implacable Hatred to *Ladiſlaus* and *Matthias Corvinus*, the Sons of the famous *John Huniades*, who died in 1456, wrote a Letter to *George* Deſpot of *Servia*, his Father-in-Law, promiſing therein, that, upon his Arrival at *Belgrade* with King *Ladiſlaus*, he would preſent him with two Bowls to play with, meaning the Heads of the two *Corvini*: This Letter was intercepted by a Servant of King *Ladiſlaus*, and delivered to him at Church, on *St. Martin's* Day, who thereupon immediately called *Udalricus*, being then at his Court, to him, and taxed him with Treaſon. This incenſing *Udalricus*, he drew his Sword, and wounded the King both in the Hand and the Head; who likewiſe drawing, a Combat enſued: But, the *Hungarian* Guard coming up, *Udalricus* was diſpatched, though for ſome Time he defended himſelf very bravely. *Udalricus* dying without Iſſue, as ſoon as the Emperor *Frederic* IV. heard of his Death, he ſeized upon *Cilley*, which fell to him by a former Pact or Convention with the Counts of that Name, and annexed it to *Stiria*. In this Town, which at preſent does not ſeem to conſiſt of above eighty or a hundred Houſes, and ſix-hundred Inhabitants, there is a fine Convent of the *Minorites*, in whoſe Church the old Counts of *Cilley* are buried. At a ſmall Diſtance from the Town, there is a Caſtle, commonly called *Ober-Cilley*. Many Monuments of Antiquity are ſhewn here. Conſiderable Quantities of *Roman* Coins are dug up alſo at *Ober-Cilley*, as well as ſeveral Remains of human Bodies of an enormous Size. We ſhall conclude our Account of this Place with obſerving, that the *Turks* were repulſed in an Excurſion they made as far as *Cilley*, with great Loſs, by *Georgius ab Herberſtein*, in 1492 †.

From *Cilley*, or *Cila*, we went to *Gonavitz*, or *Gonawicz*, about fourteen *German* Miles S. of *Gratz*. Here is a Caſtle, and in it a moſt extraordinary Fountain, or Spring, which, according to *Merianus* †, never either riſes or falls. In the ſevereſt Winter it is hot, and in the moſt burning Summer cold. The *Turks* penetrated as far as *Gonawicz*, in the Year 1473. *Gonawicz* is ſituated at the Foot of a Mountain in a fine fertile Country, and ſeems to be near as big as *Cilley*. It is at leaſt three *German* Miles diſtant from that Place. Here we ſtaid all Night, and found the Air extremely piercing. It has two Churches, and a tolerable pretty Piazza in the Middle of it. *Gonawicz*, as well as *Cilley*, is very clean, and ſtands in a fine open Country. Our Proviſions here were good; but we had a Bill of a very conſiderable Length handed to us in the Morning, before we ſet out. The Lodging we met with at *Gonawicz* was very indifferent.

The Poſt between *Gonawicz* and *Feiſtricz* is a ſhort one, and the Road good. *Feiſtricz* is denominated by the *Germans Windiſch Feiſtricz* or *Windiſch Veiſtricz*, in Order to diſtinguiſh it from another Place ſo called in *Carniola*, and ſtands upon a River of the ſame Name. This River has its Source near the Village of *Frauenheim*, about a *German* Mile almoſt W. of *Feiſtricz*, and empties itſelf into the *Drave*, a little to the E. of the Bridge thrown over that River at *Pettaw*. *Feiſtricz* may be conſidered as a tolerable good Town, and conſiſts of one long Street. The Houſes are clean, and the Church handſome enough. The *Engliſh* Gentlemen formerly frequented the *Bear* Inn here; but they have of late uſed the Inn oppoſite to it, which has a much better Character. After we had reſted ourſelves about an Hour at *Feiſtricz*, we departed from thence, and continued our March towards *Marburg*, where we propoſed to dine.

Before we arrived at *Marburg*, which is near three *German* Miles N. E. of *Windiſch Feiſtricz*, we paſſed the *Drave*, over a fine large Bridge contiguous to that Town. *Marburg*, or *Marchburg*, is a City of the *Lower Stiria*, ſeated on the Northern Bank of the *Drave*, and nine *German* Miles S. of *Gratz*. It conſiſts of ſome Hundreds of Houſes, and above Two-thouſand Inhabitants, as we col-

---

* *Plin.* Lib. iii. Cap. 22. *Ptol.* Geogr. Lib. ii. Cap. 13. *Velſer.* in Monum. pereg. *Schönleb.* in Carn. Antiq. app. Cap. 5. Sect. 2. & alib. *Megiſer.* in Ann. *Carin.* Lib. ix. Cap. 8. & alib.

† *Merianus* in Topogr. *Stir.*

lected from what we obſerved of it. The Houſes, as well as the Inhabitants, are extremely clean and neat. This City was formerly governed by Counts of its own, till *Ottocar* III. Marquiſs of *Stiria*[*] obtained it of *Bernard* Count of *Marburg*. It was ſeized upon by *Soliman the Magnificent*, Emperor of the *Turks*, in the Year 1532; but he ſoon abandoned it, and retired with his Forces to *Belgrade*. The Wine here is good, and the Glaſſes the Natives drink it out of large; from whence we concluded that the People of *Marburg* were hard Drinkers. We were confirmed in this Notion by a Cuſtom they, as well as many of the other *Germans*, cloſely adhere to, which take as follows: When any Company call for Wine at an Inn, or Tavern, it is immediately brought them, and the Drawer, or Waiter, fills every one of them a Bumper; and, the Moment that is drunk off, he fills another; and continues this Practice till the Wine is all gone. We were ſerved in this Manner, and upon our letting the Waiter know, that *we did not deſire ſo much Attendance, but would rather be left at Liberty to help ourſelves*; he replied, that *it was the Cuſtom of the Country to put forward the Glaſs in this Manner*, and therefore he begged *we would be ſerved as other Gentlemen were*. There are ſeveral Churches here, and the Streets are clean and well paved. The two beſt Inns in *Marburg* are the *Spread Eagle* and the *Golden Deer*.

Between *Marburg* and *Ehrnhauſen*, the next Poſt-Town, the Country is very mountainous. This may be deemed a long and tedious Poſt, conſiſting of three *German* Miles. We paid eight *Groſſe* for being drawn up a Hill by Oxen. *Ehrnhauſen* ſtands upon the River *Muer*, about ſix or ſeven *German* Miles from the Borders of *Hungary*; but is a Place of no great Note. We ſtaid but a ſhort Time here, having two very long Poſts to *Gratz*, where we propoſed to lie this Night.

The next Place that ſupplied us with Poſt-Horſes is called *Wildan*, or, as many of the *Stirians* pronounce it, *Wildon*. It is full three *German* Miles N. of *Ehrnhauſen*, and ſtands upon an Eminence, as doth *Ehrnhauſen*, near the Conflux of the *Kainach* and the *Muer*. The Villages between *Ehrnhauſen* and *Wildan* are *Gamblich*, *Wagna*, *Seccau* near the Conflux of the *Laſnicz* the *Sulm* and the *Muer*, *Leibnicz*, and *Freybichl*. There is a Bridge over the *Muer* at *Wildan*; beſides which we know Nothing of the Place very remarkable. The Tract on the Weſtern Bank of the *Muer*, between *Ehrnhauſen* and *Wildan*, was covered with a beautiful Verdure, and appeared very agreeable to the Eye.

From *Wildan* we proceeded to *Gratz*, and arrived there pretty late. The Diſtance between theſe two Places is about three *German* Miles, though this Poſt is not ſo long as the preceding. The Poſts, as well as the Miles, from what we have obſerved, between *Laubach* and *Gratz*, our Readers will compute in the following Manner:

From *Laubach* to *Podbetſch*, or *Puotpoiz*, two *German* Miles and a Half.

From *Puotpoiz*, or *Podbetſch*, to *San Oſgualdo*, at leaſt, two *German* Miles.

From *San Oſgualdo* to *Franz*, or *Franiz*, two *German* Miles.

From *Franz*, or *Franiz*, to *Cilley*, at leaſt, three *German* Miles.

From *Cilley* to *Gonawicz*, or *Gonavitz*, at leaſt, three *German* Miles.

From *Gonawicz* to *Windiſch Feiſtricz*, two *German* Miles.

From *Windiſch Feiſtricz* to *Marburg*, three *German* Miles.

From *Marburg* to *Ehrnhauſen*, three *German* Miles.

From *Ehrnhauſen* to *Wildan*, or *Wildon*, full three *German* Miles.

From *Wildan*, or *Wildon*, to *Gratz*, three *German* Miles.

Gratz, in *Latin Græcium*, the Capital of *Stiria*, is a very fine City in about 47°. 2′ Lat. and 39°. 40′. Long. It ſtands on the Eaſtern Bank of the *Muer*, or *Mura*, about twenty-ſix *German* Miles al. S. of *Vienna*, according to the common Road, though a right Line drawn betwixt theſe Cities does not exceed twenty of thoſe Miles. It has a very pleaſant Situation, Part of it being ſeated on a Plain, and Part on Mountains covered with Fir-Trees. *Cluverius* makes it to be a Place of great Antiquity, as anſwering to, or at leaſt founded upon the Ruins of, the *Muroela* of *Ptolemy*. But the *Muroela* of *Ptolemy*, from the Latitude aſſigned it by that Author, as well as the Name itſelf, ſeems rather to correſpond with the Town of *Mureck*, about ſix *German* Miles below *Gratz*. The Word *Gratz*, according to ſome Authors, is only a Corruption of the *Slavonic Grad*, i. e. a *Caſtle*, or *Fortreſs*; which Etymon ſeems probable enough *.

---

[*] See *Schönleben* and *Lazius*.

The Emperor *Frederic* IV. firſt ſurrounded it with Ditches and a Wall, flanked at proper Diſtances with Towers, after the Manner of the Antients. But the Art of Fortification being daily improved, theſe, which at firſt were capable of eluding all the Efforts of a powerful Enemy, ſoon became contemptible and of no Uſe. The Archduke *Charles*, therefore, and his Son *Ferdinand* ſunk theſe Ditches deeper, raiſed the Wall higher, and greatly improved the Fortifications; inſomuch that it ſeemed to be compleatly fortified on all Sides, except where it was waſhed by the *Muer*. It has five Gates *viz.* The *Muer* Gate, the Gate of St. *Paul*, the *Iron* Gate, the *New* Gate, &c. A little to the N. of the Town there is an exceeding high Rock, ſeparated from the circumjacent Mountains, on the Top of which ſtands a Caſtle, or Fortezza, amply furniſhed with all Sorts of Military Stores, and rendered on one Side inacceſſible by the Steepneſs of the Aſcent of the Mountain on which it ſtands, and on the other by ſeveral Batteries mounted with Cannon of a very large Size. Within this Caſtle is an exceeding good Armory. It is plentifully ſupplied with Water by Ciſterns, and a moſt ſtupendous Well has been dug, with incredible Labour, out of the Rock, even to the very Foundation of it. In the Center ſtands the Church of St. *Thomas*, which is ſaid to be more antient than the Cittadel itſelf. Contiguous to this Church is a Tower, in which there is a Bell of an enormous Size, that may be heard at a prodigious Diſtance. The *Turks* took *Gratz* in 1532; but ſoon after abandoned it, not finding themſelves, though their Army was very numerous, in a Condition to keep Poſſeſſion of it.

The Churches in *Gratz* are the following. 1. The Church of St. *Giles* of *Gratz*, the Cathedral dedicated to the tutelar Saint, founded by the Emperor *Frederic* IV. in 1450; and given to the *Jeſuits* in 1577. in which the Bodies of the Martyrs St. *Martin*, St. *Vincentius*, and St. *Maxentia*, ſent by Pope *Paul* V. to the Archduke *Ferdinand*, in 1617. are depoſited. Here are likewiſe buried the Bowels of the Archduke *Charles*, at the right Side of the great Altar, as well as the Hearts of the Archdukes *Maximilian*, *Ferdinand Junior*, and *John Charles*, in Silver Boxes, in a ſubterraneous Vault ſet apart for that Purpoſe. 2. The Church, called the *Mauſolæum* of St. *Catherine* the Virgin and Martyr, begun to be built in the Year 1614, upon the Ruins of an antient Chapel, and finiſhed, as well as adorned, by the Emperor *Leopold*. In this Church are interred the Bodies of *Maria Anna*, Wife of *Ferdinand* II. then King of *Bohemia*, who died in 1618, *Charles John* her eldeſt Son, who died in 1619, and *Ferdinand* II. himſelf, who laid the Foundations of this Church. 3. The Parochial Church dedicated to the *Sanctiſſimus Sanguis*, or the *Bleſſed Blood*, to which is annexed the Hoſpital founded by *Ferdinand* I. 4. The Church of *the Aſſumption*, *of the Bleſſed Virgin*, or *Templum B. Virginis in Cælos aſſumptæ*, given to the *Minorites*, (who were invited into the Suburbs by *Frederic* IV. 1463. and afterwards into the City itſelf by *Maximilian* King of the *Romans* in 1495.) in 1515. 5. The Church of St. *Paul*, ſituate on the Mountain above-mentioned, begun in the Year 1619, and finiſhed in 1627. It ſtands on a Spot of Ground formerly occupied by a Church the moſt antient of any ever founded here, except that of St. *Thomas* already taken Notice of. 6. The Church of St. *Joſeph*, adjoining to the Monaſtery of the *Diſcalceated Carmelites*. Before this Church, which is oppoſite to the Market-Place, there ſtands a fine Statue of the Bleſſed Virgin *Mary*, all over gilt, upon a very high Pillar or Column. 7. The Church of St. *Lawrence*, with the *Aſceterium* of the *Capuchins*, which *Ferdinand* II. would have erected in the ſame *Area* where he had commanded Ten-thouſand Heretical Books to be burnt. 8. The Church of St. *Leonard*, with the adjacent Monaſtery, built, according to ſome, by *Frederic the Pacific*, after his Return from *Jeruſalem*, about the Year 1437. 9. The Church of *All-Saints*, built in 1603, at the Expence of *Mary*, Mother of the Archduke *Ferdinand*. 10. The Church adjoining to the *Carmelite* Nunnery; whoſe Foundation was honoured with the Preſence of the Emperor *Ferdinand* III, *Mary* his Wife, *Eleanora*, Widow to the Emperor *Ferdinand* II.

---

* See *Cluverius*, *Lazius*, *Aventinus*, *Merianus*, &c.

and the Archduke *Leopold William*, in the Year 1643. 11. The Church of the *Urſuline* Nuns, whoſe Foundation was owing to the Charity and Magnificence of a certain pious Matron of the firſt Diſtinction, after the Arrival of ſeveral of thoſe Nuns here, from *Vienna* and *Goritia*, in 1686.

Beſides the Churches already mentioned, ſeveral Religious Houſes of Note are to be met with at *Gratz*; the principal of which are the following. 1. The noble College of the *Jeſuits*, founded by *Charles* Archduke of *Auſtria*, in 1573. and moſt munificently endowed by the Emperor *Ferdinand* II. This College is joined to St. *Giles*'s Church abovementioned, and has a Univerſity appertaining to it, where Philoſophy, Divinity, and all Kinds of polite Literature, are taught, founded likewiſe by the aforeſaid *Charles* Archduke of *Auſtria*, in 1586, and confirmed by Pope *Sixtus* V, and the Emperor *Rudolphus* II. However, the preſent Building was not begun before the Year 1607. This Univerſity or Academy was not a little honoured by the Archdukes *Maximilian Erneſt* and *Leopold*, who both frequented its Schools publickly; and the firſt of whom, in a Theatric Performance here, repreſented *Theodoſius the Great*, as the other did St. *Ambroſe*, in 1600. Nay, the laſt of theſe glorioſly maintained ſeveral Theſes, which he dedicated to the Emperor *Rudolphus*. 2. The Convent of the *Minorites*, near the Church of the *Bleſſed Virgin* Mary *aſſumed into Heaven*, already taken Notice of. This Convent was formerly adorned, as it is ſaid, by the pious Hands of *Rudolphus*, Son of the Archduke *Sigiſmund*, who profeſſed himſelf of the Order of St. *Francis* in it, and lies here interred: Be this as it will, it is certain his Name is not to be found in the Genealogical Tables of the Houſe of *Auſtria*. 3. The Monaſtery of the *Auguſtines*, founded in 1558, and deſerted by the Friers in 1601, but ſoon after repaired and beautified by the Emperor *Ferdinand* II, who recalled them. 4. The Convent of the *Diſcalceated Carmelites* abovementioned. 5. The *Aſceterium* of the *Capuchins*, already taken Notice of. 6. The Religious Houſe inhabited by the Nuns of the Order of St. *Dominic*. The *Minorites*, called *Minores Obſervantes*, were firſt ſettled in this Place; but leaving it in 1515, for their preſent Situation, they were ſucceeded by thoſe Nuns, who demoliſhed their firſt Houſe, founded and endowed by *Udalricus à Walſee*, in the Suburbs, about the Year 1313, through Fear of the Arms of *Matthias Corvinus*, and retired into the City. 7. The Nunnery apperraining to the Virgins of *Santa Clara*, already mentioned. 8. That belonging to the *Carmelite* Nuns. 9. And laſtly, That where are ſeated thoſe of the Order of *Santa Urſula*, commonly called *Urſulines*.

Beſides theſe Buildings, ſet apart for religious Purpoſes, there are others that deſerve the Notice and Regard of every curious Traveller. 1. The Palace built by the Emperor *Frederic* IV. ſirnamed *The Pacific*; in which two Archdukes of *Auſtria*, *viz.* *Charles* Son of *Ferdinand* I. and *Ferdinand* his Grandſon, choſe conſtantly to reſide. Here are four Tribunals inſtituted. Firſt, The *Intimate Council*, or *Intimum Concilium*, whoſe Authority is ſuperior to that of all the Reſt. Secondly, The *Regimen*, or *Junto*, founded by *Charles* Archduke of *Auſtria*, in 1565; over which the Governor of the City preſides. Thirdly, The *Chamber*, or *Camera*, which has a Preſident of its own: And theſe Tribunals determine judicially all Cauſes relating to the *Interior Auſtria*, which includes the Dutchies of *Stiria*, *Carinthia*, *Carniola*, and the County of *Goritia*. Fourthly, and laſtly, The *Concilium Bellicum*, or *War Office*; founded likewiſe by the aforeſaid Archduke *Charles* in 1558, in Order to have a watchful Eye upon the *Turkiſh* Frontiers. For which Reaſon, at a ſmall Diſtance from it, and contiguous to the Univerſity abovementioned, is an Armory, or Magazine, filled with Ammunition and all Kinds of Military Stores. 2. The *Domus Provincialis*, or *Province-Hall*, built in the Year 1563, and almoſt as grand as the Palace. Here the States of the Province, which conſiſt of four Orders, *viz.* the Order of Prelates, that of Noblemen and Lords, that of Knights, and that of the Cities, meet and hold their *Comitia*. This *Domus Provincialis* has alſo an Armory abundantly ſtored with Utenſils of War. The Citizens of *Gratz* have likewiſe their *Curia*, or *Town-Houſe*, in which they are governed by a Conſul, a Judge, and a Senate, choſen out of their own Body. It ſtands at the upper End of an oblong Market-Place, or *Forum*, in which there are kept two Fairs every Year. Oppoſite to this there ſtands a *Brazen Coloſſus* of the *Ever-bleſſed Trinity*, gilt all over with Gold, leaning upon a lofty Pillar, and ſurrounded on all Sides by Statues of Saints.

The Way into two of the Suburbs is by the Church of St. *Paul*, through the *Iron Gate*. In one of which is erected a Church dedicated to St. *John*, and adjoining to a Convent of *Capuchins*; in the other, the Church of St. *Ann*, annexed to a Monaſtery of *Diſcalceated Auſtin* Friers. Theſe Friers were firſt ſettled in a Religious Houſe, at ſome Diſtance from the City, founded by *John Maximilian*, Count of *Herberſtein*; which being demoliſhed, on Account of its being too much expoſed to the Excurſions of the *Turks*, in 1666, they retired hither. The firſt Stone of this new Edifice was laid with great Solemnity, by the Emperor *Leopold*, in 1673. But the largeſt Suburb, which in Extent exceeds even the City itſelf, is divided from the Body of the Town by the *Muer*. Here many Churches are to be ſeen, of which the four following ſeem the moſt remarkable. 1. The Church of *the Bleſſed Virgin* Mary *the Helper*, in LATIN, *Eccleſia Beatæ Virginis* Mariæ *Auxiliatricis*, famous on Account of many Miracles wrought in it. Here the Body of St. *Anthemius* the Martyr, having been brought from *Rome* by *John Anthony*, Prince of *Eggenberg*, and by him given to this Church, is depoſited. Cloſe to it is a Convent, inhabited by the *Minorites*, ever ſince the Year 1515. 2. The Church of St. *Andrew*, poſſeſſed by the Order of *Prædicanti*. 3. The Church belonging to the Religious Virgins of S. *Joannes Dei*. 4. That appertaining to the Nuns of St. *Elizabeth*. This Suburb, on that Side oppoſite to the River, ends in a Rock riſing above the Ground, which otherwiſe in that Part is a Plain. This Rock, by its Situation very aptly repreſenting Mount *Calvary*, is adorned with ſeveral beautiful Chapels, by the pious Liberality of the Citizens of *Gratz*, exhibiting all the principal Circumſtances of our Saviour's Paſſion. About two Miles from *Gratz* ſtands the noble Palace of the Prince of *Eggenberg*, built by *Udalricus* Duke of *Crumlow*, and fit for the Reſidence of an Emperor. This Palace is moted round, has extremely fine Gardens belonging to it, and enjoys a moſt delightful Situation. Within it is adorned with elegant Pieces of Painting, Statues of exquiſite Workmanſhip, and many other valuable Curioſities.

There are ſeveral very good Inns in *Gratz*, one of the beſt of which is the *Hare*, where we put up, as do moſt other *Engliſh* Gentlemen, who ſtop at this Town. The Landlord was a very ſenſible Man, and from him we learned ſome curious Particulars relating to the Place. The *Forum*, or *Piazzà*, abovementioned, in which ſtands the *Coloſſus* of the *Trinity*, is called by the *Italians La Piazza di Santiſſima Trinita*, i. e. *The Piazza*, or *Place*, *of the moſt Holy Trinity*. The Garriſon of *Gratz*, as we were informed, conſiſted of no more than Four-hundred regular Troops, commanded by Col. Count *Sternberg*, who is ſaid to be an Officer of Worth, and in conſiderable Favour at the Imperial Court. Theſe we ſaw drawn up in the *Piazza* abovementioned, and thought they made a tolerable good Appearance. In the Ducal Palace here, which we have already taken Notice of, there is a fine Library, containing a good Collection of printed Books, together with ſome Manuſcripts, which are placed in two handſome Rooms. In the Gallery, beſides other Curioſities, there is an elegant Draught of *Charles the Great's* Acts of Gallantry; and a little beyond may be ſeen a Repoſitory of choice Rarities, wherein is a pretty good *Raccolta* of *American* and *Indian* Idols, ſuch as have been worſhipped by the Pagan Inhabitants of thoſe Parts, from remote Antiquity even to this Day. The *Jeſuits* College and Academy have been favoured with ſo many and great Privileges by ſeveral Emperors, to ſay nothing of the rich Endowment of the former, that it is no Wonder we meet with ſuch a conſiderable Number of Students here, who are promoted to Degrees in the ſeveral Faculties, as in other *Gymnaſia* and Univerſities of the Empire.

They have a fine Printing-preſs here; but it is intirely under the Direction of the *Jeſuits*, as is indeed every Thing elſe in this Place. No Wonder then, that the learned Men produced by this Univerſity ſhould have their Genius's ſo cramped, that few Pieces of Erudition ſhould be ſent into the World from this Preſs; and that Bigotry and Superſtition ſhould rule with an uncontroulable Sway in *Gratz*. However, ſome Books worthy the Peruſal of the Curious have been publiſhed here, amongſt which may be juſtly ranked the following: *Laurus* Leſlæana, *ſive clarior Enumeratio Perſonarum utriuſque Sexus Cognominis* Leſlie, *una cum Affinibus, Titulis, Officiis, Dominiis, Geſtiſque celebrioribus breviter indicatis, quibus a ſexcentis et amplius Annis Proſapia illa floruit, ex variis Authoribus, Manuſcriptis, et Teſtimoniis Fide dignis, in unum collecta.* Græcii, 1692.

As for the Dutchy of *Stiria*, of which *Gratz* is the Metropolis, it is bounded on the Eaſt by *Hungary* and *Sclavonia*, on the Weſt by the Archbiſhopric of *Saltzburg* and *Carinthia*, on the South by *Carniola*, and on the North by *Auſtria*. It is divided into the *Upper* and *Lower Stiria*. The *Lower Stiria*, eſpecially about *Rackelſpurg*, or *Rackeſpurg*, ſituate on an Iſland in the *Muer*, near the Borders of *Hungary* and *Sclavonia*, and *Luetenberg*, on the Confines of *Sclavonia*, at a ſmall Diſtance from *Ratz*, or *Raſcian*, *Caniſcha*, on the Southern Bank of the *Muer*, abounds with Wine, Fruit, Fiſh, Veniſon, Mines, eſpecially thoſe of Iron, Salt-ſprings, *&c.* though it is pretty mountainous in ſome Parts. This Diſtrict has alſo now and then plentiful Crops of Corn; inſomuch that ſometimes the Inhabitants complain of being overſtocked with it; notwithſtanding which, one unhappy Harveſt will introduce a Famine amongſt them. This Fertility is occaſioned by the fruitful Vallies mitigating the Barrenneſs and Aſperity of the Mountains in ſome Parts, and the mild ſweet Atmoſphere of the little Hills in others, particularly thoſe inclining to the Eaſt, which produce moſt generous Wine. The *Upper Stiria* is much more mountainous and barren; for which Reaſon the Inhabitants trade chiefly in Wool and Sheep. The Vallies likewiſe here are rich and well ſtocked with Herds of Kine, that furniſh their Maſters with Butter and Cheeſe in great Plenty; which they exchange with the neighbouring Provinces for Bread and Wine. The Air, according to the People of the Country, of the *Upper Stiria* is much more ſalubrious than that of the *Lower*, where the *Hungarian* Fevers and Peſtilences frequently make great Havock. The *Upper Stiria* has no Vineyards, and conſequently produces no Wine; ſo that the ſmall Quantity of that Liquor uſed there is imported out of other Countries. The Peaſants drink a wretched Port of ſmall Beer, and the Nobles and People of Faſhion a ſmall thin Wine, called *March Wine*; notwithſtanding which, many Travellers are ſaid to like the Lodging and Entertainment here better than in moſt other Parts of the Empire.

The Woods, with which both the *Upper* and *Lower Stiria* abound, are full of wild Beaſts and all Sorts of Game; the Water of the Fountains clear, but extremely ſharp and even many of the higheſt Mountains perpetually covered with a moſt beautiful Verdure, and rich Paſtures, that breed an Infinity of Cattle. No Oxen are more eſteemed in *Piedmont*, *Savoy*, *the State of Genoa*, *Tuſcany*, the *Venetian* Territories, and that Part of *Italy* ſubject to the Emperor, than thoſe that come out of *Stiria*; and vaſt Numbers of theſe Oxen come yearly into thoſe Provinces, and particularly out of the Neighbourhood of *Gratz*.

With Regard to the antient Inhabitants of *Stiria*, we have not much to ſay; though we believe our Readers will expect a ſhort Account of them. Towards the Beginning of the *Roman* Empire, the Weſtern Part of *Stiria* belonged to *Noricum*, and the Eaſtern to *Pannonia*. The *Norici*, according to *Pliny*, ſucceeded the *Tauriſci* here; though the latter were only a Tribe of the former, if any Credit may be given to *Strabo*. That Part of *Stiria* allotted to *Pannonia* ſeems to have been formerly called *Valeria*, and *Pannonia Savia*. The former Appellation, derived, according to *Aurelius Victor*, by the Command of the Emperor *Galerius Maximianus*, from *Valeria*, the Daughter of *Diocleſian*, his Wife, was applied to that Part of *Pannonian Stiria* above the *Drave*; and the latter to the other below that River. The Name *Pannonia Savia* is apparently deduced from the *Save*, the Southern Boundary of the Province to which it belongs. Which Names and Diviſion of Part of *Stiria* are greatly countenanced by *Sextus Rufus* and *Jornandes*; if thoſe Authors do not put them beyond all Doubt *.

Stiria, with *Noricum* and *Pannonia*, was obliged to ſubmit to the *Roman* Arms. However, the *Tauriſci*, and ſome of the neighbouring Nations, made an Attempt to recover their Liberty, in the Conſulate of *L. Cornificius* and *Sextus Pompeius*, about thirty-five Years before the *Birth* of *Chriſt*, according to † *Dio*. Upon their refuſing to pay the uſual Tribute, *Auguſtus*, who then meditated an Expedition to *Africa*, found himſelf obliged to return with his Army from *Sicily*, in order to reduce them. How and when the *Romans* made themſelves Maſters of this Country *, *Sextus Rufus* informs us in the following Words: "Under *Julius* and *Octavianus*, the *Romans* paſſed the *Julian Alps*; and having ſubdued the Inhabitants of thoſe *Alps*, they approached the Frontiers of the *Norici*. *Batho*, or *Bathon*, King of the *Pannonians*, being vanquiſhed, the *Pannoniæ* ſubmitted to the *Romans*. The *Amantini*, betwixt the *Save* and the *Drave*, being likewiſe conquered, the *Regio Savenſis* and the Territories of the *Secundi Pannonii* fell into our Hands. The *Marcomanni* and *Quadi* were driven from *Valeria*, which lies betwixt the *Danube* and the *Drave*. And the Regulation of Limits, between the *Romans* and the *Barbarians*, was ſettled by a Line drawn from *Auguſta Vindelicorum* through *Noricum*, the *Pannoniæ*, and the *Mæſiæ*." The *Vandals* obtained Leave of the Emperor *Conſtantine* to ſeat themſelves in the *Inferior Pannonia*; but being overthrown by *Geberic*, King of the *Goths*, not far from the Mouth of the *Danube*; whither they had advanced from the Coaſt of the *Baltic*, they were obliged to turn off another Way. The *Vandals* being thus repulſed, the *Goths* marched into this Country, and after them the *Lombards*, or *Longobardi*. They, in Proceſs of Time, were followed by the *Venedi*, or *Slavi*, the *Huns*, or *Hunni*, and the *Avares*. Laſtly, the *Franci*, or *French*, were introduced by *Charles the Great*, who, about the Year 790, extended his vaſt Dominions as far as the *Adriatic*.

---

* *Plin.* Lib. iii. Cap. 20. et alibi. *Strab.* Lib. iv. *Sext. Ruf.* in Brev. Rer. Rom. *Jornand.* de Regn. Succeſ. Lib. i. *Aurel. Vict.* de *Cæſ.* Cap. 40.

† *Dio.* Lib. xlix.

After the *French*, the *Bavarians*, *Boiarians*, or *Boii*, got Poſſeſſion of *Stiria*, which was their Boundary or Limit towards the *Slavi* and the *Hungarians*; and hence it came to be called *Steirmark*, or *Steirmarch*, which Name it retains amongſt the *Germans* to this Day. From the *Bavarians* it paſſed to the Princes of *Carinthia*, till it was taken from them by the Emperor *Conrad* II. who erected it into an Imperial Marquiſate, in Favour of *Ottocar* Count of *Muerztal* and *Avelanz*, Lord of *Eppenſtein*, and Nephew to *Marquardus* Duke of *Carinthia*, in 1030. However, it was not hereditary in that Family, though they continued to govern it, till the Reign of the Emperor *Henry* V. of whom *Leopold*, the Son of *Ottocar* III. obtained it as an hereditary Fief, in 1120, according to *Fugger* †. This Favour *Leopold* merited, as the ſame Author relates, by the ſignal Victory he obtained over *Abas*, or *Aba*, King of the *Hungarians*, near *Pettaw*. Some, according to *Merianus*, however are of Opinion, that *Ottocar* I. had not the whole Country of *Stiria*, but only the *Upper*; that *Conrad* gave him the Country of *Auſtria*, which he calls *Anaſperg*, at the ſame Time; and that the abovementioned *Leopold* added the *Lower Stiria*, or the Territory of *Gratz*, to his Dominions, by the Indulgence of *Henry* V. But it muſt be owned, that the antient Hiſtory of this Country is very dark and obſcure. *Ottocar* IV. the Son of *Leopold*, was firſt acknowledged Duke of *Stiria*, by the Emperor *Frederic Barbaroſſa*, in 1165, and married *Kunegunda*, Daughter to *Leopold* VII. ſurnamed the *Virtuous*, Duke of *Auſtria*; but having no Iſſue, by the Conſent of the Nobleſſe, he ſold the Dutchy of *Stiria* to his Father-in-Law. Afterwards *Ottocar*, King of *Bohemia*, ſeizing upon *Auſtria*, for ſome Time governed *Stiria*; but the *Stirians*, deteſting his Tyranny, invited *Henry*, Duke of *Bavaria*, to be their Sovereign. *Henry*, before he accepted of this Invitation, thought proper to conſult his Father-in-Law *Bela*, King of *Hungary*; who, being appriſed of the Affair, found Means privately to conciliate the Affections of the *Stirians* to himſelf, and ſo duped *Henry*, who had neither Money nor Forces to ſupport his Pretenſions. However, the *Bavarian* excited *Ottocar* to aſſert his Title to *Stiria* by Force of Arms, who obliged *Bela* to cede to him one Part of it. *Bela* afterwards endeavouring to recover what had been wreſted from him, was overthrown with great Slaughter, and loſt the Whole. At laſt *Ottocar* being defeated by the Emperor *Rudolphus* I. relinquiſhed *Stiria* to his Son *Albert*, Duke of *Auſtria*; ſince which Time it has made up Part of the hereditary Dominions of the Houſe of *Auſtria*.

In the County of *Cilley*, the principal Language is the *Sclavonian*, which likewiſe prevails amongſt the Peaſants almoſt throughout the whole *Lower Stiria*. But in *Gratz*, and all the other principal Towns, the People, for the moſt Part, ſpeak *High Dutch*. In the former Place the People of Faſhion likewiſe ſpeak *Italian* with great Fluency and Elegance.

---

* *Sext. Ruf.* in Brev. Rer. *Rom.*

† *Fugger.* in Spec. Hon. Lib. ii. Cap. 3.

In this Language we converſed with our Landlord, and other Citizens of *Gratz*, without any Difficulty. *High Dutch* is the Tongue in which all Proceedings in Courts of Judicature are heard openly; and in which are iſſued out all public Edicts and Proclamations. The People of the *Upper Stiria* ſpeak *High Dutch* only; and that with much greater Purity than either the *Saltzburghers* or *Bavarians*. That *Stiria* was antiently inhabited by the *Tauriſci* ſeems probable from the Name itſelf; for this Region was formerly called *Styrmarch*, or *Stiermarch*, and *Stier* in *German*, and even in ſome of the Northern Dialects of *England*, anſwers to the *Latin Taurus*. This ſeems a plain Alluſion to the *Tauriſci*, a *German* Nation, who probably had that Name given them by the *Romans*, after their Paſſage of the *Danube* into this Country, from the Figure * of a Bull, which, according to ſome Writers of good Authority, they had depicted on their Enſigns or Banners; in the Room of which they afterwards ſubſtituted that of a *Panther vomiting Fire*. As the *German* Empire was terminated on the Side of *Sclavonia*, in general, by the *Muer*, ſo the Limit, or Land-Mark, of *Stiria* itſelf, on that Side, ſeems to have been *Gratz*. Hence, according to ſome, that Town firſt received the Denomination of *Granitz*, or *Grantz*, a Word importing Boundary, or Land-Mark, in the *Sclavonian* Tongue. But perhaps the Etymon already given, as approaching nearer the Sound of *Gratz*, may prove more acceptable to the Generality of our Readers. As the *Muer* antiently ſeparated *Germany* from *Sclavonia*, the Dutchies of *Carinthia*, *Carniola*, and a great Part of *Stiria*, together with the County of *Goritia*, formerly appertained to *Sclavonia*; and the Bulk of the Inhabitants of thoſe Provinces do even ſtill, in moſt Points, much more reſemble the *Sclavonians* than the *Germans*. Theſe Territories have been conſidered as Part of *Germany*, only ſince the Time that they were firſt annexed to the Dominions of the Houſe of *Auſtria*.

Though the Citizens of *Gratz* are not a little tinctured with Bigotry and Superſtition, as being intirely under the Influence and Direction of the *Jeſuits*, yet our Landlord ſupplied us, during the ſhort Stay we made here, with whatever Proviſions we deſired. Theſe Proviſions were very good, as was likewiſe our Lodging; ſo that we had no Manner of Reaſon to complain of our Entertainment at *Gratz*, eſpecially as the Bill our Landlord favoured us with was moderate enough. This being the Lent-ſeaſon, no Kind of Diverſions were ſtirring here; and conſequently there was nothing that could induce us to ſtay any longer than barely to ſee the Town, and learn moſt of the remarkable Particulars relating to it. The Inhabitants ſeemed to be in a great Ferment, on Account of the War lately broke out between the Emperor and *France*. They expreſſed the utmoſt Antipathy and Averſion to *France* and her Allies; nay they could ſcarce keep themſelves within the Bounds of Decency, whenever any of thoſe Powers, who, they thought, had projected the Deſtruction of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, was ſo much as mentioned.

---

* See a geographical Piece, wrote in *Latin* by Count *Purgſtall* of *Prague*, intituled *Germania Auſtriaca*, ab illuſtriſſimo Domino *Wenceſlao Carolo* S. R. I. Comit. *de Purgſtall*, *Pragenſi*, &c. *Leopoldo Magno Auguſtiſſ. Romanorum Imperatori* dedicat. *&c. Viennæ Auſtriæ*, Typis Joannis-Georgii Schlagel, Univerſitatis Typographi, 1701.

[To be continued.]

Reaſons

Reaſons * humbly offered for a Law to enact the Caſtration of Popiſh Eccleſiaſticks, as the beſt Way to prevent the Growth of Popery in *England*. *London*, printed in 1700. *Quarto*, containing twenty-ſix Pages.

THE honourable Houſe of Commons having been pleaſed to take into their Conſideration the unaccountable Growth of Popery among us of late, and to appoint a Committee to conſider of Ways and Means for preventing the ſame: It is thought fit, among the Croud of Propoſals for that End, to publiſh what follows:

We may, without intrenching upon the Province of Divines, make bold to aſſert, That when the Church of *Rome* is called in the ſacred Scriptures, The Mother of Harlots, and of the Abominations of the Earth; there is ſomething elſe meant by it than a mere Religious Impurity, or going a Whoring after falſe Gods, as their Saints and Angels, and Multitudes of Mediators between God and Men, undoubtedly are. We need but caſt our Eye upon *Platina*'s Lives of the Popes, and turn over a few Leaves of the Hiſtories of moſt Nations of *Europe*, to be convinced that the *Romiſh* Clergy have, ever ſince the Pope's Uſurpation, been branded with Uncleanneſs. The wanton Obſervation made by *Henry the Fourth* of *France*, as he paſſed one Day betwixt a Friary and a Nunnery, That the latter was the Barn, and the former were the Threſhers, was found to have too much of Truth in it, in all thoſe Countries, where Monaſteries were overturned or ſearched upon the Reformation. The vaſt Heaps of Children's Bones that were found in Draw-wells, and other Places about them, were ſpeaking, though not living Monuments of the horrid Impurity, as well as barbarous Cruelty of thoſe pretended Religious Communities. To inſiſt any more upon this, were to accuſe the Age of inexcuſable Ignorance in Hiſtory, and therefore we ſhall conclude this Introduction with an Obſervation from *Fox*'s Acts and Monuments, That before the Reformation the Prieſts alone were computed to have One-hundred Thouſand Whores in this Kingdom; which muſt be underſtood of what the Dialect of thoſe Times called *Lemmans*, from the *French L'amante*, that is, in the modern Phraſe, kept Miſſes; beſides their promiſcuous Whoredoms with the Women they confeſſed, &c.

This horrid Uncleanneſs of the *Romiſh* Clergy cannot appear incredible to thoſe who conſider, that beſides their being judicially given up of God to work all Manner of Uncleanneſs with Greedineſs, their Vow of Chaſtity, and being forbidden to marry, lays them under a Temptation peculiar to their Order.

It will yet appear leſs ſtrange if we conſider their Way of Living and Opportunity: They eat and drink of the beſt, are careſſed in all Families of their Way; have an Advantage of knowing the Inclinations, and of private Converſe with Women by their Auricular Confeſſion, and by their pretended Power to give Pardon; have a Door open to perſuade the committing of one Sin for expiating another, and accordingly improve it.

This is ſo far from being a Calumny, that the Popiſh Laity themſelves in all Ages and Countries have been ſenſible of it; and therefore moſt of the Popiſh Kingdoms ſollicited the Council of *Trent* to allow Prieſts Marriage. But the Pope, for Reaſons we ſhall touch anon, did not think fit to grant it; though *Æneas Sylvius* himſelf, afterwards Pope, was ſo fully convinced of the Neceſſity of it, that he ſaid, Though Prieſts were forbidden to marry for very good Reaſons, yet there were better Reaſons to allow it.

They that have travelled in Popiſh Countries, and obſerved their Prieſts and Monks, know, that generally ſpeaking, they carry about them no Marks of that Auſterity and Mortification, which they pretend to. They look as fat, and generally fatter than other Men; which is an infallible Token that they fare as well, if not better, than others do. You ſhall ſee as white and plump a Hand under a Monk's Hook, as in any Family of Quality; and a Foot as clean and neat many Times in a Sandal, as is to be found under a *Spaniſh* Leather Shoe, and Silk Stocking: Nor is it any Secret, that in the Neighbourhood of Convents there is as good Diet prepared for the Uſe of Monks and Nuns, as comes to Gentlemen's Tables. Nay, thoſe very Places of Retirement, with their large Gardens, adorned with Walks and Shades, and many Times watered by pleaſant Fountains or murmuring Streams, together with their idle Way of Living, ſeem to be accommodated to inſpire them with amorous Sentiments, againſt which their Vows of Chaſtity, and the Rules of their Order, are ſo far from being Preſervatives, that they only add Fewel to their Flames, and make them commit Sin with the higher Reliſh. So that, when they go Abroad from their Monaſteries, they are like ſo many fed Horſes neighing, as the Scripture expreſſes it of the luſtful *Jews*, after every Woman they ſee; and if they have not Opportunity of giving vent to their Luſts that Way, they many Times do it by other Methods, which Nature as well as Religion forbids to name. This we may juſtly ſuppoſe to have been the Motive that induced *Emanuel de Saa* in his Aphoriſms to maintain that Fornication, Adultery, and Sodomy did not make a Prieſt irregular, whereas Marriage did.

---

* This is the 136th Number in the Catalogue of Pamphlets in the *Harleian* Library.

If beſides their being forbidden to marry, we conſider that they are provided for by the Sweat of other Men's Faces, have no Families to take Care of, have no hard Labour to mortify and keep them low, and are under no Obligation to ſtudy hard, we ſhall find that there is no Reaſon to wonder if they be more inclinable to Venery than any other Men whatſoever; and ſince by Experience it is found to be ſo, Forbidding them Marriage may well be called *a Doctrine of Devils*, both as to its Original and Effects. That it comes from the Devil, the Father of Lyes, and by Conſequence the Author of every falſe Doctrine, is not to be controverted, ſince the Law of God and Nature commands us to Increaſe and multiply, and fits us for it; and that it might be in a regular Way, God himſelf inſtituted Marriage in Paradiſe, and the Apoſtle tells us, that Marriage is honourable in all; and that this Doctrine is deviliſh in its Effects, is evident from the horrid Impurity of the *Romiſh* Clergy abovementioned, and the Miſchiefs they do by it to particular Perſons, Families, Kingdoms, and Commonwealths.

We come next to take a View of the Cauſe, why the Court of *Rome* does ſo ſtifly inſiſt on the Celibacy of their Clergy, which will further demonſtrate the Reaſonableneſs of gelding them, to prevent their infeſting this Nation.

Though *Rome* pretends to have changed her Religion, and hath actually changed her Form of Government, by taking an Eccleſiaſtical inſtead of a Temporal Head; yet it is viſible ſhe hath abated nothing of her Ambition, to be Miſtreſs of the Univerſe, and did in a great Meaſure effect it by her Papacy, to which ſo great a Part of thoſe, called Chriſtian Nations, ſubmitted before the Reformation. So as *Catiline*, when *Rome* was Heathen, thought it neceſſary to debauch the Women, and then to carry on his Conſpiracy againſt the Government by their Intereſt, becauſe of the Influence lewd Women had upon the looſe Rabble, and that they could either murder their Huſbands, or bring them over to his Party. *Rome*, ſince it became Antichriſtian, hath injoined Celibacy upon their Clergy, that they might be rendered the more apt to debauch Women, and to make uſe of their Intereſt, in order to deprive the Civil Magiſtrates of their Right, and to uſurp the Temporal, as well as the Spiritual Sword.

1. Becauſe they know that, Nature having inclined all Men to propagate their Species, their Prieſts ſo, and ſo circumſtantiated, as beforementioned, could not poſſibly refrain from the Act, though they were not allowed to do it in a regular Way; and therefore ſo many Women as they debauch, which they knew by their Circumſtances and Opportunity muſt needs be innumerable, ſo many Proſelytes they were ſure of.

2. Becauſe they knew that their Clergy, being pampered and reſtrained from the Uſe of the Marriage-bed, muſt needs be more inclinable to Venery than other Men, and conſequently more pleaſing Companions to inſatia-

ble Women, and therefore the better fitted for the Practice of creeping into Houſes, and leading captive ſilly Women, laden with divers Luſts, as the Apoſtle expreſſes it.

3. Becauſe they knew that their Clergy by this Means having an Opportunity of bringing to their Lure a buxom Wife, who perhaps has a ſickly, weak, or abſent Huſband, a Green-ſickneſs Daughter, or a wanton Maid; they would by the ſame Means become Maſters in a Manner of all that belonged to the Family, have the Command of their Purſes, know all their Secrets, and improve all to the Advantage of the See of *Rome*, which indulged them thus with a *Mahomet*'s Paradiſe.

4. By reſtraining their Clergy from Marriage, they knew it would make them the more impetuous to ſatisfy their Deſires; and that they might have the better Opportunity of doing it, they are injoined by their Directory in confeſſing Women to examine them moſt as to the Sins of the Fleſh, which they tell them they muſt diſcover on Pain of Damnation. This being a ready Method to inflame them mutually, attended with Secrecy, and the Prieſts pretended Power of giving a Pardon, they knew it could not miſs of the deſigned Effect; they knew alſo that, ſo many of thoſe ſilly Women as they captivated, ſo many Champions and Advocates for their Religion they ſhould have in Families, Courts, or elſewhere; for they might aſſure themſelves that ſuch Women would not eaſily part with a Religion that did ſo much gratify their depraved Appetites, by allowing them as many Men, though not Huſbands, as they have Prieſts or Confeſſors. And therefore many of the wiſe Popiſh Laicks have been of Opinion themſelves, that no Man ought to confeſs a Wife but her Huſband, and that a Daughter ought to be confeſſed by none but her Father.

5. Another, and that none of the leaſt Reaſons why they forbid Marriage to their Eccleſiaſticks, is, That, if they had Wives or Families, they could not ſo eaſily be ſent on Miſſions, and encompaſs Sea and Land to make Proſelytes. They would not be ſo ready, nor ſo fit, to engage in Aſſaſſinations, Conſpiracies, and Rebellions, againſt Princes and States, at the Commands of their Superior; nor could they, by their Whoredoms, ſo much propagate the Intereſt of the great Harlot, for then their Wives would be ſo many Checks and Spies upon them.

From all which it ſeems reaſonable to infer, That the beſt Way to rid this Kingdom of Popiſh Prieſts, and to prevent the Growth of Popery, is to make a Law, that all of them who ſhall be diſcovered in *England*, except ſuch as are thought fit to be allowed to foreign Ambaſſadors, ſhall be gelded, as they are in *Sweden*; where, ſince the ſame was enacted into a Law, and practiſed upon a few of them, that Kingdom hath never been infeſted with Popiſh Clergy, or Plots, nor their Women reproached with Want of Chaſtity.

This will appear the more reaſonable, if we conſider, that the Havock, they are allowed to make of Women's Chaſtity, is one of the principal Things that induces luſtful Fellows to take *Romiſh* Orders upon them, and to engage in deſperate Deſigns, to promote the Intereſt of that Church. This any Man may eaſily be convinced of, that will give himſelf Leave to conſider, what Dangers other Men of better Principles, and who may have Opportunities of ſatisfying Nature by lawful Marriage, do many Times expoſe themſelves to, for the Satisfaction of their brutiſh Paſſions; and how they frequently ſacrifice Honour, Intereſt, and Eſtate, with the Peace of their Families, and Conſciences, to their irregular Appetites of that Sort.

The Caſe then being thus, let us conſider what a Deluge of Uncleanneſs may be poured out upon this Nation by One-thouſand, or Two-thouſand, ſuppoſing there were no more of thoſe Popiſh Eccleſiaſticks in *England* at a Time; eſpecially ſince they look upon it to be their Intereſt to debauch the Nation, as one of the beſt Expedients to advance Popery, as was evident from the Practice of the late Reigns; and, therefore, it ſeems to be the natural Way of obviating the Growth of Popery, to make the *Romiſh* Eccleſiaſticks uncapable of promoting it by that Method which they like beſt, and find moſt ſucceſsful.

It will ſtill appear to be more reaſonable, becauſe they have vowed Chaſtity, and, by their own Confeſſion, have no Occaſion for thoſe ſeminary Veſſels; therefore, if they reſolved to live as they have ſworn to do, they would willingly unman themſelves, as *Origen* did; ſo far would they be from having any Reaſon to complain, if others ſhould do it for them.

It can no Ways be reckoned cruel, ſince it may be done without Hazard of Life, as common Experience ſhews, both in Man and Beaſt, and, by Conſequence, leſs to be complained of, than thoſe Laws which condemn them to the Gallows. There have been more Prieſts put to Death in *England*, than ever were gelded in *Sweden* ; yet Experience teaches us, it hath not had near ſo good an Effect. This is demonſtrable from the many Conſpiracies againſt our Princes and Nation, that the Prieſts have formed ſince the Enacting of thoſe Laws, and from the great Progreſs their Idolatry makes among us at this very Day ; whereas *Sweden*, ſince the Enacting of that Law, hath been liable to none of theſe Misfortunes. This Law of Caſtration occaſioned a pleaſant Raillery upon the Jeſuits at *Bruſſels*, by Queen *Chriſtina* of *Sweden*. When thoſe Fathers came to congratulate her there upon her Converſion, they entertained her, among other Things, with the wonderful Effects of their Miſſions in the *Indies*, and other remote Parts : That Princeſs applauded their Zeal, but, at the ſame Time, rebuked their Indifference for her Country of *Sweden*, where their Endeavours were ſo much needed : She pleaſantly told them, That, though the Law of Caſtration was a Bar in their Way, they ought not to prefer the Keeping of thoſe Things, of which they ſtood no in need, and of which ſhe hoped they made no uſe, to the Advancement of the Catholick Faith. But this, though the ſevereſt Proof in the World, has never been able to bring the *Romiſh* Clergy to ſo much Senſe of their Duty, as to renew their Attempts of converting *Sweden*. This may ſerve to confirm the Story told us of an old Capuchin in the *Menagiana*, the Works of the Abbot *Menage*, that he rejected the Advice of his Phyſicians to be cut for the Stone, for fear it ſhould make him Impotent, though he was then eighty Years of Age :

Namque ad Vivendum caſtrari valde recuſat,
Et propter vitam vivendi perdere cauſam.

The *Romiſh* Clergy have ſo much accuſtomed themſelves to thoſe impure Pleaſures, that they will be ſure to avoid thoſe Countries where they muſt be rendered incapable of enjoying them.

If it be thought that the Laws, already made, will be more effectual againſt them, there is no Need of repealing them, though a new one of Caſtration be added. Since that hath ſo good an Effect in *Sweden*, we have no Reaſon to deſpair of the like here. It is generally concluded, that our *Engliſh* Women are as tempting as any in *Europe*, and are, therefore, as likely to prevail on a *Romiſh* Prieſt to venture Hanging, to enjoy their Favours, as any others : But, if they be rendered incapable of it, the Temptation will have no Force ; and ſo the Prieſts will ſave their Lives, our Women will preſerve their Chaſtity, and our Religion and Liberty will be freed from their Attacks.

The only Objection of Weight, that can be made againſt it, is, That it may provoke our Popiſh Allies, and other Popiſh Princes, to treat Proteſtant Miniſters in the like Manner. To which we anſwer, That, admitting it ſhould be ſo, it is not half ſo bad, as to have them broke on the Wheel, hanged, or ſent to the Gallies. In the next Place, there is not the like Reaſon for treating Proteſtant Miniſters in that Manner, for they generally marry ; or, if they be guilty of Uncleanneſs, are thruſt from the Miniſtry. And, in the laſt Place, there is no Reaſon why we ſhould have any more Regard to our Allies, or other Popiſh Princes, than they have to us. We hear, every Day, of the cruel Perſecution in *France* and *Germany*, notwithſtanding our Mildneſs to the Papiſts here ; ſo that our Enacting a Law of Caſtration cannot poſſibly make them perſecute the Proteſtants more ſeverely than they do, but may rather put a Stop to it.

And, indeed, it is to be wondered at, that the Proteſtants ſhould be ſo much wanting in their Zeal, and ſo little ſenſible of their own Intereſt, when we have ſo warlike and zealou a Proteſtant Prince upon the Throne of *Great-Britain*, as not to agree on Methods for obliging the Papiſts to forbear that barbarous Perſecution of their Brethren. Endeavours, of that Nature, were uſed in ſome of thoſe Reigns, when Popery had ſo much Intereſt at Court, that it ſeemed to have a Share of the Throne ; therefore, it is ſtrange, if nothing ſhould be attempted towards it in this Reign. To effect this, would, humanly ſpeaking, ſeem to be no difficult Work, ſince the Naval

Strength of *Europe* is in the Hands of the Proteſtants; and that the Strength of *Great-Britain*, and *Holland* is now under the Command of one Prince, who is the Hero of his Age.

This our own Safety ſeems to require, and Charity and Compaſſion to our Brethren beyond Sea does loudly call for; but if for Reaſons of State, or otherwiſe, it be found impracticable for us to interpoſe in Behalf of perſecuted Proteſtants Abroad, there is nothing can hinder us, if we be willing, to ſecure ourſelves againſt Popery at Home, by putting the old Laws in Execution, or enacting new ones.

This ſeems to be abſolutely neceſſary, if we conſider, either the State of the Proteſtants beyond Sea, or our own Condition at Home.

If we look Abroad, we ſhall find the Proteſtant Intereſt, which was once ſo conſiderable in *France*, quite ruined; and one of the chief Cauſes of its being ſo, was the Neglect of our *Engliſh* Governments ſince Queen *Eliſabeth's* Time: We have done nothing effectual for them ſince then, which was a mighty Overſight, both in reſpect of Duty and Intereſt. That it was our Duty, will ſcarcely be denied by any Man, that has any true Impreſſions of the Proteſtant Religion. That it was our Intereſt, is demonſtrable, becauſe, had the Proteſtants of *France* been ſupported by our Mediation and Aſſiſtance, they would never have concurred in any ambitious Deſign of their Monarchs againſt the Proteſtant Intereſt, or this Nation; and, perhaps, the Fears of that Court, that they might prove a Curb upon their Deſigns of that Nature, was none of the leaſt Cauſes of their having ruined them by the moſt ungrateful, as well as the moſt barbarous Perſecution that ever was known. From all which it will naturally reſult, that it is the Intereſt of *England* to ſave, if poſſible, the Remnant of the Proteſtants in *France*, by ſome effectual Interpoſition.

If we look a little farther into the State of the Proteſtants of the Vallies of *Piedmont*, we ſhall find that antient Church almoſt totally ruined and diſperſed. If we turn our Eye towards *Hungary*, *Tranſilvania*, and *Poland*, the Reformed Intereſt is almoſt quite exterminated in thoſe Countries, as it is totally ruined in *Bohemia*. What Danger it is liable to in the neighbouring Country of *Saxony*, is known to every once, ſince that Country, whoſe Prince was the firſt that embraced the Reformation, is now under a Popiſh Government; and, if we come nearer Home, to the *Palatinate*, there we ſhall alſo find a Proteſtant Church, once the moſt flouriſhing, and beſt reformed in all *Germany*, under an unreaſonable and cruel Perſecution. If we conſider the Treaty of *Ryſwick*, by that we ſhall find the *German* Proteſtants deſpoiled of Eight or Nine-hundred Churches: The once famous Proteſtant City of *Straſburgh* delivered in Prey to the Church of *Rome*; and the Proteſtants in *Alſace*, and the neighbouring Principalities on each Side, as the Duchy of *Montbelliard*, County of *Veldents*, &c. ſubject to Popiſh Incroachments. In a Word, if we look throughout the whole Empire, and take a View of the Dyet at *Ratiſbon*, we ſhall find the Popiſh Intereſt every where rampant, and incroaching upon the Reformation, contrary to the fundamental Laws, and moſt ſolemn Treaties of the Empire. If we caſt an Eye upon *Swiſſerland*, the little Republick of *Geneva*, and the Principality of *Neufchatel*, there alſo we ſhall find the Proteſtant Intereſt threatened and languiſhing.

If we look Northward, there we find the Proteſtant Kingdoms of *Sweden* and *Denmark* ready to engage in a War with one another, and that the Quarrels betwixt them are fomented by thoſe who carry on an Intereſt, which is deſtructive both to the Proteſtant Religion, and the Civil Liberties of *Europe*. This is ſufficient to diſcover the bad State of the Proteſtant Intereſt Abroad.

If we conſider the Poſture of Affairs at Home, it is evident from a late printed Letter, ſaid to be wrote by a worthy Biſhop, and dedicated to a Member of Parliament, that Popery comes in upon us like a Flood. It is not to be denied that there is a Party in the three Nations, who favour the Title of an abdicated Popiſh Prince, and his pretended Succeſſion, againſt the preſent Government, and the Succeſſion eſtabliſhed by Law. It is not to be forgot, that their Intereſt was ſo ſtrong as to advance a Popiſh King to our Throne; and though they could not keep him there, becauſe he diſmounted himſelf by a furious Career, yet they have endangered us ſince by repeated Plots againſt his preſent Majeſty's Life, and endeavouring to bring in a *French* Invaſion upon us. It is alſo known, that there are mighty Diſcontents fomented and nouriſhed in all the three Nations, in relation to Trade, Parties, and different Pretenſions; and that this gives the Popiſh Clergy an Opportunity of adding Fuel to our Flames, which makes it likewiſe evident that the Proteſtant Intereſt is in danger at Home.

This is further demonſtrable from the Trouble the Papiſts have from Time to Time given, and continue to give our Government and Parliaments: What is the Meaning elſe of thoſe Proclamations formerly and lately emitted, commanding Papiſts to retire from *London?* &c. What elſe is the Meaning of thoſe Bills brought in to prevent their Diſinheriting their Proteſtant Heirs, and to hinder their Sending Children Abroad to foreign Seminaries, to be bred up in Idolatry, or made Prieſts, Monks and Nuns? This, beſides the Danger that accrues thereby to our Religion and Liberties, takes vaſt Sums of Money out of the Kingdom yearly. They likewiſe give Trouble to our Parliaments, by bringing in Bills for diſcovering Eſtates and Money given to ſuperſtitious Uſes, which is every Way mighty prejudicial to the Kingdom, and enables the Papiſts to breed Vipers in our Bowels, in order to rend us in Pieces.

Then, ſince it is undeniable that we are in Danger from the Papiſts, whether we conſider the State of Affairs at Home or Abroad, and that the Laws hitherto enacted have not been able to prevent the Recourſe of Popiſh Prieſts, *&c.* nor the Growth of Popery in this Kingdom; What ſhould hinder us from trying new Methods, and particularly this Law of Caſtration?

It would certainly be a Puniſhment very proper for them, and might make them read their Sin in their Judgment; ſince it is evident, that by their own perſonal Villainy, and their looſe Doctrine of Pardons, *&c.* which encourages People in Licentiouſneſs, they make more Proſelytes than by any other Method.

Thoſe, who perhaps would ſcruple to be any Ways inſtrumental in taking theſe Prieſts, when the Penalty inflicted upon them by Law is Death, would not have Reaſon to be ſo ſcrupulous to take and diſcover them, when the Puniſhment is only Caſtration, and therefore would be more diligent to put the Laws in Execution upon them.

It muſt alſo be reckoned a deſerved Puniſhment, ſince, under the Seal of Confeſſion, they commit Uncleanneſs with thoſe they have the Truſt of as Ghoſtly Fathers, ſo that it is a Sort of ſpiritual Inceſt, and a Deſtroying People with Arms that make no Report; both which Crimes are capital in all well governed States, and therefore the Puniſhment of Caſtration, in ſuch a Caſe, muſt needs be accounted mild.

If it be objected, that, though ſome of the *Romiſh* Clergy be guilty of Incontinence, yet all of them are not ſo, and therefore ſuch only are to be puniſhed in that Manner as are convicted of the Crime: It is eaſy to anſwer, that it is equally true, that all of them are not guilty of conſpiring againſt the Government, nor is it poſſible to convict all of them of perverting the Subjects; yet the 27th of *Eliſabeth* makes it Treaſon for any Popiſh Prieſt, bred up beyond Sea, to be here, or to return into *England*, without ſubmitting to the Government, and taking the Oath of Supremacy. And indeed it is but reaſonable it ſhould be ſo, for their being here ſuppoſes their Deſign; and therefore there is as much Reaſon to puniſh them, though we cannot prove the Overt Acts upon them, as there is to puniſh Thieves for coming into our Houſes in an illegal Manner, though we cannot prove that they have robbed us, or ſtole any thing. If we find a Wolf, or other Beaſt of Prey, among our Flocks, we take their Deſign of deſtroying them for granted, and treat them accordingly, though we do not ſee the Limbs of our Cattle in their Mouths. And therefore, ſince the Practices and Principles of the *Romiſh* Clergy are ſo well known, their being found in the Nation ought to be ſufficient Conviction.

It ſtill remains a Queſtion, How they ſhall be diſcovered? But the Anſwer is at hand. Let a competent and certain Reward be propoſed for ſuch as ſhall do it, and the like Reward, and a Pardon to any of their own Number that ſhall diſcover the reſt; or let Proviſion be made for ſome of every *Engliſh* Seminary beyond Sea that turn Proteſtants, and plant ſome of them in the ſeveral Ports of the Kingdom; and let ſome of each of thoſe Seminaries be likewiſe conſtantly in *London* to aſſiſt in Searches, and view thoſe that are taken up on Suſpicion: And, at the ſame Time, let Proviſion be made for ſuch as will inform of all the Popiſh Clergy that haunt the great Families of that Opinion in *England*, and we need not doubt of an effectual Diſcovery in a little Time: For, beſides the Influence that the Hopes of a Reward will have, thoſe goatiſh Fellows, the *Romiſh* Clergy, do many Times diſoblige Families of their own Way, by attempting to debauch their Wives, Children, or Servants, ſome of whom have ſo much Virtue as to reject the Temptation, and to hate the Tempters; and many Times their blind Zeal occaſions them likewiſe to take indiſcreet Methods to pervert Proteſtant Servants, who would not be wanting, in caſe of ſuch Proviſion, as abovementioned, to diſcover thoſe dangerous Fellows.

To inflict this Puniſhment of Caſtration upon them, is ſo much the leſs to be thought cruel or unreaſonable, ſince it is ſo ordinary in *Italy*, and other Popiſh Countries, for the meaner Sort of People to geld their own Sons, that they make the better Market of them for Singing Boys, and Muſicians, or to be Catamites to Cardinals, and other Dignitaries of the *Romiſh* Church. In thoſe hot Countries the *Roman* Clergy are much addicted to that damnable and unnatural Crime; and ſuch of them, as are not, keep lewd Women almoſt avowedly; they are indeed more upon the Reſerve, and live according to the Maxim of *Cautè*, though not *Caſtè*, in ſuch Countries where the Government is Reformed, or where the Proteſtants are numerous; but then they are under the greater Temptation to perpetrate their Villainies, on the Pretext of Confeſſing Women; therefore there is the more Reaſon to enact a Law of Caſtration againſt them in this Kingdom.

We have the more Ground to think, that ſuch a Law duly executed would have a good Effect, becauſe the Luſt of the Fleſh is ſo bewitching and natural to the greateſt Part of Mankind, and continues to have a Predominancy in them for ſo great a Part of their Lives, that it hath occaſioned, and does occaſion more Diſorders, and is apter to engage Men over whom it obtains the Aſcendant in more deſperate Undertakings than any other Paſſion whatever. Hiſtories are full of Examples of Princes and great Men, that have ruined themſelves and their Countries in the Purſuit of their irregular Amours. We have no Need to turn over foreign Stories, or to go out of our own Nation for Proofs of this. It is not ſo long ago to be forgot, ſince we had the chief Affairs of State managed, and Parliaments diſſolved, *&c.* at the Beck of Courteſans. The Intereſt of Popery and Tyranny, in the late Reigns, was chiefly advanced by ſuch.

Do we not find, even in private Perſons of all Ranks, that where that Paſſion is not kept in due Bounds, or cured by the proper Remedies of a ſuitable Match, Honour, Health, and Eſtate, nay, Life itſelf is many Times ſacrificed to the Pleaſure of the Fleſh; and therefore the Apoſtle had Reaſon, as well as Revelation on his Side, when he ranked all, that is in the World, under the three Heads of *the Luſt of the Fleſh, the Luſt of the Eye, and the Pride of Life*, and gave that of the Fleſh the Preference. It is plain, from Experience, that the other two are made generally ſubſervient to it, as is viſible every Day from that Exceſs in Jewels, Apparel, and Houſhold Furniture, and the vaſt Expence, which the Gallants of both Sexes put themſelves to, in one or all of theſe, in order to obtain the Favour of their Paramours.

From all which we may make this Inference, That, if the *Romiſh* Clergy were made incapable, by a Law, of enjoying that which they account the greateſt Pleaſure of Life, they would avoid thoſe Countries, where ſuch Laws are put in Execution, as they would avoid the Plague. It would be happy, if, by this Means, we could deliver our Poſterity from thoſe Conſpiracies, Civil Wars, dreadful Fires, Maſſacres, Aſſaſſinations of Princes, and other Miſchiefs, which theſe Kingdoms have been liable to from the Papiſts, and againſt which all our other Laws have hitherto ſignified but little to preſerve us.

We have alſo found, by ſad Experience, that they have had ſo much Influence, as to get the Aſcendant over ſome of our Princes, by tempting them, as they have done the *French* King, with the Hopes of an abſolute Sway, and we know not what viſionary Empires. By this Means they prevailed with them to overthrow our Laws, the Recovery of which hath coſt the Nation ſo much Blood and Treaſure, that After-ages are like to feel the Smart of it; though they have run one of our Princes off the Stage, and have well nigh ruined their great Champion beyond Sea, as they did formerly the *Spaniſh* Monarchy, by ſpurring on thoſe Princes to perſecute Proteſtants, and eſtabliſh Deſpotical Government.

They will never give over that Game, but inſpire all Princes, to whom they can have Acceſs, either by themſelves or others, with one or both of thoſe Deſigns; and therefore it is the Intereſt of *England* to uſe all poſſible Means to ſecure the Nation againſt thoſe *Romiſh* Clergymen, for which Caſtration is humbly conceived to be the propereſt Method, and is ſo far from being Cruelty, that it may well be reckoned as great a Piece of Clemency to *Romiſh* Prieſts, as Tranſportation is, inſtead of the Gallows, to other condemned Criminals.

In ſhort, it will be ſo far from being a real Diſkindneſs to the Popiſh Laicks of this Nation, that it will be the greateſt Piece of Friendſhip to them imaginable. This, we hope, they will be the more readily convinced of, if their Wives, Daughters, and Maid-ſervants cry out againſt this Law, for then, to be ſure, they have ſome particular Concern in the Matter.

We hope, that our Popiſh Laicks in *England* are Men of as good Obſervation as thoſe in other Countries, and particularly in *France* and *Italy*, where their very Proverbs are ſufficient to demonſtrate, that they have no great Opinion of their Clergymen's Chaſtity. It is not poſſible to expoſe thoſe goatiſh Fellows with more Severity and Contempt, than the *Italians* do by ſaying *Fate Lui Coronna*, by Way of Sarcaſm, of a Stallion, that they do not think performs his Part; alluding to the Prieſts ſhaven Crowns, as if that ſacerdotal Character were ſufficient even to invigorate a Horſe. Their other Proverb of *Fate lo Prete*, Let us make him a Prieſt, when they have any ungovernable Wanton in a Family, that over-runs all their Females, is a-kin to the other; and their Covering their Stone-horſes with a Monk's Frock, when they find them indifferent for a Mare in Seaſon, is a ſcandalous Reproof of thoſe brutiſh Clergymen. Anſwerable to theſe is the *French* Proverb:

Qui veut tenir nette Maiſon
Qu'il n'y ſouffre ni pretre ni Moin ni pigeon.

Comparing the Popiſh Clergy to the Pigeons, for their venereous Inclinations; and may be *Engliſhed* thus:

They, that would keep their Houſes chaſte and neat,
From thence muſt Prieſts, Monks, Nuns, and Pigeons beat.

As all Proverbs of that Sort are founded upon ſomething univerſally known, or conceived to be true, it is not at all for the Honour of the Popiſh Clergy, that their Chaſtity ſhould be thus reflected upon, in Countries where they are the ſole Directors of Conſcience, and have their Religion eſtabliſhed by Law.

But that, which fixes it yet more upon them, is, That, in the Pope's Chancery, the Tax for Eating Eggs in *Lent* is greater than that for Sodomy; and the Penalty upon a Prieſt, that marries, is greater, than upon thoſe that commit that monſtrous and unnatural Villainy juſt now mentioned. From all which it is manifeſt, that they did not ſpeak at Random, who informed us, that the Celibacy of ſuch an innumerable Multitude of Popiſh Eccleſiaſticks is the *maximum Arcanum dominationis Papalis*, and that *the Prieſts Teſticles are the greateſt Promoters of the Pope's Empire.* This will appear yet more plain, that it is of the higheſt Importance to them, ſince the Church of *Rome* maintains, That Marriage is a Sacrament, and that all Sacraments confer Grace, and yet denies it to her Clergy: A manifeſt Indication, that they have their graceleſs Deſigns to promote by it; eſpecially ſince, at the ſame Time, the Want of thoſe Parts, which they will not allow them to make Uſe of in a regular Way, renders them incapable of being Prieſts, according to their Canons; but yet they are ſo kind to their gelded Martyrs, as to allow it to be ſufficient, if they have them about them in Powder, or any other Way.

Theſe Things confirm, in a literal Senſe, the odious Characters given the Church of *Rome*, in the *Revelations*, Chap. xvii, xviii, *&c.* as, *the great Whore, with whom the Kings and Inhabitants of the Earth have committed Fornication*; *the Mother of Harlots and Abominations of the Earth, having a golden Cup in her Hand full of Abominations, and of the Filthineſs of her Fornications*, &c. Then, ſince, by the Teſtimony of God and Man, the *Romiſh* Clergy is ſuch an impure and laſcivious Crew, it makes a Law of Caſtration a juſt and adequate Puniſhment for them.

To conclude: Since our King and Parliament have both teſtified their Zeal and Forwardneſs to ſuppreſs Immorality and Profaneneſs, it follows naturally, that ſuch a Law as this deſerves their ſerious Thoughts; for it is impoſſible to ſuppreſs reigning Vice, ſo long as thoſe goatiſh Fellows are ſuffered to ſwarm among us. They not only corrupt the Morals of People themſelves, by ſuch Practices and Principles as abovementioned, but bring over and encourage others to do it, particularly thoſe *Italians*, &c. who ſell and print *Aretin's Poſtures*; and, in order to debauch the Minds of Women, and to make them guilty of unnatural Crimes, invent and ſell them ſuch Things, as Modeſty forbids to name. It is evident, that, as Popery advanced upon us in the late Reigns, Debauchery gained Ground at the ſame Time, for they naturally make Way for one another; and therefore we can never ſuppreſs Immorality, without ſecuring ourſelves effectually againſt Popery. If this ſhould be attempted by a Law of Caſtration againſt *Romiſh* Prieſts, it muſt be owned, that it would be more charitable and humane to ſave ourſelves from Popiſh Superſtition, and all its miſchievous Conſequences, by that Method alone, than to practiſe it, together with other Puniſhments, upon ſuch of thoſe Wretches as come to the Gibbet for Treaſon. The Cutting off their Privities in ſuch Caſes, and and Throwing them into the Fire, juſt before they be totally bereft of Life, can be of no Manner of Uſe; whereas Caſtration alone, beforehand, might have ſaved us from the Danger of their Plots, and prevented themſelves from coming to the Gallows.

The true Hiſtory * of the late and lamentable Adventures of Don *Sebaſtian* King of *Portugal*, after his Impriſonment in *Naples*, until this preſent Day, being now in *Spain*, at St. *Lucar de Barrameda*.

There is no Power but from God. Rom. xiii.

London, printed by *Simon Stafford* and *James Shaw*, 1602.
Quarto, containing twenty-eight Pages.

THIS unfortunate King, Don *Sebaſtian*, having been brought from *Florence* to *Naples*, was put into the Caſtle of *Oeuf*, into a Chamber, without any other Furniture in it, than a Halter, and a long Knife of the Length of Half the Arm; where, for the Space of three Days, they neither gave him aught to drink, or to eat, nor whereon to lie; which Space he ſpent in continual Prayers, enduring his Croſſes with incredible Patience. On the fourth Day after, the Auditor-General, accompanied with two Notaries, came to viſit him, and found him, for his Life, of good Diſpoſition, and marvelled exceedingly at him, (for all of them did verily believe, that, ſeeing himſelf ſo ill treated, he would, in Deſpair, have hanged himſelf, or, with one of thoſe two Inſtruments, have ended his Days; which for that Purpoſe were prepared, and placed in that Room; or, at leaſt, incur thereby ſome grievous Malady) and ſaid unto him, That, if he would not deny, and ceaſe to maintain what he had avouched and maintained, in reporting himſelf to be Don *Sebaſtian*, King of *Portugal*, he ſhould never have either Drink, Meat, or Lodging. To whom the King made Anſwer:

‘Do what you will, for I ſhall never ſing any other Song; and I beſeech God Omnipotent, of his infinite Goodneſs and Divine Mercy, that he will ſtretch out his powerful Hand, and aſſiſt me in theſe my Troubles; and that he will not ſuffer me to commit ſo foul a Fault, or to fall into ſo great a Miſchief, and ſo contrary to my own Soul, that, for Fear and Terror of Men, I ſhould come to deny the Truth, and to confeſs a Falſ-

---

* This is the 79th Number in the Catalogue of Pamphlets in the *Harleian* Library.

'hood. God defend me from it. I am that ſelf-ſame Don *Sebaſtian*, King of *Portugal*, who, in the Year 1578, paſſed into *Africa* againſt the Infidels; and the very ſame, who, to augment the Name and Power of the Chriſtians, put my Life in Hazard; and am that unfortunate Prince, who, for the Puniſhment of his Sins, loſt a Battle; which Loſs begat ſo many Miſadventures, and occaſioned ſo many Changes in *Chriſtendom*. This is the very Truth, neither can I ſay any other.'

With this Anſwer, the Auditor, and his Notaries, went their Way. After this, they began to give him, for his Nouriſhment, ſome Bread and Water; and, ſome few Days after, he was allowed five Crowns a Month, and a Man to wait upon him. The Viceroy of *Naples*, laſt deceaſed, came to viſit him, and there paſſed between them that which hath been publiſhed by ſo many Hands, and ſet forth in ſo many Languages. Now, as ſoon as it was bruited Abroad, and that Fame had run and told it through the World, that he remained Priſoner, and that all Men had Leave to ſee him, many Perſons, of divers, both Qualities, and Nations, made a Voyage unto *Naples*, only to ſee him, and to ſpeak unto him: And, amongſt the reſt, many *Portugueſe*, ſome out of *Portugal*, and ſome from other Places of their Being, paſt into *Italy*, that they might, with their own proper Eyes, behold ſo admirable, and ſo rare a Wonder. Many of the *Portugueſe*, eſpecially the elder Sort, who had ſeen him, and knew him; and ſome alſo of *Caſtile*, and other Strangers beſides, having ſeen him, and diſcourſed with him, confeſſed and maintained, That he was Don *Sebaſtian*, the true King of *Portugal*. During the Life of the ſaid Viceroy, his Impriſonment was not ſo auſtere, nor ſo ſtrict, as it was afterwards, when his Son ſucceeded in the ſaid Government; who kept him exceeding cloſe, and double-guarded, ſuffering him, notwithſtanding, to go Abroad on the *Sundays*, and other Feſtival-days, for to hear Maſs in a Chapel within the ſaid Caſtle. He lived in perpetual Prayers and Faſtings. Every *Friday* and *Saturday*, he faſted with Bread and Water. He did the like, ſometimes, alſo on other Days, as on *Mondays* and *Wedneſdays*. He often frequented the Sacraments, and uſed much Confeſſion; and, all the *Lent* long, fed nor eat of any Thing, ſave only Herbs and Pulſe.

The Seventeenth of *April* laſt paſt, within a Year after that he was delivered to the *Caſtilians*, the ſaid Viceroy, who alſo is Count of *Lemos*, Son to him that was deceaſed, married with the Daughter of the Duke of *Lerma*, who now, at this Day, is a Governor in *Spain*: At that Time it was demanded of him, that he ſhould ſuddenly make Anſwer, without any other Proceedings, or Diligence, in his Cauſe, unto that which, on the fourth Day, was propoſed by the Auditor-General, accompanied, as before we mentioned. To whom he replied:

'That it was no lawful, nor direct Courſe, to take upon them to examine, and judge him, without Proceſs; but rather, that they ſhould preſent him to the *Portugueſe*, who had both nouriſhed him, knew him, and ſerved him. For, on their Relation, and their Teſtimony, ought to depend the true Proof and Approbation of his Buſineſs: Affirming, that, if it were poſſible for him to live a thouſand Years longer, he would never anſwer otherwiſe: And, that if they ſhould determine to do Juſtice on him, without any other Order or Proof, he muſt take God for his only Judge, who knows the Truth of this Matter, and that he is the proper and true King of *Portugal*, Don *Sebaſtian*. Wherefore, if you are ſo diſpoſed, take your Courſe in effecting that, upon which, heretofore, you purpoſed.

The Officers, appointed for this Affair, being gone from him with this Anſwer, he went immediately, and threw himſelf down on his Knees before the Crucifix, and began to diſpoſe and prepare himſelf for Death. He faſted the Space of three Days with Bread and Water. He made his general Confeſſion, and received the Holy Sacraments. As he thus attended his lateſt Hour, before the ſaid Month of *April* was ended, they ſent again unto him for his final Anſwer. To which Meſſage he made the like Anſwer, as before. And, upon theſe his laſt Words, he was judged and condemned, by the *Caſtilians*, to be led, in Ignominy, through the Streets of *Naples*, and from thence to labour in the Gallies all the reſt of his Life.

The laſt Day of the ſaid Month, they brought him out of the Caſtle, and mounted him on an Aſs, and led him openly through the Streets of the City, three Trumpets marching before him, with a Crier, who cried with a loud Voice, This is the Juſtice which his Catholick Majeſty hath commanded to be executed. He hath commanded this Man ſhould be thus ſhamefully led up and down, and that he ſhould perpetually be doomed to the Gallies, for naming himſelf to be Don *Sebaſtian*, King of *Portugal*, being no other than a *Calabrian*. And ſtill, before the Crier began, the Trumpets ſounded, and ſo continued to the End. And, when they named King, he would cry aloud, *Why, ſo I am.* And when they ſaid, Being no other than a *Calabrian*, he would anſwer, *That is falſe.* Yet, notwithſtanding, in the Repetition of theſe Words, all the While that they were pronounced by the Crier, he no wiſe hindered the Courſe of Juſtice, nor once moved himſelf againſt it.

Now muſt you note, that the *Caſtilians* not knowing how to verify, that he was the ſaid *Marcus Tullius Cartizzone*, as they endowed him with at the firſt, when he was delivered unto them, they proclaimed him at that Hour, by the indefinite Name of a *Calabrian*.

This Act bringeth an extreme Amazement to all the whole City, and ingenders a great Sorrow, and cauſeth much Compunction in the Hearts of all Men; inſomuch that they went away ſtruck with Wonder, and full of Aſtoniſhment. They looked one upon another with a ſilent Strangeneſs, and were unable to utter ſo much as one Word to another, the Greatneſs of their Grief ſtopping the Paſſage of their Speech. And if any, amongſt them, were heretofore perſuaded, that he was a *Calabrian*, after they had now beheld his own proper Perſon, and this ſo ſtrange a Spectacle, they were confirmed in this Belief, and did certainly aſſure themſelves, that he, whom they thus reproachfully led up and down upon an Aſs, was the very right and true Don *Sebaſtian*, King of *Portugal*; and they were touched with ſuch great Compaſſion, and remorſeful Fellow-feeling, in beholding this his miſerable State, and the Injuſtice wherewith they did treat him, that they were not able to refrain from Tears: The Sighs and Lamentations of one inciting the reſt to the ſame, who mourned, and bewailed his Miſery, whilſt the King himſelf cried out in this pitiful Manner:

‘ I am in the Hands of my Enemies, who
‘ work what themſelves will upon this my
‘ Body; but my Soul I recommend unto God,
‘ who hath created it, and knows the Truth,
‘ and can witneſs for me, that I am the ſame,
‘ whom I profeſs and ſay I am.’

After they had carried him thus throughout the City, they brought him to the King's Royal Gallies; whereunto he was no ſooner entered, but they preſently pulled off his own Apparel, and put upon him a ſlaviſh Attire, and placed him at the Prow of the Galley, where he remained a whole Day; and, the next Day following, they put him, with a Guard, in a little Barque, that was linked to the Galley, whither there repaired a great Concourſe of People, of divers Nations. Amongſt the which, were preſent a great Number of noble Perſonages, and of very honourable Houſes, who ſteadily viewing his Viſage, and marking him with an eſpecial Attention, and a moſt ſearching Eye, Without Doubt, ſaid they, this is that true Don *Sebaſtian*, King of *Portugal*.

The fifth Day they ranked him in the Gallies, and ſhaved off the Hairs both of his Head and Beard, the which were gathered up, and kept by thoſe that ſtood by, as a moſt precious Thing, and of great Eſteem.

This being done, they fettered him with Chains, ſignifying unto him, that he ſhould not be bound to row. Some *French* Lords were preſent at moſt of theſe Proceedings; and, among the reſt, a Son of Monſieur *de Berault*, who is, now at this Day, nominated for to be Ambaſſador of *Caſtile*, and a Gentleman, who is a Follower of his, with ſome others of the ſame Suit.

In theſe Days of ſo great Affliction, the King ceaſed not to continue in his daily Prayers and Faſtings, with ſuch Admiration of thoſe that beheld it, that they held him for a Saint; and, by the Means of his Patience, Modeſty, and other apparent Demonſtrations of his Virtues, he gained ſo much Reputation amongſt thoſe with whom he lived, that they were forced to confeſs, that the Truth of this Matter was covered and hidden, by the Inventions and Subtleties of his Enemies, and maintained, that he was the rightful *Don Sebaſtian*, King of *Portugal*.

Many of very good Qualities have writ out of *Naples* into divers Parts of *Europe*, touching the Succeſs of this Affair, according to the Truth thereof, and in ſuch forcible Manner, that as many as are either in the Court of *Rome*, or in *Italy*, are perſuaded to believe, and do hold moſt conſtantly for true, that this miſerable Prince is the ſame Perſon he profeſſeth himſelf to be.

But ſome will haply ſay, that he doth deſerve far more grievous Chaſtiſement, becauſe he eſcaped alive from the Battle of *Africk*, rendered ſo famous in the World, and, coming afterwards unknown into his own Kingdom of *Portugal*, he did not demand it again, leaving it as a Prey to his Enemies; which hath occaſioned ſo many Men's Deaths, ſo many and ſo divers Miſadventures, ſo many Miſchiefs, Afflictions, and Miſeries, as have happened thereby, and have croſſed thoſe Chriſtian People theſe Twenty-two Years; as one, who ſhould have preferred the publick Good before his own particular Imaginations, and private Fancies. But whoſoever ſhall take Knowledge of his pure Virtue, Piety, Fear of God, Wiſdom and Underſtanding, will ſing another Song, and only ſay this, *Sic erat in fatis*; and that God would have it ſo, to the Intent, that, in the Law of Grace, there ſhould be found another *Job*, like unto him in the Law of Nature.

Theſe Gallies paſſed from *Naples* into *Spain*, where ſome do report, that they ſaw him at *Barcelona*, in one of the King's Royal Gallies; and that he ſat on the third Seat, and that they uſed him very well, and ſerved him with very much Honour, and with great Reſpects.

We believe well the former, but not the latter, as it ſhall appear by what we ſhall manifeſt hereafter; for they are but Tales and Fables, divulged by his Enemies, who have publiſhed it ſo Abroad, for to cloak their malicious Wickedneſs, and their treaſonable Intents, and to conſerve the good Love and Favour of ſuch as love him with all their Hearts, and who, with all the Art they can, with all their Soul, and with all their Power, ſeek to regain him, and to acknowledge him for their Lord and Maſter; whereas the others, preferring their own particular Intereſt, and forgetting wholly the common Good, have quite loſt both the Remembrance of their Loyalty, and the Obligation wherein they ſtand bound to their Country.

From *Barcelona*, the Gallies entered into the Ocean Sea, where they remained till the Beginning of the Month of *Auguſt*, at the Port of *St. Lucar de Barrameda*.

A Courier from his Catholick Majeſty recounted, to the thrice Chriſtian King, the Cauſe why the aforeſaid Veſſels paſſed forth of the *Mediterranean* Sea into the Ocean, which was a Rebellion in *Angra*, a City in the Iſle of *Tercere*, which is the chiefeſt of the Iſles, which they call by the Name of *Azores*, which is the Key of all the Ocean Sea; for thoſe that come out of *Africk*, out of *Aſia* and *America*, are conſtrained to paſs that Way, as to the principal Butt of their Navigation. The Iſle is ſituated in thirty-nine Degrees, and ſome Minutes, between the *Septentrion* and the *Meridian*.

The Certainty of this Inſurrection is not yet, to this Day, made fully known. Some ſay, that the *Portugueſe* did riſe againſt the Catholick King, a Nobleman of *Spain* being a Party with them. Others, that the Governor of the Iſle, being by Nation a *Caſtilian*, did mightily baſtinado a Captain of his Regiment; who weighing with himſelf, that he could not challenge his Superior in the Field, and that he remained in an Iſle environed round with the Sea, and 300 Leagues from *Liſbon*, he reſolved to take ſome other Courſe to ſatisfy his Vengeance upon him. For effecting of which Revenge, he diſcovered his Intentions to his Soldiers, and eſpecially to the *Portugueſe* of the ſaid Iſle, whom he finding propitious, and fully bent to yield him their beſt Aſſiſtance, for to make himſelf Satisfaction for the Wrong he was offered, he determined to kill the Governor, and to riſe with the whole Iſle, in Favour of the *Portugueſe*; which was effected after the ſame Manner it was reſolved on.

This Revolt was the Cauſe that his Catholick Majeſty cauſed his Gallies to come from *Naples* into the Ocean.

Yet, for all this, will I not deliver neither the one nor the other Cauſe for current; for they are but Fables, framed out of the Forge of the Enemy, whoſe Cuſtom it is to ſow ſuch falſe Tales, to ſee how the World will ſtand affected with it, and to diſcover the Hearts, as well of the nobler, as the vulgar Sort. It is rather to be thought, that his Majeſty commanded the ſaid Gallies to come out of *Naples* into the Ocean, upon the Rumour of thoſe Forces that were raiſed in *England*, being deſigned, as ſome ſay, to enter *Portugal.*

But, whatſoever they ſay, ſo it was, that his Gallies came down thither; and it ſhall ſuffice us for our Purpoſe, to know for certain, that the Royal Galley of *Naples*, in which Don *Sebaſtian*, King of *Portugal*, was put, rides at *St. Lucar de Barrameda*, and that the ſaid *Don Sebaſtian* is within her, in the Manner aforeſaid.

On the twelfth or thirteenth Day of the ſaid Month, there arrived in *France*, in a Ship of the *Rochellers*, two *French* Merchants, well known to be Men of Credit and Truth, who did aſſure, as well by Word of Mouth, as by Letters written to Perſons of Honour in *Paris*, that they have ſeen the aforeſaid Priſoner at *St. Lucar de Barrameda*, within the Royal Galley of *Naples*; and that they ſpoke unto him; and that they ſaw him in Chains poor and miſerable; and that they offered him Linnen, and Silver, and other Commodities, which he would by no Means take, but refuſed their Kindneſs, and returned them Thanks; and that he brooked his Affliction with wonderful Patience; and that all they of the Gallies did acknowledge him to be the ſame that himſelf had ſaid he was, and did generally call him King; and that he is ſerved by two Galley-ſlaves that are *Turks*; that he labours not at the Oar, but in all Things elſe is uſed like the reſt of the Slaves; and that the Duke of *Medina Sidonia*, and his Wife, had a Deſire to ſee him, who having talked a long Time with him, the King demanded of him, if he had that Sword ſtill which he gave him, when he embarked himſelf for *Barbary*.

The Duke made Anſwer, that indeed *Don Sebaſtian*, King of *Portugal*, preſented him with a Sword, which he beſtowed upon him before his Embarking, which he had cauſed to be kept in his Armoury amongſt the reſt.

Since that you have it then, replied the King, I pray you, let me intreat that it may be brought hither; for, although it be now Twenty-four Years ſince I gave it you, I doubt not but I ſhall know it full well. The Duke had commanded ſome Dozen to be brought, the which the King having ſeverally viewed, told him, Mine is not amongſt any of theſe. Then the Duke willed they ſhould bring all the reſt. And, the King eſpying it in the Hands of him that brought them, Lo, Duke, ſaid he, behold the Sword which I gave you, when I paſſed into *Africa*.

There was in the Company of the Ducheſs a Negro, whom the King knew, and ſaid, that he had ſerved him for the Waſhing of his Linnen, being one of his Launderers, when he reigned in *Portugal.* The Duke, ſeeing theſe Things to be ſo apparent, and ſo probably true, that they ſeemed miraculous unto him, bleſſed himſelf with many a Croſs, and was ſeen to go from him with a heavy and a ſorrowful Countenance, and weeping, as it were, through Compaſſion and mere Pity, to ſee ſo miſerable a Prince, in ſo wretched and unhappy an Eſtate. And the moſt Part of the *Caſtilians* themſelves, Subjects to King *Philip*, amazed with theſe ſo many Signs and Teſtimonies of Truth, howbeit they dare not ſpeak it openly, yet, notwithſtanding, in their private Diſcourſes, they will not ſtick to ſay, that it is impoſſible that this Man ſhould be any other than the true *Don Sebaſtian*; and that it is to be feared, that God will ſwallow them all in Hell, if the Catholick King reſtore not all that unto him, which of Right appertaineth unto him. But thoſe, who do not look on theſe great Miracles, with the Eyes of Pity, ſay, that he is poſſeſſed with a Devil.

This Duke, if I am not deceived, was called Duke *Alphonſo de Guzman le Bon*, the tenth Count of *Niebla*, and the ſeventh Duke of *Medina Sidonia*; who, in the Year 1578, the King Don *Sebaſtian* arriving at *Cales*, for to go into *Africa*, received him with great Royalty, magnificent Feaſtings, with Tilting and Tourning, with Bull-baiting, and other Sports and Paſtimes, ſuch as the Iſle could afford.

The ſaid King continued eight Days with the Duke, who, they ſay, took much Pains with him to diſſuade him from paſſing into *Barbary* in his own Perſon.

This conſidered, Men need not to think it ſtrange, if the Duke had a Deſire to ſee him, and alſo to ſpeak with him; nor that likewiſe, which the *Rochellers* report, touching the Sword and the Negro, ſince that the Wife and Lady of the ſaid Duke is Dame *Anne de Silva*, Daughter to King *Gomez de Silva*, a *Portugueſe*, and Prince of *Eboli*, who governed the Kingdom of *Caſtile* for many Years; who might very well retain the ſaid Negro in her Service, by Reaſon he had been brought up in the Prince's Houſe of *Portugal.*

We have divers Letters, written from *Cales* into many Places round about, which we find to be as followeth:

There arrived out of *Spain* ſix or ſeven Merchants, Inhabitants of this Town, Men of the moſt Credit and Wealth amongſt them, who reported, they had ſeen Don *Sebaſtian*, King of *Portugal*, in the King's Galley of *Naples*, at St. *Lucar de Barrameda*; and that they ſaw him chained as a Priſoner, and treated as the reſt of the Slaves, but ſerved with more Reſpect, and free from the Oar; which Favour, it is thought, was obtained for him by the Pope's Favour.

They added, moreover, That many old Men, *Portugueſe* of divers Sorts, in great Abundance, came thither to ſee him, and that all of them did confeſs, that this was the true Don *Sebaſtian*, King of *Portugal*; and that the *Caſtilians* cried with a loud Voice, in theſe Terms which we have here above mentioned, touching the Wrath of God hanging over *Spain*.

And, if we ſhall but weigh all the Succeſſes of this King, his Peregrinations through the World, his Impriſonments, his Deliverance out of *Venice*, the Manner of his Coming from *Florence* unto *Naples*, his Sentence, and Execution upon it, it makes the Caſe appear, in our Sight, miraculous and full of Wonder; but, above all, his Embarking and Arrival at St. *Lucar de Barrameda*. And yet, beſides all theſe, this is a rare and extraordinary Thing, That the Gallies, coming down from *Naples* into the Great Sea, did ſuit in ſuch Conformity and Correſpondency with the ancient Prophecies, which touch theſe Adventures.

The reverend Father, Dr. *Sampayo*, a religious and holy Man, of the Order of *Preachers*, being at *Paris* the laſt Year, hath aſſured many Men, that he had ſeen in the Library of St. *Victor*, in a certain Book, a Prophecy, which we will openly deliver unto you; to wit, ‘That the King, Don *Sebaſtian*, ſhould
‘come out of *Naples* upon a Horſe of Wood,
‘which, out of the *Mediterranean* Sea, ſhould
‘enter into the Ocean; and that his Horſe
‘ſhould reſt at St. *Lucar de Barrameda.*

See, what Father *Sampayo* hath truly recounted to theſe Perſons, touching this Prophecy, the ſame is confeſſed and confirmed anew by the Religious Men of that Monaſtery; for it hath been communicated and declared to divers of them; alſo they have writ the very ſame to ſome of his Friends; and, within the ſelf-ſame Library, they have ſhewed the Prophecy to ſome ſuch Secular Gentlemen, as ſtand well-affected to the Liberty of this unfortunate King. And, foraſmuch as the ſaid Father *Sampayo* is far from hence, we cannot cite the very Words of the Prophecy, nor the Author of it; yet, notwithſtanding, it ſhall make very well for that we have in Hand, if we ſhall but know that which is found written, touching the adverſe and proſperous Haps of this unhappy Prince, by Men of great Learning and Holineſs of Life; which if we do, we may the more eaſily be excuſed. St. *Iſidore*, a very wiſe and learned Man, and of the Blood Royal, as being the Son of *Theodora*, and of *Severian*, Son to *Thierry*, King of the *Oſtrogoths* and of *Italy*, who flouriſhed about the Year 580, hath left unto us in Writing: *Occultus Rex, bis piè datus, in Hiſpaniam veniet in equo ligneo, quem multi videntes illum eſſe non credent*, &c. Which is as much as to ſay, ‘A ſecret and
‘unknown King, exceeding devoutly given,
‘ſhall come into *Spain*; which many Men
‘ſeeing ſhall not believe it is he, &c.’

This here is found to be publiſhed in a ſtrange Adventure, lately printed:

A Shoemaker of *Portugal*, named *Bandarra*, born in the Town of *Trancoſo*, who lived here about ſome three-hundred Years ſince, hath left unto us in Writing, in *Portugueſe* Verſe, very many Prophecies upon divers and ſundry Subjects; amongſt the which there are found ſome, which treat *Del Incubierto*, viz. *Of the concealed and hidden Prince*; in one Part whereof, we have obſerved the Accompliſhment, in the Perſon of King Don *Sebaſtian*; and, if thoſe, which remain behind, ſhall prove but as true, as thoſe that are paſt, doubtleſs, we ſhall ſee this King ſeated in his Royal Throne.

The poor labouring People of *Portugal* retain this as an old Tradition:

‘That a Time ſhall come, wherein a King,
‘whoſe Name ſhall be, as it were, *De Beſtia*,
‘ſhall diſappear for a Time; and that, after
‘that he and his Realm ſhall have ſuffered many Afflictions and Calamities, the
‘very ſelf-ſame King, whom all the World

‘ holdeth for dead, ſhall riſe again, and gain ‘ his Throne with incredible Happineſs.’ In which Tradition, we are to note one Thing concerning the Name of *Beſtia*; for the Peaſants of *Portugal*, inſtead of ſaying *Sebaſtian*, pronounce *Beſtiam*; ſo that, taking away the laſt Letter of the Word, there remains *Beſtia*. Moreover, we may alſo perſuade ourſelves, that this Tradition of thoſe baſe, ruſtick, and barbarous Men ſhall have its full Accompliſhment in the Perſon of this Prince, hitherto ſo unfortunate. It is no ſuch ſtrange and unuſual Thing to ſee God permit, that we behold his Secrets in the Mouth of ignorant Perſons, ſince that, his Son hath taught us, *Abſcondiſti ea a ſapientibus, & revelaſti ea parvulis.* And we may as well, by the Permiſſion of God, ſee this ruſtick Prophecy fulfilled, as they did that, which runneth through the Mouths of the Labourers of *Beauſe*, in theſe latter Years of the King that was; which was by Tradition delivered ſtill from the Father to the Son:

‘ The Year One-thouſand Five-hundred
‘ Eighty-nine,
‘ A new King unto the Throne of *Portu-*
‘ *gal* ſhall climb;
‘ The Year One-thouſand Five-hundred
‘ and Ninety,
‘ Far more Hares, than Sheep, ſhall you ſee.

We have alſo, elſewhere, another old Fellow, who hath compoſed a Book in *Caſtilian* Verſe, which ſerves as an Explication of thoſe Prophecies of St. *Iſidore*, and of ſome others, who have writ of the *Incubierto*. In which Book I have read, ſome forty-five Years ſince, many curious Things, which, if I could remember them, would at this Time ſtand me in good Stead. But, becauſe I read them in my Youth, without any Notice of Things to come, or Imagining of any Changes or Revolutions to happen in the World theſe twenty-four Years paſt; and, beſides, being then incapable of underſtanding them, it made me the more negligent in the Apprehenſion of them; only my Memory hath, in a confuſed Manner, furniſhed me with a Poem of ſeven Lines very fit for our preſent Purpoſe; and, not long ſince, a Gentleman of *Portugal*, a faithful Servant to his King, and very deſirous of his Country's Liberty, gave it me in Writing:

Vendra & Incubierto,
Vendra cierto.
Entrera en el huerto,
Por el puerto.
Qu'eſta mas a ca del muro,
Y lo que pareſce eſcuro,
Se vra claro, y abierto.

Which is as much as to ſay:

‘ The Unknown ſhall come,
‘ He ſhall come for certain,
‘ And ſhall enter at the Garden,
‘ By the Gate,
‘ Which is neareſt to the Wall;
‘ And that, which ſeemeth dark and obſcure,
‘ Shall appear full clear, and be diſcovered.’

For the better Underſtanding of theſe Verſes, we are to underſtand what this *Garden*, and what this *Wall* is; for the Expoſition and Underſtanding of theſe two Words ſhall give us Light to the reſt, and ſhall lay open to our View thoſe admirable Things, which a ſimple Poem propheſieth unto us.

We are, then, to underſtand, that this *Garden* may be taken for the Country which extends itſelf beyond the Mount *Calpe*, which is in *Spain*, at the Mouth of the Streight of *Gibraltar*, fronting Mount *Abyla*, which is ſituated on the other Side of the ſaid Streight, in *Africa*; which are the two Mountains, that are named by the Ancients *Hercules's Pillars*, as far as the River which the *Latins* call *Bætis*, and is named now at this Day, by the Inhabitants, *Guadal-quiver* (a Name impoſed by the *Moors*, after they had made themſelves Lords of *Spain*) which ſignifieth, in our Language, *great Water*; for *Guad*, in the *Arabian* Tongue, is as much as *Water*, and *Quiver* ſignifieth *great*.

The Iſle of *Cales* is in that Country, and was once far greater, than now it is. All this Country is very fertile, plentiful, and delightful.

Ancient Authors do report of it, that, if their Sheep ſhould go but thirty Days without letting of Blood, they would die with Fatneſs.

In this Country did *Homer* dwell, before he grew blind, which was in the Year 1307 after the Flood, and Two-hundred Fifty-five, before the Foundation of *Rome*, and a Thouſand before the Incarnation of Chriſt. In thoſe

Days they called it, *Meleſegines*. They that have ſeen the Fruitfulneſs and good Temperature thereof, affirm, that theſe were the *Elyſian* Fields, whither the Gods ſent the Souls of the Bleſſed. Whence we ſee clearly, that this Country is the Garden of *Spain*, and ſo we likewiſe call it.

Yet there are ſome Authors, notwithſtanding, who maintain and approve with very ſtrong and evident Reaſons, that *Liſbon* is the Garden of *Spain*, with the Appurtenances thereunto belonging: For, as much as it is a very pleaſant Territory, large, fertile, plentiful, fair, and delectable, wherein grow great Abundance of all Fruits, the moſt excellent, and the moſt perfect that *Europe* affordeth.

Your elder Writers affirm, that the Mares, that live thereabout, will be impregnated by the Wind; and that the Colts, which come of them, ſeem rather to fly than run, ſo ſwift they are of Foot.

Ulyſſes, whom Writers allot unto us, as Founder of the ſaid City, and his Companions, arrived after his Shipwreck, in theſe Quarters, and entering into the Ocean Sea by *Tagus*, moved by the Fertileneſs of the Territory, with the Waters, and the Abundance of Fiſh, that were bred in the ſaid River, being ſo deep, and ſo marvellous fit for all Kind of Commodities, beſides the great Store of Gold, which ſeemed to be in thoſe Sands, he named it *Theodora*, which, in the *Greek* Tongue, ſignifieth *God's Gift*. So that, the Garden of *Spain* is that Country, which we affirm to be between the Mount *Calpe* and the River of *Gaudiana*: Or elſe the Town of *Liſbon*, with her Territories.

The King Don *Sebaſtian* having entered ſome of theſe Parts with Proſperity, it importeth us a little for the Verification of this Prophecy, whether the one, or the other, be the Garden of *Spain*.

Touching the Wall, all they, that are well ſeen and practiſed in the ancient Hiſtories of *Spain*, confeſs, that it is the Iſle of *Cales*, which they call *Gades*, and by Reaſon of the Affinity of the G with the C, is converted into the Name of *Cades*.

And for the better Declaring from whence this Name came, it is neceſſary that we here alledge ſome ancient Hiſtories, which teach us, that there are ſix Men that bear the Name of *Hercules*; whereof two of them have ſtifled each other's Reputation. One was Son unto *Jupiter* and *Alcmena*; the other, Son of the ſame Father, and of *Aſteria* Siſter to *Latona*. And this *Hercules* is adored with great Reverence at *Tyre*.

The Hiſtories do report, that he commanded the *Gaditanes* by a Dream, who were the Inhabitants of that City, that they ſhould paſs into *Spain*, and build a Temple unto him in *Cales*, where his Name ſhould be held in Veneration.

For to accompliſh this Commandment, the *Gaditanes* embarked themſelves in the Year Two-hundred Thirty-five, after the Foundation of *Rome*; and ſailing by the *Mediterranean* Sea, they entered the Ocean; and not far from the Mouth of the *Streights*, they landed at *Cales*.

There began they to build a Town, obſerving the Cuſtoms and Ceremonies of the *Heteruſcians*, who did, as *Marcus Varro* mentioneth, couple a Bull and a Cow under one Yoke, and ſo made a deep Furrow with their Ploughſhare, in a circular or round Figure, whoſe Circuit they drew as large as the City ſhould be, which they intended to build. The Ploughſhare made the Furrow, and the Earth, they threw up, formed their Walls. So did *Romulus*, when he undertook the Foundation of *Rome*; as it is ſtoried by *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus*. So did *Æneas* alſo, according to the Teſtimony of *Virgil*:

Intereà Æneas urbem deſignat aratro.

And thus, in this Manner, was the ſaid Place held afterwards for a Thing holy and religious.

As ſoon as the Building of this Town and Temple was bruited in the World, great Multitudes out of *Europe*, *Africa*, and *Aſia* came to ſee it. And in after Years, the *Carthaginians*, conſidering that the Inhabitants thereof, as being all of one Country, for they and the *Gaditanes* came both out of *Tyre*, would continue ſtill Friends unto them, determined to undertake the Conqueſt of *Spain*.

And for the better Effecting their Deſign, they cloaked their Ambition, with Piety and Religion, as I ſhall ſhew you; giving the *Spaniards* to underſtand, that it was not fit, ſince ſo many out of all Parts of the World came to viſit this City; and the Temple belonging unto it, and to do Sacrifice unto the God thereof, of whom they had received ſuch exceeding

ing Benefits, that the ſaid God ſhould be worſhiped in ſo poor a Temple, and of ſo baſe a Structure, the Walls thereof being no better than Dirt and Earth: And therefore would intreat them, that they might have Leave to build a greater, a richer, and more ſumptuous Temple.

The *Spaniards*, not ſuſpecting any Ill that might ſucceed, nor any Way being jealous of the *Carthaginians* at that Time, did eaſily condeſcend to their Requeſt, ſuffering them to obtain whatſoever they deſired.

Preſently hereupon, the *Carthaginians* began, with incredible Haſte, to build a mighty huge Temple of ſquared Stone, and ſo ſtrong, that it might ſerve them inſtead of a Caſtle, for the Effecting of this their Intention.

There were alſo all along the Temple ſome ſtrong Buildings, ſaying they were to ſerve for the Prieſts, the Officers, and the Servants of the ſaid Temple.

Not content with this, acquainting the *Spaniards* with the bad Entertainment, which thoſe received, which came with ſuch great Devotion, and undertook ſuch long Journies for to viſit the Houſe of this their God, that they might have where to retire themſelves, and to ſhelter themſelves for all Seaſons, that they would permit them to build a greater Number of Houſes, for to lodge and receive poor Pilgrims.

In a Word, the *Carthaginians* obtained all that they would; and joining one Houſe to another, they made a very ſtrong Place, by Means whereof, they grew great Lords in *Spain*. And the ſame Report is now at this Day very common alſo in the Mouths of many. When the Earl of *Eſſex* took the ſaid Town by Force, the Inhabitants trembled, and cried out, Is it poſſible that the Walls of *Spain* ſhould be taken by the Enemy? O God, what ſhall we do?

Out of this, which hath been ſaid, you may clearly ſee, that this is that Wall, and that Garden, which the Author of theſe Prophecies hath ſpoken of in his Verſes. So that, in knowing this, we may eaſily have Knowledge of the Gate, that is on the hither Side of the Wall, which muſt be that of St. *Lucar de Barrameda*, which is on the other Side in the Ocean Sea, ſome five Leagues diſtant from *Cales*.

God grant that this virtuous and holy Prince, Don *Sebaſtian*, King of *Portugal*, fulfilling all that which is propheſied of him, may enter into the Poſſeſſion of his Kingdom, for the Peace and Tranquillity of his Countries, and the common Good of all *Chriſtendom*. *Amen*. Farewel, the laſt of *Auguſt*.

After I had ended this preſent Diſcourſe, News came out of divers Places, and Letters, ſent by many Perſons worthy of Credit, who confirm all this that hath been ſpoken of Don *Sebaſtian*: Adding withal, that the Duke of *Medina Sidonia* ſent afterward Aboard the Gallies four Men, which had both ſeen, known, ſpoken, and ſerved the ſaid King, all the Time he lay at *Cales*, before he paſſed into *Africa*, which was eight Days, for to ſee and examine, whether he were the very ſame or no. Theſe Men ſaw him, ſpoke to him, and demanded of him many Things, himſelf not knowing to what End they thus examined him: Who returning to the Duke, did avouch with many Oaths, that this Man was that very ſelf-ſame right and true Don *Sebaſtian*, King of *Portugal*, whom he had received at *Cales*, with ſuch great Joy and Feaſting, in the Year 1578. Some ſay that the Duke writ Letters of all this that had paſſed unto the Catholick King: And beſides, that with theſe his Letters, and Ratification of what he had ſeen and heard, he ſent the ſaid Men for to teſtify the Truth of it.

God grant for his Mercy's Sake, and for our Delivery out of ſo many Troubles and Miſeries, that thoſe Prophecies ſet down in the two laſt Lines of thoſe Verſes in the *Caſtilian* Tongue, before recited, may quickly be fulfilled, to wit:

Y lo, que pareſce eſcuro,
Se vra claro, y abierto.

[To be continued.]

Sir *Thomas Roe*'s Speech * in Parliament. Wherein he ſheweth the Cauſe of the Decay of Coin and Trade in this Land, eſpecially of Merchants Trade. And alſo propoundeth a Way to the Houſe, how they may be increaſed. Printed in the Year, 1641. *Quarto*, containing twelve Pages.

IT is a general Opinion, that the Trade of *England* was never greater, and it may be true, that if it be ſo, yet it will not abſolutely conclude, that the Kingdom doth increaſe in Riches, for the Trade may be very abundant, and yet, by Conſumption and Importance of more than is expected, the Stock may waſte.

The Balance would be a true Solution of the Queſtion, if it could be rightly had; but, by Reaſon it muſt be made up by a Medium of the Books of Rates, it will be very uncertain.

Therefore we muſt ſeek another Rule, that is more ſenſible, upon which we may all judge, and that may be by the Plenty or Scarcity of Money; for it is a true Rule, if Money increaſe, the Kingdom doth gain by Trade; if it be ſcarce, it loſeth.

Let us therefore conſider; *firſt*, whether our Gold and Silver be not decreaſed, and then by what Means it is drained; and *laſtly*, how it may be prevented, and what Remedies are applicable to effect it.

It is out of Doubt our Gold is gone to travel without Licenſe, that is viſible beyond Seas, and every Receiver of Sums of Money muſt find it privately; and I fear the ſame of Silver, for obſerving the Species of late Coining many half Crowns were ſtamped, which are no more to be ſeen, and by this Meaſure, I conclude the Kingdom grows poor.

The Cauſes of this Decay of Money may be many, it may be ſtolen out for Profit, going much higher beyond Seas, eſpecially in *France* and *Holland*.

Much hath been drawn away by the Stranger upon Fears of our Troubles, of which I have Experience by Exchanges, and Exchanges are the great Myſtery, eſpecially ſuch as are uſed as a Trade, and governed by Bankers who make many Returns in a Year, and gain by every one, more than the Intereſt of a Year; and the greateſt Danger to a State is, when Money is made Merchandiſe, which ſhould be but the Meaſure thereof.

And here I will propoſe a Problem, whether it were profitable to a Kingdom or not, that the Stranger for many Years had a great Stock, here at Intereſt, and ſtill hath ſome; I confeſs it hath ſupplied the Neceſſities of Merchants, and helped to drive Trade. But my Quere is this, Suppoſe the firſt Principal were truly brought in by the Stranger, yet doubling every ten Years, what becomes of the Increaſe? Have they not lived by our Trade, and the Merchant-Adventurers, and ſoaked the Kingdom of as many Times Principal, as they have practiſed this Uſury many Times ten Years, and in the End drawn or carried all away? This is a Point to a State very conſiderable.

Much Coin hath been drawn away, without Doubt, by the *French*, who have brought in Wares of little Bulk, perhaps without Cuſtom, but of dear Price, and, having turned it into Gold, have returned without inveſting any Part thereof; and ſuch petty Merchants cannot be reached by the Statute of Employments.

Another Cauſe of Scarcity of Coin, may be the over-ſtrict Rule of the Uncurrentneſs of any good Coin, and that it muſt be ſold here, as Bullion; in that Caſe, what Stranger will bring in Money? Whereas, if every good Species be current, according to this Allay, and Weight in Proportion to our Coin, or rather a little higher, it will draw, namely, Money by Degrees into *England*; as lower Grounds do water from Higher, though they ſee not the

---

* This is the 156th Number in the Catalogue of Pamphlets in the *Harleian* Library.

Channels: And we ſee *France*, *Holland*, and *Germany* admit all good Coins, though foreign, for and above their intrinſick Value.

But I will end this Search, by propoſing ſome general Remedies; for I do now but make Eſſays, and give Occaſion to more ſubtle and particular Diſquiſitions:

1. To the firſt Leak of ſtealing away Coin, I would make it Felony by an Act; for, if a Man may juſtly ſuffer Death for robbing of a private Man, I ſee no Injuſtice nor Cruelty to inflict the ſame Puniſhment upon him that robs a Kingdom.

2. That the Neighbour Princes and States do cry up our Money, and ſo entice it from us. This, in my Judgment, ought to be provided for by our Treaties, which was the old Way, eſpecially of Commerce, by agreeing and publiſhing of Placarts, according to a true Par: For that Prince, that will make a Treaty of Commerce, doth it for the Uſe of the Commodity; which, certainly, I would deny any Prince, that would not conſent to keep Monies even, by their true Values; at leaſt, that would ſet a higher Price upon our Money, than the King hath done; and if our Coin did either keep beyond the Seas, the *Engliſh* Value, or were Bullion and uncurrent, the Stranger ſhould have as little of our Money, as we have of theirs.

How to recover the Stranger's Money drawn away, ſince our Troubles, is a hard Endeavour, and can no Ways be brought to paſs, but by Peace and Trade; and the Reſolution of this will fall into the general Remedy, which I ſhall propoſe.

The pedling *French* Trade muſt be met with by diligent Search, at the Landing of theſe Creamers, what they bring in, and by ſuffering none of them to paſs any Goods by private Warrants; but that, according as they ſhall be valued, they give Bond to inveſt it in *Engliſh* Commodities, natural or naturaliſed, and that with Surety: Nay, in this Caſe, not to allow them Exchange by Bills; for it will not hurt the Commonwealth, if, by any Rigour, they were beaten out of their private toyiſh Traffick.

I ſhall not doubt to offend any but the Mint, which may be recompenſed to his Majeſty in his Cuſtoms, if Money be plentiful; for all Goods will follow Money. If I did propoſe the Currentneſs of all Goods, and great Species of foreign Coins, for their true intrinſick Value, according to the Pay with ours; and if I ſay a little higher, according to Occaſions, keeping our own Coin pure and conſtant to be cried down, as much under, according to Occaſions, I think it will be a Policy both reaſonable and profitable, by Experience tried in other States.

But, leaving theſe Empirical Practices, I come now to the great and infallible Rule and Remedy, which is, in plain *Engliſh*, to ſettle and aſſure the Ground of Trade upon Staple-commodities; which like the Lady of *Whitſontide* to her Pipe-money, will dance after that; for, as Merchandiſe doth follow Money, ſo doth Money, Commodity.

I ſaid at firſt, it was a general Opinion, that Trade never flouriſhed more than now, and it may be ſo; but we muſt conſider this be not accidental and changeable, and depending more upon the Iniquity or Miſery of the Times, than upon our own Foundation and Induſtry; and, if that be ſo, then it is no ſure Ground for a State to rely upon; for if the Cauſes change, the Effects will follow.

Now it is true, that our great Trade depends upon the Troubles of our Neighbours, and we enjoy almoſt the Trade of Chriſtendom; but, if a Peace happen betwixt *France*, *Spain*, and the united Provinces, all theſe will ſhare what we now poſſeſs alone; and therefore we muſt provide for that Day, for Nothing ſtands ſecure but upon its own Foundation.

To make, then, our own Trade ſecure, we muſt conſider our own Staple-commodities, whereof Wool is the chiefeſt, and ſeek the Way to both, to keep up the Price at Home, and the Eſtimation of all Commodities made of that, and to be vented Abroad.

Some other Helps we have, as Tin, Lead, and ſuch like; but I dare confidently affirm, That Nothing exported, of our own Growth, hath balanced our riotous Conſumption at Home, but thoſe foreign Commodities, which I call naturaliſed, that is, that Surplus of our *Eaſt-India* Trade, which being brought Home in greater Quantities, than are ſpent within the Kingdom, are exported again, and become in Value and Uſe as natural Commodities; and therefore, by the Way, I hold it abſolutely neceſſary to maintain that Trade, by a Regulation with the *Dutch*, of which more Reaſon ſhall be given, when that Particular ſhall be taken into Conſideration.

We have yet another great Help, which is our own, and wants only our Induſtry, to gather the Harveſt; which is our Fiſhing and Erecting of Buſſes, both for the Inriching of our Kingdom, and the Breeding of Mariners; and this by private Induſtry, though to private Loſs, is beaten out already, and ſhall be offered to the Commonwealth, if they pleaſe to accept of it; and to give you one only Encouragement, I do avow, that, before the *Dutch* were lately interrupted by the *Dunkirkers*, by their Induſtry, and our Fiſh, they made as great Returns between *Dantzick* and *Naples*, as the Value of all our Cloth, which is one Million yearly; and this, in a due Place, I deſire ſhould have its due Weight and Conſideration.

We have one Help more, if we knew how to uſe it, that is, by the new drained Lands in the Fens, moſt fit for Flax and Hemp, to make all Sorts of Linnen for the Body, for the Houſe, and Sails for Ships; that is a *Dutch* and *French* Trade: But, in *Holland*, one Acre of Ground is rented at three Pounds, which if the *Hollanders* may have in the Fens for ten or twelve Shillings, it will be eaſy to draw the Manufacture into *England*, which will ſet infinite People at Work, and we may be able to ſerve other Nations with that, which we buy dear from them; and then the State and Kingdom will be happy and rich, when the King's Cuſtoms ſhall depend upon Commodities exported, and thoſe able to return all Things which we want, and then our Money muſt ſtay within our Kingdom, and all the Trade return in Money; to encourage you to this, I give you one Example:

That if the ſeveral Sorts of Callicoes made of Cotton Wools, in the *Mogul*'s and *Dan*'s Dominions, doth cloath, from Head to Foot, all *Aſia*, a Part of *Europe*, *Egypt*, much of *Africa* and the *Eaſtern* Iſlands, as far as *Sumatra*; which makes that Prince, without Mines, the richeſt Prince in the World; and, by his Majeſty's Grace and Privileges granted to the *Dutch*, I am confident we may make and underſel, in all Linnen Cloth, all the Nations in *Europe*.

But I have now wandered far from my Theme, which was the Decay of Trade, and of the Woollen Commodity.

I muſt firſt, therefore, preſent to your Conſideration the Cauſes thereof, in my Obſervations, whereof ſome are internal, and ſome external.

The internal have proceeded from our own falſe Making, and Stretching, and ſuch like Practices, whereby, indeed our Cloth is diſcredited; I ſpeak by Experience, from *Dantzick* and *Holland*, Northward to *Conſtantinople*, as I will inſtance in due Time.

This falſe Lucre of our own, and the Interruption in the Dying and Dreſſing projected, and not overcome, gave the firſt Wound, though, could it have been compaſſed, it had doubled the Value of our Commodity.

This hath cauſed the *Dutch*, *Sileſians*, and *Venetians* to attempt the Making of Cloth, and now, by Experience, as I am informed, the Half is not vented, that was in the latter Age.

Another internal Cauſe hath riſen from ſuch Impoſitions, as have made our Cloth too dear Abroad, and, conſequently, taught others to provide for themſelves.

Another internal Cauſe hath ſprung from Preſſures upon tender Conſciences, in that many of our Clothiers, and others, have forſaken the Kingdom, and carried their Arts with them, to the inexpreſſible Detriment of the Commonwealth.

The external Cauſes have been the Want of Perfection, and Countenance to our Merchants, eſtabliſhed Abroad in Factories, by the State, and by the Treaties; whereby the Capitulations have not been kept, nor aſſured to them, neither in *Pruſſia*, nor in the *Sound*, nor *Hamburgh*, nor *Holland*, nor in the *Eaſt*; and this I dare ſay, that *Laban* never changed *Jacob*'s Wages ſo often, as the *Hollanders* have forced our Merchants to change their Reſidences, and the very Courſe of this Trade, by Laws and Tricks, for their own Advantage, of which the Merchant-Adventurers will more fully inform you.

Another external Cauſe is lamentable, a Report of the Increaſe of Pirates, and the Inſecurity of the *Mediterranean* Seas; whereby *Briſtol*, and the Weſtern Ports, that cannot have ſo great Shipping as *London*, are beaten out of Trade and Fiſhing; and, if once thoſe Thieves ſhall find the Way to *Bank*, and *Newfoundland*, they will undo the Weſt Parts of *England*.

I will trouble you with a Conſideration, very conſiderable in our Government, Whether,

ther, indeed, *London* doth not monopoliſe all Trade: In my Opinion, it is no good State of a Body, to have a fat Head, thin Guts, and lean Members.

But, to bring ſomething before you of Remedy, I ſay thus, for my firſt Ground, That, if our Cloth be not vented, as in former Years, let us embrace ſome other Way, to ſpend and vent our Wools. Cloth is a heavy and hot Wearing, and ſerves but one cold Corner of the World: But if we embrace the new Draperies, and encourage the *Walloons*, and others, by Privileges, and Naturaliſations, we ſhall employ all the Wool we have, ſet more People to Work, than by Cloth, and a Pound of Wool, in thoſe Stuffs, true made, will outſel two Pounds in Cloth; and thus we may ſupply *France*, *Italy*, *Spain*, *Barbary*, and ſome Parts of *Aſia*, by ſuch light and fine Stuffs, as will fit thoſe warmer Regions, and yet have ſufficient for the cold Climates, to be ſpent and adventured in true made Cloth, by the Reputation both of our Nation and Commodity.

But, in this Courſe, I muſt obſerve, that theſe Strangers, ſo fit to be nouriſhed, and being Proteſtants, may have Privileges to uſe their own Rights in Religion, ſo as they be not ſcandalous, as the *Dutch* and *French* had granted to them by Queen *Eliſabeth*; and certainly, the Settling of Religion ſecure in *England*, the Fear whereof made many weak Minds to waver, and abandon this Country, is, and will be a great Means to reſettle both the great and leſſer Manufactures of Woollen Commodities.

For the external Cauſes, we muſt fly to the Sanctuary of his Majeſty's gracious Goodneſs and Protection; who, I am confident, when the whole Buſineſs ſhall be prepared for him, and that we have ſhewed him our Duty and Love, and ſettled his Cuſtoms, in ſuch a bountiful Way, as he may reap his Part of the Fruit of Trade; I am confident, I ſay, that he will vouchſafe you all Favour, fit to be conferred upon good Subjects; and not only to protect you Abroad, by his Forces and Authority, and by Treaties with his Neighbours, but by increaſing the Privileges of Merchants at Home, and confirming all their Charters; the Breach whereof hath been a great Diſcouragement unto them; and, without which duly obſerved, they cannot regulate their Trade.

There are ſome Particulars, in the *Spaniſh* Trade, perhaps worthy of Animadverſion, as underſelling a good Commodity to make Money, or barter for Tobacco, to the Imbaſement of our own Staple for Smoke, which, in a due Place, ought to be taken into Regulation.

Another Conſideration, for a Ground of Trade, ought to be the Nature of it, with whom, and for what we trade, and which Trade is moſt principally to be nouriſhed; which, out of Doubt, are the Northern Trades, which are the Root of all others, becauſe the Materials, brought from thoſe Parts, as from *Sweden*, *Muſcovy*, *Norway*, *Pruſſia*, and *Livonia*, are fundamental, and of abſolute Neceſſity; for, from theſe Trades, get we the Materials of Shipping, as Pitch, Tar, Cordage, Maſts, and ſuch like, which inables us to make all the Southern Trades, themſelves, of leſs Uſe, being only Wine, Fruit, Oranges, and Curioſities for Sauces, or Effeminacy; but, by theſe, we ſail to the *Eaſt-Indies*, and may erect a Company of the *Weſt-Indies*, for the golden Fleece which ſhall be prepared for you, whenſoever you are ready for ſo great a Conſultation.

The right Way to nouriſh theſe Northern Trades, is, by his Majeſty's Favour, to preſs the King of *Denmark* to Juſtice, not to inſiſt on his intolerable Taxes, newly impoſed upon Trade, in the Paſſage of the *Sound*; in Example whereof, the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, joined with the King of *Poland*, hath likewiſe more than trebled the ancient and capitulated Duties; which, if that they ſhall continue, I pronounce all the Commerce of the *Baltick* Sea ſo overburthened, that the *Eaſtland* Company cannot ſubſiſt, nor, without them, and the *Muſcovy* Company, the Navigation; but that the Materials for Shipping will be doubled, which will eat out all Trades. I have given you but Eſſays, and ſtruck little Sparks of Fire before you; my Intention is but to provoke the Wit and Ability of others; I have drawn you a Map, wherein you cannot ſee Things clearly and diſtinctly; only I introduce Matter before you, and now I have done, when I have ſhewed you the Way how to enlarge and bring every particular Thing into Debate.

To which End, my Motion and Deſire is this, That we may ſend to every ſeveral Company of Merchants, trading in Companies, and under Government and Privileges; and to aſk of them, What are their Grievances in their general Trade (not to take in private Complaints:) What are the Cauſes of Decay, or Abuſes in their Trades, and of the Want of Money, which is viſible; and of the great Loſſes, both to the Kingdom, and to every Particular, by the late high Exchanges: And to deſire every one of theſe Companies, to ſet down their Judgment, in Writing to the Committee, by a Day appointed. And having, from them, all the general State of the Complaints, ſeverally, we ſhall make ſome Judgments of theſe Relations one to another: This done, I deſire to require all the ſame ſeveral Companies, upon their own Papers, to propoſe to us, in Writing, the Remedies applicable in their Judgment; Which Materials having all together, and comparing one with another, we ſhall diſcover that Truth which we ſeek; that is, Whether Trade and Money decay or not? And how to remedy it.

But I have one Requeſt more, and ſo I will eaſe you of my Loſs of your Time. That when, from all theſe Merchants, we ſhall have before us ſo much Matter, and without ſuch Variety, and, perhaps, not without private and particular Ends, that then you will give me Leave to repreſent to you the Names of ſome general, and others diſintereſted and well experienced in many Particulars, who may aſſiſt our Judgments in all the Premiſes, particularly in Money and Exchanges, and give us great Light to prepare our Reſult and Reſolution, to be, by the whole Houſe of Commons, repreſented to his Majeſty; and, for Expedition, that a Sub-committee may be named, to direct this Information from the Merchants.

A New Bill, drawn up by a Committee of Grievances, in Reply to the Ladies and Batchelors Petition and Remonſtrances, &c. *Quarto.* Containing four Pages.

Virgins and Batchelors, or rather Ladies and Gentlemen, for that is your ſafer Name, and ſo we would adviſe you to title yourſelves, we have received both your Addreſſes, and both your Suits lie before us. We confeſs that, to do you equal Right, you both plead ſtrongly, and pray heartily: However, the Fervour of the Suppliant does not always argue the Honeſty of the Petition. The moſt unreaſonable, moſt unjuſt Things in the World, may be as vigorouſly prayed for as the beſt. A Man, in his angry Moments, may as zealouſly wiſh to ſee his honeſt Neighbour hanged, as he ever wiſhed in a Fit of Sickneſs to be ſaved. The ſame Tradeſman's Wife, that at Morning Service could think of nothing but *Abraham*'s Boſom, before Night, perhaps, has altered her Note, and prayed with greater Vehemence to meet her Gallant.

The Merit therefore, and not the Oratory of the Plea, is the Buſineſs of our Examination. But, before we deſcend to Particulars, we muſt ſo far join with you, to own your Cauſe (that we may uſe your own Phraſe) a Matter of the greateſt Conſequence that ever came within our Walls. For Hymen and Love, Generation and Progeny, the Fulfilling of the great firſt Commandment, Increaſe and multiply, is indeed an Importance ſo high, that not only the preſent Race of Mankind, the now Occupants of the World, but even the yet unborn, are concerned in it.

Having therefore duly weighed the whole Controverſy between the Petitioners and Remonſtrancers, we muſt declare our ready Tenderneſs, and, without Partiality, favourable Inclinations both to the Complaints, and Complainants, the aggrieved Petitioners: For having conſidered, that long Cuſtoms, out of the Memory of Man, are, by the *Britiſh* Conſtitution, equivalent to the moſt binding Laws; we find upon Search, that *England* has been always the Heaven of Women, and alſo by another Cuſtomary Female Claim, that a Woman never loſes her Honour; and, conſequently, that the practiſed Deference and Complaiſance to the Sex is an unalienable Right: Upon the ſaid Premiſes duly conſidered, as we ſit here not to deſtroy Fundamentals, but to ſupport them, we muſt allow a great many unqueſtioned Prerogatives, as their juſt and natural Right; a fair *Magna Charta* on the ſoft Sex's Side.

Nevertheleſs, not to come to any concluſive Determination, *Cauſa inaudita*, we think it highly concurrent with our own Honour and Juſtice, to diſcuſs the main Points in Diſpute between the Ladies and Batchelors, before we come to any final Deciſion on either Side.

Firſt then, We cannot but take Notice that the Batchelors very unjuſtly charge the Petitioners with difficult Courtſhip; the pretended Servitude of tedious *Jacob-Prenticeſhips*, *&c.* being in the Whole a moſt notoriouſly falſe and malicious Suggeſtion. For how can any Man in his right Wits believe that ten-thouſand *Green-ſickneſs Maidens*, Subſcribers to the Petition, can be thoſe hard-hearted *Rachel Miſtreſſes*, as if Life, Health, and Love were ſo little dear to them, that they would rather die Martyrs to Oatmeal, Loam, and Chalk, than accept ſuch able Doctors and ſuch pleaſant Phyſick for their Recoveries, in that only *Elixir Vitæ*, *Man* and *Matrimony*.

Nay, do not the whole Body of Petitioners moſt frankly and generouſly avow, both for their Majeſties and the Nation's Service, their ready Inclinations and Deſires of recruiting the yearly *Flandrian* Mortality, by an immediate Conſummation and Propagation. Is not the fair *Feſtival-ſheet* hung out, with all the heartieſt Bridal Compliment, of *Wake, Sleepers, riſe and eat?* And can the ungrateful Batchelors talk of *Seven years Courtſhip*, after ſuch endearing Invitations! But, however, if by Chance, once in an Age, they meet with a thick-ſhelled bitter Almond, muſt the Generality of the Sex, the tender Piſtachoes, requiring not half the cracking Labour, and with ten times the ſweeter Kernel, be falſly reproached and reviled?

And whereas the Batchelors ridiculouſly object their Fear and Dread of entering into the Matrimonial State, from the ſuggeſted Frailty and Brittleneſs of the weaker Veſſels: To obviate the Folly of that Fear, and the Shallowneſs of that Argument, we declare, *Nemine contradicente*, the Fair Sex, not to diminiſh their Value, to be true precious *Porcelane*, and it lies only in the gentle Uſage and Tenderneſs of the handling, to preſerve them.

And we farther declare this Petition of the longing Ladies, notwithſtanding the ſcurrilous Batchelors ridiculing and cenſorious Reflexions, to be as honeſt a Supplication, as a Prayer for daily Bread; for every Thing would live.

And whereas one great Bar to Matrimony are the common Pretenſions of good Huſbandry, in chuſing rather to buy at *Hackney*, than keep a *Milcher of their own*; as thereby endeavouring to avoid the expenſive Concomitants of Wedlock. Now, as theſe unthinking Remonſtrancers never conſider the dangerous Riſques of their own *Latitudinarian* Principles and Practices, in incurring the Hazard of coming to *Saſſapiralla* and *Guiacum*, and the reſt of the dry Drugs, infinitely more expenſive than the objected Matrimonial Sweetmeats and Caudles, Goſſipings and Chriſtenings, *&c.* the Confectioners a much eaſier than the Apothecaries Bill, and one Dr. *Wall* a heavier incident Charge than two *Chamberlains*.

We therefore think fit to lay before their Eyes the too common and too threatening Malevolence of thoſe malignant Aſcendants, *viz. Venus* in the lower Houſe, and *Mercury* in the upper one; and withal adviſe them to reflect, that the Nurſery of a whole Fire-ſide is not half the Expence of rearing of galloping Runners into ſtanding Gouts. We could likewiſe further convince them, that the univerſal Havock of all the Maims and Cripples, from *French* Chain-ſhot and Splinters got betwixt Wind and Water, is much the vaſter Hoſpital Rent-charge, than the Penſions of *Chelſea* and *Chatham*.

However, if no Counſel nor Precept can reduce them from their infamous Reprobation to the honourable State, we hereby enact this Puniſhment of their Apoſtaſy, That they live in their Sins, and die in their Shame; and, as the laſt publick Brand, be utterly debarred even that common Civility of bribing the Searchers, and ſoftening the Bill of Mortality, by ſlurring a ſhame-faced Conſumption upon a ſcandalous Rot.

But to begin our Examination into the Petitioners greateſt and loudeſt-tongued Grievance, the Multitude of Miſſes; and all the fatal Influences from thoſe reigning Aſcendants; that not only, as the Petitioners modeſtly complain, divert, but, as we may ſafely add, poiſon thoſe wholeſome Streams which would otherwiſe run in the regular Channel of Matrimony; we ſhall here ſubjoin our Power and Authority for accompliſhing a thorough Reformation in this Particular; with the following Inflictions and Puniſhment for the Diſcouragement and Suppreſſion of the ſaid notorious Vice and Enormity.

Whereas therefore, to the Scandal of the Age, it has been often experienced, that a witty and beautiful Spouſe has been abandoned for a hard-favoured dowdy Miſs; under no other Shadow of Excuſe, than the pretended Diſcovery of having found a Fiddle Abroad, and therefore ſlighting the unmuſical Inſtrument at Home. Now, in utter Deteſtation of ſuch abominable Pretences, and ſuch unnatural Conjugal Abdication, together with the manifeſt Juſtice of *Lex Talionis*, we do hereby licenſe and authoriſe the aforeſaid fair Abandoned, as well for the Alleviation of doleful Widowed Nights, and Virgin Sheets, as for the Support of the Family, poſſibly in no ſmall Danger from ſuch Neglect and Deſertion, to borrow the Aſſiſtance of ſome dignified Younger Brother, to raiſe Heirs, *&c.* without incurring the *Præmunire* of *Elopement*; or, upon Non-Readineſs and Failure of ſuch honourable Supply, to have free Leave to take up with ſome coarſer Domeſtick Menial, though, but to the homely Tune of *Drive on, Coachman.*

And, in like Manner, it is reſolved and ordered, That all thoſe *Ramblers* and *Strays* under that miſleading *Ignis Fatuus*, the ſweet *Sin of Variety*, that ſhall therefore graſp at outlying Pluralities, though, poſſibly, naturally ſo weak-gifted, as to be ſcarce ſufficiently qualified for due Incumbence at Home, ſhall, for the ſaid wilful Offence of Non-Reſidence, incur the Penalty of Sequeſtration, to be ſupplied by a Curate, from the Choice of the Pariſh.

And whereas the fair Complainants too loudly inveigh againſt their powerful Rival, Wine, and the preſent too ſpreading Idolatry of the Bottle, and the dangerous Concomitants thereof; which the Batchelors endeavour to ſoften and ſweeten, by inſinuating the Juice of the Grape no ill-meaning Enemy to the God of Love's Subjects. For Adjuſtment of the Diſpute, be it reſolved, That Wine be no farther encouraged than as *Amorum famulus*, a good Servant but a bad Maſter; to be indulged and cheriſhed as a moderate Grace-Cup, to make Love chirp, but not ſleep; and be uſed for Sauce and Reliſh, not for Souſe and Pickle. Be it therefore enacted, That for due Puniſhment of thoſe violent Claret-hunters, that, by Abuſe of this lawful and limited Indulgence, do outrun all Bounds, to the making a Toil of a Pleaſure, and a tedious tireſome Fox-chace of it; it may and ſhall be lawful for the ſweet neglected *Venus*, like the old modeſt *Diana*, to puniſh all ſuch capital Offenders with the Front of an *Acteon*; it being the Opinion of this Committee, that the wilful Neglect of Family Duty, and all falſe Meaſures of due Benevolence, fall as juſtly under Parliamentary Cenſure and Laſh, as the falſe Packing of Butter.

And whereas the crying Shame of the daily ſcandalous Rhimes, the licentious ſcurrilous Pamphlets, Doggrel and Playhouſe Farces upon the holy State of Matrimony, is no ſmall Grievance of the Petitioners: This honourable Committee, as fully impowered to ſearch Papers and Records, have found the ſaid Libels to be wholly Matter of Malice and Calumny, the Generality of the Authors being either ſome ſcribbling, aſpiring, ſlighted Pretenders to ſome fair diſdainful *Celia*; and therefore, in pure Spight and Revenge, pelted and perſecuted with Satire and Lampoon, for no other Sin but her being deaf and invincible to Ditty and Sonnet; and thereupon the whole honourable State of Wedlock maliciouſly vilified, with the Outcry of Dry Meat, for no other Reaſon, but that themſelves are thrown out of the Chace, and excluded the Game: Or otherwiſe, if ſuch Wedlock Railing be the Venom and Gall of any married Author, we conclude it the Product of ſome very hard Bargain, as poſſibly ſome old tapped leaky Broach at Home, and thereupon his Palate wholly depraved and ſowred with this nauſeous Draught of Lees. Nevertheleſs, all the ſaid villainous Ribaldry and Libels, as hatched and contrived for ſowing Sedition, and fomenting Schiſm within the peaceable and united Eccleſiaſtical Provinces of Hymen and Love, we do hereby adjudge and ſentence to the old Doom of *Hæretico Comburendo.*

And whereas our fair Petitioners enforce their Suit, from our Condeſcenſion to the humble Debates of cutting the Rivers *Lug* and *Wye*, *&c.* Be it therefore reſolved and ordered accordingly, That the preſent *Virgin Shallows*, hitherto of no farther Uſe than the driving a poor Water-Mill, *&c.* be dug into Deeps and Channels, and made navigable for Traders and Voyagers, and ſo rendered uſeful to the Publick for the ſerviceable Bearing of Bulk and Burthen.

Provided ſtill, that all the fair Bridal Pretenders ſhall bring their whole Loaf to the Spouſal Board, and not have any of the Kiſſing Cruſt pared off by any hungry Sharper for Breakfaſt, before the good Man in Black has ſaid Grace for the Nuptial Night Supper, with the reſt of the uſual Ceremonies of *Fall to in God's Name.*

But if, by any frail Miſchance, an unhappy falling Fair, under Pretence of a pure untouched Domeſtic Utenſil, ſhall bring a crazed Pipkin into Play, ſhe ſhall be obliged, by a true and thorough Reformation, and Engagement of her future more ſteady Uprightneſs, to give Security that a cracked Maidenhead, like a broken Bone, ſhall be the ſtrongeſt where it is ſet again, or otherwiſe to forfeit all Right and Benefit of our Favour and Protection.

Laſtly, Be it ordered, in Favour to the Petitioners propoſed Supply towards recruiting the human Dearth and Scarcity made by the hungry Devourer *War*, That a Clauſe be inſerted to root out of all the Female Phyſick-Gardens, and indeed from out the whole Commonwealth, thoſe dangerous Plants called *Cover-Shame*, alias *Savin*, and other *anti-conceptive* Weeds and Poiſons, thoſe notorious Reſtorative of ſlender Shapes, and tender Reputations, to the loud and crying Shame of *Love loſt, and a Good Thing thrown away.*

As for what relates to the Chaplains, we are willing to allow them Plenty of Meat, Drink, and Tobacco, the moſt zealous Part of their Supplication; nay, to ſit down at Table with their Patrons, provided they do not take upon them to cenſure the Management of the Family. But, whereas they petition to be freed from any Obligation to marry the Chamber-maid, we can by no Means aſſent to it; the *Abigail*, by immemorial Cuſtom, being a *Deodand*, and belonging to Holy Church.

We thank the Poets for their Good-will to the Government, as appears by their Propoſal to raiſe a Fund of Six-hundred Thouſand Pounds for the Support of it; but do not think it convenient to raiſe any Money either out of them, or the Ribbon-Weavers. The only Tax we lay upon them, is to canoniſe all our Heroes that die in *Flanders*, and to record their Victories in Verſe. And this will be no burdenſome Employment for them.

And, *laſtly*, as for the Widows, provided they will engage never to talk Bawdy, and quote the Sayings, or praiſe the Valour of their dead Huſbands, we will grant all and every Clauſe in their Petition, *viz.* The old Widows ſhall have their Gums rubbed with Coral. The Rich ſhall be indulged a Twelvemonths Reſt. The Poor ſhall have the Forfeitures they beg for; and the Young receive full Satisfaction in their three Articles.

A true Narrative and Relation * of his moſt ſacred Majeſty's miraculous Eſcape from *Worceſter*, on the Third of *September*, 1651, till his Arrival at *Paris.* Printed at *London*, for G. *Colborn*, 1660. *Quarto*, containing eight Pages.

---

* This is the 126th Number in the Catalogue of Pamphlets in the *Harleian* Library.

FORTUNE had now twice counterfeited and double-gilt the Trophies of Rebellion, and its brazen Trumpet repeated Victory, betrayed, or proſtituted, before at *Dunbar*, and now raviſhed at *Worceſter*, by numerous overpowering Force, on that black and white Day, *September* the Third, 1651; in the Duſk of which fatal Evening, when the aſhamed Sun had bluſhed in his Setting, and plunged his affrighted Head into the Depth of luckleſs *Severn*, and the Night, ready to ſtain and ſpot her guilty Sables with loyal Blood, was attiring herſelf for the Tragedy: The King (whoſe firſt and conſpicuous valorous Eſſay ſo exceeded all Compariſon, that it cannot but oblige Fate to preſerve that matchleſs Courage, and never again to venture, or expoſe it to any Hazard) compelled to abandon the City of *Worceſter*, whoſe Fidelity and Affection deſerved perpetual Memory: After he had quitted his Court and Lodgings, to which he retired from the Field, and having rallied his moſt faithful and conſiderable Friends, divers *Engliſh* Lords and Gentlemen, who were reſolved to accompany him in his Flight, was preſented by the late renowned Earl of *Darby*, with one *Charles Gifford*, Eſq; (a Perſon of Note, then of that Country, and of much manifeſted Honour ſince to the World) to be his Majeſty's Conductor in this miraculous bleſſed Eſcape; who forthwith called for one *Francis Yates*, whom he had brought with him, under the Command of Colonel *Careleſs*, in a Party that met the King, in his Advance to *Worceſter*, to be Guide-aſſiſtant, for the ſurer Finding the By-ways for his Majeſty's Speed and Safety.

In the mean Time, Colonel *Careleſs*, a Gentleman of very gallant and noble Endowments, was commanded to ſuſtain the Brunt of the purſuing Enemy, and to keep them off, while the King might be ſomewhat in his Way; which, with excellent Prudence and Valour, he did to Effect, and afterwards fled to his old Retreat and Coverture, paſſing by *Hartlebury* Caſtle, then gariſoned by the Enemy, whom he courageouſly fought with, and broke through, and came ſafe to his deſigned Shelter.

Towards Three o'Clock, *Thurſday* Morning, the Fourth of *September*, the King, in Company with the ſaid Earl of *Darby*, Earl of *Shrewſbury*, Earl of *Cleveland*, Duke of *Buckingham*, my Lord *Wilmot*, and others, to the Number of Fourſcore, came to a Place called *White-Ladies*, in the Pariſh of *Tong*, in the Confines of *Stafford* and *Shropſhire*, being twenty-five Miles diſtant, or thereabouts, from *Worceſter*, which Space of Ground he had rid that Night.

The *White-Ladies* was a Houſe belonging to one *Fitz-Herbert*, where one *George Pendrill*, hearing ſomebody knocking at the Gate ſo early, and opening the Window, eſpied the aforeſaid *Francis Yates*, who was his Brother-in-Law, with Mr. *Gifford*; to whom he preſently opened the Door, and enquired of his Brother *Yates*, what News from *Worceſter*; who told him, that the King was defeated, and in Purſuit, and, therefore, bid him to make Haſte, and put on his Cloaths: But, before he could make himſelf ready, the King, with moſt of his Lords, had entered the Houſe, and come into the Hall; where, after a ſhort Conſultation held amongſt them, the Earl of *Darby* called for *William Pendrill*, the eldeſt Brother; (you muſt know, that my Lord of *Darby* had taken this Place for a Subterfuge, after the Defeat given him by Colonel *Lilburn*, near *Wigan*, in *Lancaſhire*, and was acquainted there, and, by them, conveyed to *Worceſter* to the King; as alſo, ſeveral other Gentlemen before had uſed this for their Sanctuary) who being come, *George* was ſent to *Tong*, to one *Robert Beard*, an honeſt Subject, to enquire of him, whether there were any ſcattered Parties of the King's thereabouts, or any of the Enemies appearing; who brought Word, that the Coaſt was yet clear, and no Parties at all to be ſeen. In his Return, he met with his Brother *Richard*; for now thoſe few Inhabitants, that lived there, were awaked with the Noiſe, and their own ill-boding Thoughts and Fears of the Succeſs at *Worceſter*.

Richard was no ſooner come in, but Eſquire *Gifford* called for him, and bid him make Haſte, and bring with him his beſt Cloaths, which were a Jump and Breeches, of green coarſe Cloth, and a Doeſkin leather Doublet; the Hat was borrowed of *Humphry Pendrill*, the Miller, being an old grey one, that turned up its Brims; the Shirt (which, in that Country-language, they called an Hurden, [illegible]rden, or Noggen-ſhirt, of Cloth that is made of the Coarſeſt of the Hemp) was had of one *Edward Martin*, *George Pendrill*'s Band, and *William Creſwel*'s Shoes; which the King, having preſently unſtripped himſelf of his own Cloaths, did nimbly put on. His Buff-coat, and Linnen-doublet, and a grey Pair of Breeches, which he wore before, he gave into theſe Brothers Hands, who forthwith buried them under Ground, where they lay five Weeks, before they durſt take them up again. The Jewels, off his Arm, he gave to one of the Lords then departing.

Then *Richard* came with a Pair of Shears, and rounded the King's Hair, which my Lord *Wilmot* having cut before with a Knife, had untowardly notched; and the King was pleaſed to take Notice of *Richard*'s good Barbering ſo as to prefer his Work before my Lord *Wilmot*'s, and gave him the Praiſe of it; and now his Majeſty was *A-la-mode* the Woodman.

Hereupon, *William Pendrill* was brought to the King, by the Earl of *Darby*, and the Care and Preſervation of his moſt ſacred Majeſty, committed to his Charge, and the reſt of the Brothers (my Lord would have ſtaid too, but there was no undertaking Security for them both) and preſently the Lords took their heavy Leave, and departed, every one ſhifting for himſelf. Only my Lord *Wilmot* was conveyed, by *John Pendrill*, to Mr. *Thomas Whitgrave*'s; but he would have left him at ſeveral other Places, which my Lord did, in no wiſe, approve of; *firſt*, at one *John Shore*'s of *Hungerhill*, thence to *John Climpſon*, thence to one *Reynolds* of the *Hide*, ſo to *John Hunſpatch*'s; where paſſing by *Coven*, they had Notice of a Troop of Horſe in the Town, and ſeeing ſome Men coming behind them (which proved to be Friends, though my Lord ſuſpected the Country riſing upon them) they betook themſelves into a dry Pit, where they ſtaid all Evening, and then arrived ſafely at Mr. *Whitgrave*'s.

The Company being all departed, a Woodbill was brought, and put into the King's Hand, and he went out with *Richard* into the adjoining Woods. *William* departed Home, and *Humphry* and *George* went out to ſcout, and lay hovering in the Woods, to hear or ſee if any one approached that Way. But the King had not been an Hour in the Wood, before a Troop of Horſe, of the Enemy's, came to *White-Ladies*, and enquired, if ſome of the King's Horſe, and himſelf, paſſed not that Way, and if they could give any Information of him; to which the Town's-folks anſwered, that, about three Hours ago, there was a Party of Horſe came thither, and they ſuppoſed the King with them, but they made no Stay in the Village, but preſently departed; they were hereupon, ſo eager in the Purſuit, that, after enquiring which Way they took, they followed the Rout, and made no further Search there; the King ſtraight heard this, by the two aforeſaid Scouts, who ſtraggled for Intelligence into the Town.

All this Day, being *Thurſday*, the King continued in the Wood, upon the Ground, *Richard Pendrill* being conſtantly with him, and ſometimes the other two Brothers: It proved to be a very rainy Day, and the King was wet with Showers; thereupon, *Francis Yates*'s Wife came into the Wood, and brought the King a Blanket, which ſhe threw over his Shoulders, to keep him dry; ſhe alſo brought him his firſt Meat he eat there, *viz.* a Meſs of Milk, Eggs, and Sugar, in a black earthen Cup, which the King gueſſed to be Milk and Apples, and ſaid he loved it very well: After he had drank ſome of it, and eaten Part in a pewter Spoon, he gave the reſt to *George*, and bid him eat, for it was very good. There was nothing of Moment paſſed this Day in Court, but only the King exchanged his Woodbill for *Francis Yates*'s Broom-hook, which was ſomething lighter.

They had much ado, all that Day, to teach and faſhion his Majeſty to their Country Guiſe, and to order his Steps, and ſtraight Body, to a lobbing *Jobſon*'s Gate, and were forced, every Foot, to mind him of it; for the Language, his Majeſty's moſt gracious Converſe with his People, in his Journey to, and at *Worceſter*, had rendered it very eaſy, and very tuneable to him.

About Five o'Clock that Evening, the King, with the Retinue of *Richard*, *Humphry*, *George*, and *Francis Yates*, left the Wood, and betook himſelf to *Richard*'s Houſe, where he went under the Name of *William Jones*, a Wood-cutter, newly come thither for Work; againſt his Coming, the good Wife, for his Entertainment at Supper, was preparing a Fricaſy of Bacon and Eggs; and, whilſt that was doing, the King held on his Knee their Daughter *Nan*: After he had eat a little, he aſked *Richard* to eat, who replied, Yea, Sir, I will; whereto his Majeſty anſwered, You have a better Stomach than I, for you have eaten five Times To-day already. After Supper ended, the King, according to his Reſolution to paſs into *Wales*, prepared, when it ſhould be duſky, to depart; before he went, *Jane Pendrill*, the Mother of the five Brethren, came to ſee the King, before whom ſhe bleſſed God, that had ſo honoured her Children, in making them the Inſtruments, as ſhe hoped, of his Majeſty's Safeguard and Deliverance. Here *Francis Yates* offered the King thirty Shillings in Silver; the King accepted Ten, and bid him put the other up. *Humphry* would have gone before, to ſee and view about, but the King would not let him; it being now near Night, they took their Leave of the King upon their Knees, beſeeching God to guide and bleſs him.

So the King and *Richard* only departed, to go to one Mr. *Francis Wolfe* of *Madely*, there to take Paſſage into *Wales*. On the Way, they were to paſs by a Mill, at a Place called *Evelin*, and going over (it was about Nine a Clock at Night) the Bridge of the ſaid Mill, the Miller ſteps forth, and demanded, who goes there; having a Quarterſtaff, or a good Cudgel, in his Hand; to which *Richard*, being foremoſt, thought it not ſafe to reply; but, the Water being ſhallow, leaped off the Bridge into it, and the King did the like, following *Richard* by the Noiſe and Rattling of his leather Breeches; the Miller being glad he was ſo rid of them, for, as it afterwards appeared, here were ſome of the King's ſcattered Soldiers in his Mill, and he ſuppoſed the other to be *Parliamentarians*, that were upon the Scent for his diſtreſſed Gueſts.

Being come to *Madely*, to the ſaid Mr. *Francis Wolfe*'s, late that Night, they underſtood there was no Paſſage over the Water into *Wales*, and that it was very dangerous to abide there, the Country being, every where about, laid with Soldiers; nor durſt he entertain them in his Houſe, but ſhewed them a Hay-mow, where they might lodge; and there the King and *Richard* continued all that Night, and the next Day, being *Friday*; and that Night, with the Conveyance of a Maid of this Mr. *Wolfe*'s, who brought the King two Miles on his Way, they retreated back again to *Richard*'s Houſe: Maſter *Wolfe* lent the King ſome ſmall Sum of Money.

This Deſign being croſſed, *Saturday* Morning, without any Stay at *Richard*'s, the [illegible] and he went to a Houſe of Mrs. *Giffard*'s, called *Boſcabel*, where *William Pendrill* and his Wife dwelt as Houſekeepers for the ſaid *Giffard*, who received him joyfully; but the King's Feet were ſo bliſtered, with travelling in ſuch coarſe and ſtiff Accoutrements, as he wore on his Feet, and lying in them, that he was ſcarce able to ſtand or go; which *William*'s Wife perceiving, ſhe ſtripped off his Stockings, and cut the Bliſters, and waſhed his Feet, and gave the King ſome Eaſe.

The ſame Time, or near thereupon, that noble Colonel, *Careleſs*, who, as is ſaid before, made good the King's Rear at *Worceſter*, and had fought his Way through; after he had been two Days at one *David Jones*'s, living in the *Heath* in *Tong* Pariſh, and there by him ſecured (for this Colonel had lain three Quarters of a Year before obſcured in this Country, when he had been narrowly, every where, ſearched after) was brought, by one *Eliſabeth Burgeſs*, to this ſame Houſe of *Boſcabel*; and there his Majeſty and he met, but the Colonel was ſo overjoyed with the Sight of the King, his Maſter, in ſuch ſure and ſafe Hands, that he could not refrain Weeping, and the King was himſelf moved with the ſame Paſſion.

After a ſhort Conference, and but inchoated Counſel of the King's probableſt Means of Eſcape, it was reſolved by them, to betake themſelves to the Wood again; and accordingly, about Nine of the Clock, that *Saturday* Morning the Sixth of *September*, they went into the Wood, and Colonel *Careleſs* brought and led the King to that ſo much celebrated Oak, where before he had himſelf been lodged: This Tree is not hollow, but of a ſound firm Trunk, only, about the Middle of the Body of it, there is a Hole in it, about the Bigneſs of a Man's Head, from whence it abſurdly and abuſively, in Reſpect of its deſerved perpetual Growth to out-laſt Time itſelf, is called hollow; and, by the Help of *William Pendrill*'s Wood-ladder, they got up into the Boughs and Branches of the Tree, which were very thick and well ſpread, full of Leaves; ſo that it was impoſſible for any one to diſcern through them.

When they were both up, *William* gave them up two Pillows to lie upon between the thickeſt of the Branches, and the King, being overwearied with his Travel and ſore Journey, began to be very ſleepy; the Colonel, to accommodate him the beſt he could, deſired his Majeſty, to lay his Head in his Lap, and reſt the other Parts of his Body upon the Pillow, which the King did; and after he had taken a good Nap (*William* and his Wife *Joan* ſtill peaking up and down, and ſhe commonly near the Place, with a Nut-hook in her Hand gathering of Sticks) awaked very hungry, and wiſhed he had ſomething to eat; whereupon, the Colonel plucked out of his Pocket a good Lunchion of Bread and Cheeſe, which *Joan Pendrill* had given him for Provant for that Day, and had wrapped it up in a clean Linnen Cloth, of which the King fed very heartily, and was well pleaſed with the Service, and commended highly his good Chear; and ſome other ſmall Relief he had, which was put up in the Tree, with a long Hook-ſtick.

In the mean While, *Richard Pendrill*, the firſt Eſquire, was ſent to *Wolver-hampton* ſome three Miles thence, being a Market-town, to buy Wine and Biſket, and ſome other neceſſary Refreſhments for the King; and withal to ſpeak with one Mr. *George Manwaring*, a Perſon of known Integrity and Loyalty from Colonel *Careleſs*, with ſome Inſtructions about the King's Removal, though not expreſly the King, but one of that ruined Party; in Effect it was to know of him, whether he knew of any ſure Privacy for two ſuch Perſons; to which he anſwered he had not himſelf, but would enquire if a Friend of his, one Mr. *Whitgrave* of *Moſely*, formerly and again to be ſpoken of here, could do it. So that we may ſee what a loyal honeſt Combination and Secrecy there was between all of theſe Perſons; and then *Richard* returned with his Wine, &c. to the King, who, towards the Evening, came down by the ſame Ladder from the Tree, and was brought into the Garden of *Boſcabel* Houſe, where he ſat in the Bower of it, and drank Part of the Wine till towards Night.

Neither was *Humphry Pendrill*, the Miller, un employed all this While, but was ſent to get Intelligence, how Things went. And, the eaſier to come by it, he was ſent to a Captain of the *Rump*, one *Broadway*, formerly a Heel-maker, under Pretence of carrying him twenty Shillings, for the Pay of a Man in the new raiſed *Militia* of their County for their Miſtreſs. While he was there, in came a Colonel of the *Rebels*, and aſked for Captain *Broadway*, on Purpoſe to know what further Enquiry had been made at *White-Ladies* for the King, relating to *Broadway* the Story of it; to which he replied he knew Nothing of it further than Rumour, but that there was one of that Place, in the Houſe that could give him an Account of it. So *Humphry* was called, and ſeveral Queſtions put to him, which he evaded, but confeſſed that the King had been there, as was ſuppoſed; but there was no Likelihood for him to ſtay there, for there were three Families in the Houſe, and all at Difference with one another. The Colonel told him there was a thouſand Pounds offered to any, that would take or diſcover him, and that they doubted not; but within a Day or two to have him delivered into their Hands.

Theſe Tidings *Humphry* brought with him, and omitted not to tell his Majeſty of the Price his Rebels had ſet on him; at the Telling of which, the King looked ſomething diſmayed, as having truſted his Life into the Hands of ſo poor Men, whom ſuch a Sum as that, though both deteſtable, and of inconſiderable Value to the Purchaſe, might pervert from their Allegiance and Fidelity; which made *Humphry* to be exceedingly troubled for his Raſhneſs, while Colonel *Careleſs* aſſured the King, if it were One-hundred thouſand Pounds, it were to no more Purpoſe, and that he would engage his Soul for their Truth; which *Humphry* alſo, with many urgent Aſſeverations, did ſecond.

It was late, and the King was very hungry, and had a Mind to a Loin of Mutton, and, being come into the Houſe, aſked *William*, if he could not get him ſuch a Joint; to which, he replied, that he had it not of his own, but he would make bold at that Time, and for that Occaſion, with one of his Maſter's Sheep in the Cote; which inſtantly he did, and brought it into the Ground Cellar, where the Colonel, not having the Patience to ſtay while he fetched a Knife, ſtabbed it with his Dagger; and when *William* came down, they hung it upon a Door, and flead it, and brought up a hind-Quarter to the King, who preſently fell a Chopping of the Loin to Pieces; or, as they called it then, into *Scotch* Collops, which the Colonel clapped into the Pan, while the King held it and fried it.

This Paſſage yielded the King a pleaſant, jocular Diſcourſe, after his Arrival in *France*, when it amounted to a Queſtion, a very difficult Caſe, who was Cook, and who was Scullion? And the Solution of the Doubt, when it could not be decided by the Lords then preſent, was referred to the Judgment of his Majeſty's Maſter-Cook; who affirmed, that the King was, *hic & nunc*, both of them.

When this nimble Collation was ended, it was Time for the King to betake himſelf to his Reſt; and his Chamberlain *William* brought him to his Apartment. It was a Place made between two Walls on Purpoſe for Secrecy, contrived at the Building of the Houſe; thither they let the King down, where he ſlept very incommodiouſly with little or no Reſt, for that the Place was not long enough for him; and therefore, the next Night, they laid him a ſorry Bed upon the Stair-caſe, that the Meanneſs of his Lodging might ſecure him from Suſpicion.

My Lord *Wilmot*, as is ſaid before, was all this While ſafe at Mr. *Whitgrave*'s, only his Care of the King made him full of Trouble. His Hiding-place was ſo ſure a one, that at his firſt Coming to it, he wiſhed, ſo he gave twenty thouſand Pounds, that the King was either as ſecure, or there with him; he therefore diſpatched away *John Pendrill*, who attended him, all along, to the *White-Ladies*, to enquire for the King, and to give him Notice of the Conveniency that was at Mr. *Whitgrave*'s; but, when he came thither, which was on *Friday*, the King was then gone to *Madely*, to Mr. *Wolfe*'s. The next Day he was ſent again, and *Richard*'s Wife directed him to *Boſcabel*, where he delivered the King his Meſſage, which the King aſſented unto, and reſolved to remove thither.

Monday Night, *September* the Eighth, at Eleven at Night, was the Time appointed for the King's Progreſs to *Moſely*, but a Horſe was hard to be found. *John* was ordered to borrow one of one *Stanton* of *Hatton*, but he had lent his out before; when the Colonel remembered that *Humphry* the Miller had one, and he thereupon was called and deſired to lend him for the King's Service; it was a Kind of War-horſe, that had carried many a Load of Proviſion, Meal, and ſuch like, but now he put upon him a Bridle and Saddle, that had outworn his Tree and Irons, and at the Time prefixed, brought him to the Gate.

As ſoon as the King had Notice of it, out he came, and would have had none but Colonel *Careleſs* and *John* to have gone along with him; but they told him, it was dangerous to venture himſelf with ſo few; they therefore intreated his Majeſty, that he would give them Leave to go with them, which, at their Importunity, he granted.

Having mounted the King, Colonel *Careleſs* and the ſix Brethren guarding him, two before and two behind, and one of each Side, armed with Clubs and Bills, *Humphry*, leading his Horſe by the Bridle, they began their Journey. It was five Miles from *Boſcabel* to *Moſely*, Mr. *Whitgrave*'s, and the Way in ſome Places miry where the Horſe blundering, cauſed the King to ſuſpect Falling, and bid *Humphry* have a Care; to which he anſwered, that that now fortunate Horſe had carried many a heavier Weight in his Time, ſix Strike of Corn, which Meaſure the King underſtood not, but now had a better Price on his Back, the Price of three Kingdoms, and therefore would not now ſhame his Maſter.

Their Travel was ſoon and ſafe ended, and the King brought the back Way to a Stile that led to the Houſe; *Humphry* led the Horſe into a Ditch, and the King alighted off upon the Stile; but, forgetting that moſt of his Guard were to return Home, was gone five or ſix Steps onward, without taking Leave of them, but, recalling himſelf, returned back and ſaid, I am troubled that I forgot to take my Leave of my Friends; but if ever I come into *England*, by fair or foul Means, I will remember you, and let me ſee you, whenever it ſhall ſo pleaſe God; ſo they all departed, but the Colonel, *John*, and *Francis Yates*, who guided the King to the Houſe.

Their Maſter *Thomas Whitgrave* received the King, dutifully and affectionately, and brought him in to my Lord *Wilmot*, who with infinite Gladneſs, kneeled down and embraced his Knees. After a little Conference, his Majeſty was had to his Lodging, and the Intrigues of it ſhewn him; where, after the King had reſted himſelf that Night, they entered into Conſultation about the Eſcape, which had been projected by my Lord *Wilmot* before.

Francis Yates departed, but *John* ſtaid two or three Days longer with the King, while he went away. On *Wedneſday* Noon a Troop of the Rebels Horſe paſſed through the Town, and made no Stay; which *John* told not the King of, till Afternoon, becauſe, as he then ſaid, he would not ſpoil his Majeſty's Dinner.

Now the King prepared and fitted himſelf for his Journey, and one Mr. *Huddleſtone* and Mr. *Whitgrave* accommodated him with Boots, Cloke,

loke, Money, *&c.* and *John Pendrill* was ſent to Mrs. *Lane* about it, who ſent him back again with a Parcel of Leaves of Walnuts, boiled in Spring-water, to colour his Majeſty's Hands, and alter the Hue and Whiteneſs of his Skin in thoſe Parts, that were moſt obvious to the Eye, and by him gave Notice to the King what Time he ſhould be ready.

On *Thurſday* Night, the Eleventh of *September*, Colonel *Lane* came with his Siſter to a Field adjoining, and there they put the King before her, *John* having the Honour to hold the King's Stirrup, while he mounted; and preſently they two ſet forward, having taken Directions to know the Country, and my Lady *Lane* having ſeveral Recommendations to the Allies, Friends, and Acquaintance of her Family, that lay in their intended Road, if any untoward Occaſion ſhould put them to the Trial.

The ſeveral Adventures, which that Heroical Lady paſſed and overcame, in the Management of that grand Affair of his Majeſty's Life, will become and befit a worthier Paper, and a nobler Pen; and therefore, let the bleſſed and thrice happy Event of that her fortunate Loyalty reſtrain a curious Enquiry of the Means, which probably may be ſome *arcana imperii*, Secrecy of State now, as well as then of the King, not yet fit to be divulged. Miracles indeed of this benign and propitious Influence are very rare, God hath not dealt ſo with the Nations round about us, eſpecially, where human Coadjutement, and that ſo ſignally, in the Tacitneſs of ſo many Perſons concerned, hath been inſtrumental; and therefore, why may we not, as we fearfully behold Comets, with Delight look upon the ſerene Smiles of Heaven, in his Majeſty's Preſervation, and the Rays of its Goodneſs, diffuſed into the Breaſts of thoſe loyal Perſons, his Guardians, for whoſe Honour more eſpecially this Paper officiouſly obtrudes itſelf, with ſuch weak Eyes as we now ſee with, before we can have the Benefit of a Proſpective (the full Relation.)

Let it therefore ſuffice and content us, that it pleaſed the Divine Wiſdom and Goodneſs to protect and defend our moſt gracious Sovereign in all Dangers, Places, and Conditions whatſoever, in that his incumbered Paſſage, through his own rightful Dominions, and without the leaſt Umbrage of Suſpicion, to convey him out of the Hands of his blood-thirſty trayterous Enemies, who thought themſelves ſure of him, That ſo killing the Heir, the Inheritance might be theirs.

He remained or rather pilgrimaged from one Sanctuary to another, in *England*, near the Space of five Weeks, and like other Princes, though not, on the ſame Account, was preſent *incognito*, while ſuch Time as a Convenience of Paſſage could be found for him in *Suſſex*; where after he had embarked himſelf in a Barque out of a Creek, he was put back again by contrary Weather into the ſame Place, being diſguiſed in a Sailor's Cloaths; but, the Wind veering about more favourable, about the End of *October*, 1651, landed at *Dieppe* in *Normandy*, from whence an Expreſs was ſent to her Majeſty of *England*, to acquaint her of his ſafe Arrival, which was preſently communicated to the *French* Court, who, appearingly with great Manifeſtation of Joy, welcomed the News: But his Majeſty's moſt affectionate Uncle, the late Duke of *Orleans*, did with intire Joy, as alſo ſundry of the moſt eminent *French* Nobility, congratulate his Deliverance, which they teſtified by a moſt ſplendid and honourable Cavalcade, at his Reception and Entry into *Paris*.

The Tears of the Preſs, with Reflexions on the preſent State of *England*. *London*, printed and are to be ſold by *Richard Janeway*, in *Queen*'s-*Head* Alley, in *Pater-noſter* Row. 1681. *Quarto*, containing nine Pages.

THE Preſs might be employed againſt, or for itſelf, according to the Good, or Hurt, its Labours have ſpread Abroad in the World: Look on them on the one Side, you will confeſs, the Tears of the Preſs were but the Livery of its Guilt; nor is the Paper more ſtained, than Authors, or Readers. The Invention of Printing, whether as miſchievous as that of Guns, is doubtful. The Ink hath Poiſon in it, the Hiſtorian, as well as Naturaliſt, will confeſs; for, impannel a Jury of Inqueſt, whence Learning, or Religion, hath been poiſoned, and *Scribendi Cacoethes*, Dabbling in Ink, will be found guilty. For,

Learning hath ſurfeited us; for, amongſt other Exceſſes, that of Learning may ſurfeit us, according to *Tacitus*; and this was true before Printing, when the Cure of the Diſeaſe moſt are ſick *(niſi te ſcire hoc ſciat alter)* of publiſhing; which was harder, by Reaſon of laborious Tranſcription, Vanity, or Contradictions employing the Pen even then. Of the former, let *Didymus* the Grammarian lead the Van; of whom *Seneca* ſaith, *Quatuor millia librorum ſcripſit*; *miſer*, *ſi tam multa ſupervacua legiſſet!* That he wrote Four-thouſand Books; miſerable Man, if he had read ſo many Pamphlets! And, in thoſe Controverſies about *Homer*'s Country; Whether *Anacreon* offended more in Incontinence, or Intemperance, *&c.* moſt of them being ſtuffed with ſuch, or Grammatical Queſtions: A Diſeaſe continued, if not increaſed ſince Printing, two much declining Things for the Declenſion of Words: Witneſs ſuch laborious Works in Criticiſms needleſs. (I aſperſe not the wiſe Choice of uſeful Queries in that Study.) The Reſult, it may be, of many Pages is the Alteration of a Word or Letter, its Addition, or Subtraction. O painful Waſte-paper! How empty is the Preſs oftentimes, when fulleſt? Empty we muſt acknowledge that, which Vanity filleth, as we may well think, when it iſſueth ſome poetick Legend of ſome Love-martyr, or ſome pious Romance of more than Saints ever did; or ſome Fool, buſied about Government, in the Neglect of his own Affairs and Sphere. What Pamphlets theſe late Times have ſwarmed with, the ſtudious Shop-keeper knoweth, who ſpendeth no ſmall Time at the Bulk, in reading and cenſuring modern Controverſies, or News; and will be readier to tell you what the Times lack, than to aſk you, What you lack? We live in an Age, wherein was never leſs Quarter given to Paper. Should *Boccalini*'s Parliament of *Parnaſſus* be called among us, I fear our Shops would be filled with printed Waſte-paper, condemned to Tobacco, Fruit, *&c.* Hardly any Cap-paper would be in Uſe, till that of Legends, Pamphlets, *&c.* were ſpent. How juſtly may we take up that Complaint in *Strad. Lib.* i. *Prælect.* 1. wherein he brings in Printers complaining againſt rhiming *(Poetick* they would be called) Pedlars into the Preſs: *Quique noctu ſomniant, hæc mane lucem videre illico geſtiant.* Already, What Danger are we in of eating up Antichriſt confuted in the Bottom of a Pye? Or to light Tobacco with the dark Holdings-forth of new Lights? To ſee the *Antinomian* Honey-comb holding Phyſick (at the ſecond Hand) in a Stool-pan; ſure, argueth a Surfeit in the Preſs, that thus ſwarmeth with Vanity, or Controverſies; which is its worſt Fault, as being the Miſchief of a ſadder and engaging Conſequence. Alas, What now is the Preſs, but an Office of Contention, iſſuing rather Challenges, than Books? When Pulpits grow hoarſe with Railing, then doth this take up the Quarrel, that often admitteth of no Arbitrator, ſetting the World on Fire of Contention, Schiſm, and Hereſy; introducing Strife, Wars, and Bloodſhed. Alas, How miſerably is Truth torn by Antilogies and little better than Scolding, and ſuffereth more by this Pen and Ink War, than by Pike and Bloodſhed! By how much more captivating of Aſſent Sophiſtry is, than Succeſs, among reaſonable Souls (that coming nearer Reaſon, than Succeſs doth Juſtice.) And we know, Truth is often watered by Martyrs Blood, receiving more Strength from the red-lettered Days in an Almanack, than whole Tomes of *Pro's* and *Con's*. And what Truths, Politicks, or News ſuffer by the Preſs, is Weekly experienced. It is nothing to kill a Man this Week, and, with Ink, inſtead of *Aqua Vitæ*, fetch him alive the next; to drown two Admirals in one Week, and to buoy them up again next; ſo that many of thoſe Pamphlets may be better termed *Weekly Bills of Truth's Mortality*, than faithful Intelligences of Affairs.

Nor fareth it better with Peace, than Truth; the Feathers and Plume ſeconding the Quarrel of the Quill, from Inveighings to Invading, Declara-

[illegible]clarations to Defiance, Remonſtrances to Reſiſtance, *and that to Blood.*

The Preſs rippeth up the Faults and Diſgraces of a Nation, and then the Sword the Bowels of it. What Printing beginneth, by way of Challenge, its contemporary Invention, Guns, anſwers in Deſtruction-Accents.

And the Enormities of the Preſs are cauſed partly by Writers, and partly by Readers.

Among Writers, ſome write to eat; as Beggars examine not the Virtues of Benefactors, but ſuch, as they hope or find able or willing, they ply, be they good or bad, wiſe Men or Fools; ſo do they beg of any Theme that will ſell; true or falſe, good or bad, in Rhime or Proſe, and that, pitiful or paſſable, all is one; Ink muſt earn Ale, and, it may be, Three-penny Ordinaries; write they muſt, againſt Things, or Men (if the Spirit of Contradiction prove ſaleable) that they can neither maſter, nor conquer; ſparing neither *Bacons*, *Harveys*, *Digbys*, *Browns*, &c, though nought elſe do they obtain, except ſuch a Credit, as he did, that ſet *Diana*'s Temple on Fire to perpetuate his Fame.

Another Sort are Diſcoverers of their Affections, by taking up the Cudgels on one Side or other; and it is come to that now, that an Author ſcarce paſſeth, that writeth not Controverſies Eccleſiaſtical, Political, or Philoſophical; though far better it were for publick Good, there were more (deſerving the Name of *Johannes de Indagine*) progreſſive Pioneers in the Mines of Knowledge, than Controverters of what is found; it would leſſen the Number of Conciliators, which cannot themſelves now write, but as engagedly biaſſed to one Side, or other: But theſe are *Deſiderata*, *vereor*, *ſemper deſideranda*: Things wanting, and to be deſired, I fear, for ever.

A ſecond Cauſe of the Enormities of the Preſs are Buyers. The Chapman's Vanity and Weakneſs of Choice maketh the Mart of leſs worthy Books the bigger. Such is the Fate of Books, as of other Ware, the coarſer the Ware, the more the Seller getteth by it. Examine the Truth, and it will too evidently appear, that, in theſe Times, the Bookſeller hath frequently got moſt by thoſe Books, that the Buyer hath got leaſt by, being not only the Luck of *Rabelais*'s Bookſeller, that was a Loſer by his Book of *Seneca* and *Judgment*, but abundantly repaired by that ingenious Nothing, *The Life of* Garagantua *and* Pantagruel. What Age ever brought forth more, or bought more printed Waſte-paper? To read which is the worſt Spending of Time (next the Making them, and the greater Price given for them, and far above their Worth.

But, the Diſtemper of the Preſs being ſo various and hazardous, What Cures can we propoſe?

Why truly, for them in *Fieri*, no ſuch Correcting the Preſs, as Breaking it; but the chiefeſt Help is prophylactical, a Care preſervatory. Alſo, an *Index Expurgatorius* of Vanity and Whimſies would ſave Paper from being ſo ſtained, and would keep it from Burning, it may be, by the common Hangman; and ſo a Nation leſs moleſted, idle Perſons better employed. But, not to make our Eyes ſore by looking on the Hurt, let us turn them on the Benefits of a well-employed Preſs; and then we ſhall ſee it a Mint of ſolid Worth, the Good it hath done, and yet may do, being ineſtimable. It is Truth, Armoury, the Book of Knowledge, and Nurſery of Religion; a Battering-ram to deſtroy and overthrow the mighty Walls of Hereſy and Error; and alſo communicative of all wholeſome Learning and Science, and never ſuffering a Want of the ſincere Milk of the Word, nor *Piety's Practice* to be out of Print (and that not only in one Book) conſtantly iſſuing out Helps to Doing, as well as Knowing our Duty. But the Worth of the Warehouſe will be beſt known by the Wares, which are Books; which will herein appear, which alſo no prudent Man will deny, that they are.

For Company, good Friends; in Doubts, Counſellors; in Damps, Comforters; Time's Proſpective; the Home-traveller's Ship or Horſe; the buſy Man's beſt Recreation, the *Opiate* of idle Wearineſs, the Mind's beſt *Ordinary*, Nature's *Garden* and *Seed-plot* of *Immortality*; Time ſpent needleſly from them is conſumed; but, with them, twice gained; Time, captivated and ſnatched from a Man by Incurſions of Buſineſs, Thefts, or Viſitants, or by one's own Careleſneſs loſt, is, by theſe, redeemed in Life; they are the Soul's *Viaticum*, and, againſt Death, a Cordial.

A Journey from *Gratz*, the Metropolis of *Stiria*, to *Vienna* in *Auſtria*. MS. Never before publiſhed.

SECT. IV.

THE firſt Place we ſtopped at, after our Departure from *Gratz*, was called *Pichau*. In ſome *German* Maps of *Stiria*, we find this Village denominated *Pecka* or *Becka*, and in *Jo. Bapt. Homannus*'s new Map of *Hungary*, and the Part of *Stiria* contiguous to that Kingdom, *Pökach*; which probably is the Name it goes by amongſt the *Hungarians*. It is a pretty long ſtragling Village, and ſtands upon the *Muer*, over which River there is a Bridge near it, between two and three *German* Miles N. W. of *Gratz*. According to *Homannus* *, there is a Monaſtery on a Hill of conſiderable Height, at a ſmall Diſtance from it. Between *Gratz* and *Pichau*, we paſſed by a high Mountain, or rather a Ridge of high Mountains, which our *Poſtiglioni* called Mount *Schöckel*. *Pichau* did not ſeem to us to conſiſt of above forty or fifty Houſes; and in it Travellers meet with but indifferent Accommodations. Nothing therefore could tempt us to ſtay long here; ſo that having reſted ourſelves a little While, and got freſh Horſes, we entered upon the following Poſt.

This Poſt is terminated by a ſmall Town, or Village, called by the *Poſtiglioni* that conducted us *Redelſtein*, by ſome of the *German* Geographers *Retlſtain*, and by *Homannus* *Rotelſtein*. It is ſeated on the oppoſite Bank of the *Muer*, above two *German* Miles al. N. of *Pichau*. It ſtands at the Foot of a large Mountain, which is intirely covered with a Wood of Fir-Trees. Between *Pichau* and *Redelſtein* we met with five or ſix Perſons, who had huge *Strumæ*, Wens, or Swellings under their Throats; which, upon Inquiry, we found was an epidemical Diſeaſe in this Country. We were informed, that this was occaſioned by the Water of the *Muer*, which the poor People, and ſuch are almoſt all thoſe troubled with theſe *Strumæ*, were obliged to drink. But we are of Opinion, that it is rather owing to the Snow-water, which deſcends from the Neighbouring Mountains into this River; and even in this Caſe, the Notion of the Vulgar here is not altogether without Foundation. *Ortelius* was ſurprized to find a Perſon in this Country with a *Struma* of a moſt enormous Size. They have Hoſpitals in all the large Towns for the Relief of theſe poor Wretches. Between *Pichau* and *Redelſtein* we paſſed through a Town called by our *Poſtiglioni Frili*, which to Appearance conſiſts of about a Hundred and fifty Houſes. It has a Caſtle, which commands it, and is always garriſoned by ſome Imperial Troops. We found here Part of Prince *Frederic* of *Wirtemberg*'s Regiment, which is ſaid to be one of the beſt in the Emperor's Service. It is obſervable that the Nobleſſe, and all the People of good Faſhion, in *Stiria*, who drink good Wine and Beer, and eat well, eſcape the *Strumæ*, which ſo afflict the lower Sort of People. This greatly countenances what has been juſt advanced in Relation to the Cauſe of that troubleſome Diſtemper. Having ſtaid about an Hour in *Redelſtein*, and refreſhed ourſelves, we ſet out for *Prugg*, the next Poſt-Town.

Prugg, or *Pruck*, is a pretty large Town, about two *German* Miles al. N. of *Redelſtein*, near the Conflux of the *Merz* and the *Muer*. The *Merz* has its Source in a Chain of Mountains, that ſeems to ſeparate *Stiria* from *Auſtria*. *Muræpontum*, the *Latin* Name of *Prugg*, is deduced from the famous Bridge thrown over the *Muer* near this Place. Some take *Prugg* to be the *Ad Pontem* of *Peutinger*'s Table. A good Part of the Road between *Redelſtein* and *Prugg* is one continued Path between two Ridges of Hills, upon the Weſtern Bank of the *Muer*. This Part of *Stiria* abounds with Woods of Fir-trees, ſeveral of which are very large and extenſive. Upon ſome of the Bridges in *Stiria*, is erected a Crucifix, oppoſite to which is placed either the Statue or Picture of a Prieſt, Biſhop, or Saint, with either a Crucifix or Book in his Right Hand. The Country-women here wear Fur-caps, and have Petticoats ſcarce reaching lower than their Knees. Some of them wear a Sort of Buſkins not unlike thoſe of the *Venetian Gondoliers*, or the *Hungarians*. They are ſtrong and maſculine, manure the Ground, and do other Things which are performed ſolely by the Men in *England*, *France*, *Spain*, *Italy*, and even other Parts of *Germany*. Their Complexions are, however, for the moſt Part fine, and their Features agreeable. The Windows of many Houſes in the Villages of this Part of *Stiria* are ſcarce bigger than Pigeon-holes, and are intirely open. *Prugg* ſeems to conſiſt of about Three-hundred Houſes, has a pretty Piazza in the Middle of it, and a ſtately Church, whoſe Dome is covered with Braſs or Copper, which, when the Solar Rays are reflected from it, makes a fine Appearance. Beſides this parochial Church, over which an Archdeacon preſides, there are two others here belonging to the *Minorites*, or *Minores Obſervantes*, and the *Capuchins*. The Inhabitants of *Prugg* have been long famous for their ſingular Fidelity to their Prince, and for the Valour with which they defended their Town for the Emperor *Albert* I. againſt *Otto* Duke of *Bavaria*, and *Conrad* of *Saltzburg*, in 1291. On a neighbouring Hill ſtands a Caſtle, which commands the Town. Many Perſons with *Strumæ*, ſome of which were very monſtrous, met us between *Redelſtein* and *Prugg*. We ſtaid long enough here to take a full View of the Town, and then reſumed our March, hoping ſoon to reach the Borders of *Auſtria*.

---

* This *Jo. Bapt. Homannus* was Geographer to the Emperor *Charles* VI. His Map was taken from the Archetype of *M. Muller*, his Imperial Majeſty's chief Ingenier, and is by far the moſt accurate of any that has yet been publiſhed. It ſeems to have been publiſhed about the Year 1725.

Merzhofen, or *Merzhoffen*, the next Place that ſupplied us with Poſt-horſes, receives its Name from the River *Merz*, on which it is ſeated, two *German* Miles N. E. of *Prugg*. Between the laſt mentioned Town and *Merzhofen* there is a pretty large Town called *Kapfenberg*. *Kapfenberg*, or, as *Gerard de Roo* calls it, *Cappenberg*, is about ſeven *German* Miles from *Gratz*, and has a Cittadel upon an Eminence near it. This Town is famous for a ſharp Engagement that happened near it in 1291, between *Frederic* of *Stubenberg*, and *Herman* of *Landenberg*, who eſpouſed the Intereſt of *Albert* Archduke of *Auſtria*. *Herman* behaved with great Bravery, but being deſerted by his Men, was taken Priſoner. *Lazius* makes this Place to be of a very high Antiquity; but the Arguments he offers for his Notion deſerve no great Regard. *Merzhofen* is but a ſmall Village, and makes a very inconſiderable Figure. Near it we met three Companies of Prince *Frederic* of *Wirtemberg*'s Regiment, on their March for *Lombardy*, where the Officer that commanded them told us the Imperialiſts would ſoon have Fifty-thouſand Men. The lower Sort of People here ſeemed to us extremely poor and miſerable, though they are ſaid to be very honeſt and ſincere. We did not meet with any Thing in this Place that deſerved the leaſt Attention.

From *Merzhofen* to *Kriegla*, or *Krieglag*, is an eaſy Poſt. The Road is as good as can be deſired; and the People we met with, whilſt upon it, ſeemed very obliging. *Kriegla* is a ſmall Village upon the *Merz*, two eaſy *German* Miles al. E. of *Merzhofen*.

The next Place we came to the *Poſtiglioni* called *Merzſclag*, which receives likewiſe its Denomination from the *Merz*, on which it is ſituated. *Homannus* writes this Name *Merzuſchlag*, and ſome of the *German* Geographers *Merzueſchlag*. This Town, which is but ſmall, ſtands upon the Confines of *Auſtria*, about two *German* Miles N. E. of *Kriegla*. The beſt Inn, and which is uſed by moſt of the *Engliſh* Gentlemen who travel this Way, in *Merzſclag* is the *Spread Eagle*. We lay here one Night, and met with tolerable good Entertainment. The Church in *Merzſclag* is pretty large, and handſome, but built *a la Tedeſca*; beſides which nothing remarkable here preſents itſelf to a Traveller's View.

From *Merzſclag* we advanced to *Schottwien*, or, according to *Homannus*, *Schotwein*, the firſt Town in *Auſtria*. By far the greateſt Part of the Road between *Prugg* and Mount *Semmering*, is a Path between two Ridges of Hills. The *Germans* commonly call this Place *Schodtwien*, *Schaidwien*, or *Schuzwien*; the laſt of which Names ſeems beſt to have pleaſed *Lambecius*. It was denominated by *Æneas Silvius Schadvienna*, and by *Bonſinius Scæa Vienna*, and the *Fauces* of the *Norici*. It is a very large Town, at the Foot of Mount *Semmering*, or *Semmeringus*, the Boundary of *Stiria*. The craggy Mountains here render the Road very narrow to Travellers paſſing from *Auſtria* to *Stiria*, and from *Stiria* to *Auſtria*. *Schottwien* is defended by a ſtrong Caſtle, or Cittadel, built upon a Rock, and called by the *Germans Clam.* This Cittadel was taken by *Matthias Corvinus*, King of *Hungary*, in 1485. but the craggy Precipice, on which it is ſituated, prevented him from advancing any further that Way. The firſt Part of this Poſt is a Plain, the Middle all up Hill, and the laſt Part one continued Deſcent. Not far from the Spot where *Stiria* and *Auſtria* meet, we ſaw ſuch an Obeliſk, or Column, as that abovementioned, and erected on the ſame Occaſion. Upon this Obeliſk there is an Inſcription, in which Mention is made of the Counts *de Zinzendorf* and *Herberſtein*, beſides ſome other Officers of the Imperial Court, bearing a Relation to *Stiria* and *Auſtria*.

Neunkirchen is about three *German* Miles diſtant from *Schottwien*. Here we took freſh Horſes, ſtaid about an Hour, and refreſhed ourſelves. This Village conſiſts but of few Houſes, and is only remarkable on Account of its being ſituated in the Poſt-Road to *Vienna*. The *Spread-Eagle* Inn, where the *Poſtiglioni* generally call, is however a Houſe of ſome Note.

From *Neunkirchen*, our *Poſtiglioni* brought us to *Neuſtadt*, a noble and well fortified Town of *Auſtria*, on the *Leyta*, about ſeven *German* Miles almoſt South of *Vienna*, and not two from the Frontiers of *Hungary*. It has a marſhy Situation, and was built by *Leopold the Glorious*, Duke of *Auſtria*, in order to repreſs the Courſes of the *Hungarians*, about the Year 1200. We are told by ſome Writers of good Authority, that *Emeric*, King of *Hungary*, for the Security of his Frontiers, began to build a Fortreſs not far from the Spot occupied by *Neuſtadt*, at, or near, the ſame Time that *Leopold* was employed in raiſing this City; and that, in order to prevent all Diſputes between the two Princes, it was mutually agreed, that he who firſt finiſhed his City ſhould poſſeſs it, and the other be obliged to demoliſh the Fortreſs he had begun. *Leopold*'s Workmen therefore, continue the ſame Authors, being more expeditious than thoſe of *Emeric*, the laſt dropped his Deſign. *Cuſpinian* writes, that the particular *Area* of the *Hungarian* Town begun by *Emeric* was viſible in his Time. The Emperor *Maximilian* I. was born here, and was almoſt the only Place that afforded an Aſylum to *Frederic* II. Duke of *Auſtria*, in 1237, when he was expelled *Vienna*, and every other Part of the Province, by the Emperor *Frederic* II. It is likewiſe famous for the gallant Defence it made for the Emperor *Frederic* IV, when it was beſieged by *Udalricus Eitzingerus*, and *Udalricus*, Count of *Cilley*, with his Forces, and Five-thouſand Citizens of *Vienna*, in 1452. In this Siege *Andreas Paumkircherus* greatly diſtinguiſhed himſelf, when, like *Horatius Cocles*, he almoſt ſingly defended a Gate againſt the whole Power of the Enemy, and prevented them from entering the Town, till a Detachment of the Garriſon came to his Aſſiſtance, and repulſed them. Soon after which, the Enemy found themſelves obliged to abandon the Siege. In the Year 1485, after ſeven Months Siege, *Neuſtadt* ſurrendered to *Matthias*, King of *Hungary*, being compelled thereto by Famine; but, about five Years after, it was reſtored to *Maximilian*, Son to the Emperor *Frederic* IV. who obtained Leave of Pope *Paul* II. to make it a Biſhop's See, in 1470. He had, in the Year 1444, founded here a Monaſtery for the *Ciſtercian* Order. Beſides the Cathedral Church here, there is an *Aſceterium* of the *Capuchins*, a Religious Houſe of *Carmelite* Nuns, founded by *Maria Euphroſyna Seredezgin* in 1665, and a College for the *Jeſuits*, built and endowed by the Archduke *Leopold William*. The Church appertaining to the *Jeſuits* has been graced wirh the Body of St. *Venantius*, being the Preſent of the Empreſs *Eleonora Magdalena*. The Counts *Serini* and *Frangipani* were beheaded at *Neuſtadt*; and a ſepulchral Monument of Stone in Memory of them ſtands in the Cathedral Church, with an Inſcription upon it. But as this has been already publiſhed by * Signor *Giovanni Battiſta Pacichelli*, we ſhall content ourſelves with juſt having mentioned it here. The Imperial Palace here, built by *Leopold* Archduke of *Auſtria*, Son to *Albert*, ſurnamed *the Wiſe*, and enlarged, as well as greatly adorned, by the Emperor *Ferdinand* I, is very magnificent and ſuperb. Upon the Door are written the five Vowels A, E, I, O, U; which Symbol has not a little perplexed the Wits of the *German Oedipus*'s, who have pro-

---

* This Piece is intitled, *Memorie de' Viaggi per l'*Europa Chriſtiana, *&c.* and was printed at *Naples*, in 1685. See *Tom.* III. Epiſt. LXI.

[illegible]ſed at leaſt forty Interpretations of it. But what Need is there of an *Oedipus* to decipher it, when this has been done by the Emperor *Frederic* IV, the † Author of it, himſelf, who, in the Diary of his Life, wrote with his own Hand, and peruſed by *Lambecius*, has given it us both in *Latin* and *High Dutch*, in the following Lines:

AUSTRIÆ *Eſt Imperare Orbi Univerſo.*
Alles Erdreich Iſt OESTERRICH *Unterthan.*
That is
AUSTRIA *ought to govern the whole World.*

The *Odæum* of the *Holy Croſs* adjoins to the Palace, where the Remains of the Emperor *Maximilian*, removed by *Ferdinand* from the Church or Chapel of St. *George* hither, are depoſited in an Alabaſter Coffin. Many of the Houſes here conſiſt almoſt intirely of Wood, as they do in ſeveral Parts of *Stiria*, *Carinthia*, and *Auſtria*. We remember not to have ſeen any other Sort of Wood in that Part of the *Auſtrian* Dominions we have hitherto traverſed than Fir-Trees, with which the whole Country from the Borders of *Carniola* to *Vienna* abounds. We ſtaid ſome Time here, in order to have a tolerable good Idea of the Place, and then ſet out for *Draſtkirchen*, the next Poſt Town.

Draſtkirchen, or *Traſkirchen*, is a pretty large Town, about four *German* Miles almoſt North of *Neuſtadt*. We ſaw nothing remarkable here, except a large Stable of Horſes, belonging to the Poſt-Maſter; and at the *Vienna* End of the Town a Sort of Monument or Pedeſtal, with the Effigies of God the Father, and this Inſcription, *Deo Patri Creatori*, &c. upon it. The People here were very inquiſitive about the Situation of Affairs in *Italy*, and particularly about the Condition of the Imperial Forces in *Lombardy*.

Having taken a full Survey of *Traſkirchen*, we ſet out for *Vienna*, and arrived there in good Time: This laſt Poſt conſiſts of three long *German* Miles, and is a Plain intirely clear and open, as is alſo the whole Poſt-Road from Mount *Semmering*, which may be deemed a Part of Mount *Cetius*, to the Gates of *Vienna*. The Country betwixt that Capital and *Traſkirchen* is adorned with ſeveral fine Seats belonging to Perſons of Diſtinction. Upon our Arrival at *Vienna*, we found the Emperor's Officers pretty ſevere, and our Baggage underwent a ſtrict Examination. The Duty impoſed upon us for it amounted to twenty *Groſſe*, after the Payment of which, we were admitted into the Town. From what has been already obſerved, our Readers will eaſily perceive, that the Liſt of Poſts betwixt *Gratz* and *Vienna* ſtands thus :

From *Gratz* to *Pichau*, full two *German* Miles.

From *Pichau*, or *Becka*, to *Redelſtein*, two long *German* Miles.

From *Redelſtein*, or *Rotelſtein*, to *Prugg*, two *German* Miles.

From *Prugg*, or *Pruck*, to *Merzhofen*, two *German* Miles.

From *Merzhofen*, or *Merzhoffen*, to *Krieglag*, two *German* Miles.

From *Krieglag* to *Merzueſchlag*, two *German* Miles.

From *Merzueſchlag*, or *Merzſclag*, to *Schottwien*, two *German* Miles.

From *Schottwien* to *Neunkirchen*, three *German* Miles.

From *Neunkirchen* to *Neuſtadt*, two *German* Miles.

From *Neuſtadt* to *Traſkirchen*, four *German* Miles.

From *Traſkirchen*, or *Draſtkirchen*, to *Vienna*, three *German* Miles.

Vienna, or, as it was written in *Latin* above three-hundred Years ago, *Wienna*, is called by the *Germans Wien*, by the *French Vienne*, by the *Engliſh*, *Spaniards*, and *Italians Vienna*, by the *Poles Wieden*, and by the *Turks Beetz*. It is one of the moſt famous Cities in the World, and the Capital of the Archdutchy of *Auſtria*. It ſtands on the Southern Arm of the *Danube*, not far from the Confines of *Hungary*, in forty-eight Degrees twenty-two Minutes North Latitude, and forty Degrees Longitude, according to the *German* Geographers. This being admitted, a right Line drawn from *Vienna* to *Rome* will be a hundred and five *German* Miles long, to *Madrid* two-hundred and ſixty, to *Liſbon*

† This was the common Symbol of *Frederic* IV. uſed on various Occaſions by that Prince, as we learn from *Lambecius*. See his *Comment. de Auguſt. Biblioth. Cæſ. Vind.* &c. Tom. 2.

three-hundred and thirty-five, to *Paris* a hundred and fifty-four, to *London* a hundred and ſeventy-five, to *Copenhagen* a hundred and ſixteen, to *Stockholm* a hundred and ſixty-five, to *Cracow* forty, to *Moſcow* Two-hundred and forty-eight, and to *Conſtantinople* a hundred and ſeventy-three. In the Calculus, or Computation, of theſe Diſtances, the aforeſaid Geographers, according to Cuſtom, ſuppoſe every ſingle Degree of the Æquator to correſpond with fifteen *German* Miles; but, in order to determine them with greater Preciſion, it muſt be obſerved, that a *German* Mile conſiſts of Five-thouſand four-hundred Paces, every one of which contains five Geometrical Feet.

Vienna ſeems to occupy the Spot on which the antient *Vindobona* ſtood; for which Reaſon it is frequently ſtiled in *Latin* by the Moderns *Vindobona*. Its Situation very well correſponds with that of the *Viliobona* and the *Juliobona* of *Ptolemy*, ſince that Geographer places this City on the *Danube*, a little to the Eaſt of Mount *Cetius*; which evidently proves his Text, with Regard to the Name of the Place, to be corrupted in the Paſſage here referred to. This is confirmed by *Peutinger's* Table, from whence it appears, that Perſons travelling from the River *Arabo*, the *Raab* of the Moderns, into *Noricum*, found *Vindobona* to be Six-thouſand Paces, or ſix *Roman* Miles, nearer to them than Mount *Cetius*. *Vindobona* is likewiſe mentioned by *Antoninus* in the *Itinerary*, who removes it to a greater Diſtance from Mount *Cetius*; but this is not to be wondered at, ſince the Learned know that this Piece, eſpecially with Regard to its Numbers, is full of Faults, and conſequently ſtands in Need of many Emendations. If it was neceſſary to produce other Teſtimonies in Support of what is here advanced, we might cite *Jornandes*, who lived in the Reign of *Juſtinian* I. ſeveral antient Monuments dug up at *Vienna*, publiſhed by *Lazius*, as well as others, and the *Notitia*; but this ſeems to be intirely ſuperfluous. Several of the antient *Roman* Emperors did not only honour *Vindobona* with ample Privileges, but likewiſe with their Preſence. Such were *Tiberius*, *M. Aurelius Antoninus Philoſophus*, who died here, according to *Sextus Aurelius Victor*, and *Antoninus Caracalla*, who amuſed himſelf here with various Kinds of Diverſions, in his Journey to *Pannonia*, as we find proved from *Herodian* by *Lambecius*; which is confirmed by an antient Medal diſcovered by the Workmen in digging for the Foundations of the new Imperial Palace at *Vienna*, in 1662. The Name of this City was deduced from that of the River *Vindo*, or *Wien*, as it is now called, on which it ſtands, and the Word *Bahn*, i. e. *Way*, according to *Lambecius*. In Support of this Notion, that Learned Man ſuppoſes *Vindobona* to be the Head of a military Way leading from the River *Vindo*, or *Wien*, to *Italy*. Others believe the Word *Vindobona* to be compoſed of *Vindo* and *Wohn*, i. e. *The Habitation upon the* Vindo. Which of theſe Etymons is the true one we ſhall not take upon us to determine, nor attempt to anſwer the Objections offered againſt the Opinion juſt advanced, *viz.* that *Vienna* and *Vindobona* may be looked upon as the ſame City. This has been moſt effectually done by the Learned *Lambecius*, to whom, for farther Satisfaction on this Head, we beg Leave to refer our curious and inquiſitive Readers.

But admitting that *Vindobona* ſtood where *Vienna* was afterwards erected, yet it muſt be allowed, that *Vindobona* was deſtroyed Five-hundred Years before the Foundation of *Vienna*, which happened in the Time of St. *Leopold*, Marquiſs of *Auſtria*, who died in 1136. That Prince having extended his Frontiers towards the Eaſt, and built him a Palace on the Top of Mount *Cetius*, Part of the Spot at preſent occupied by *Vienna* began firſt to be diſtinguiſhed from the adjacent Soil by ſome ſmall Huts or Cottages, raiſed on it, and inhabited, by Huntſmen; though, a ſhort Time afterwards, theſe were converted into Edifices of conſiderable Note. From the Deſtruction of *Vindobona* to the Erection of the abovementioned Huts, or, at leaſt, for the greateſt Part of that Period, this Spot was covered with Birch-Trees; from whence it received the Denomination of *Perkhoff*, or *Birkhoff*, by which Name it went in the Reign of the aforeſaid St. *Leopold*, Marquiſs of *Auſtria*. This was the Beginning of the preſent famous and noble City of *Vienna*, ſo called from the *Wien*, on which it is ſeated, in like Manner as was *Vindobona* from *Vindo*, the antient Name of the ſame River. *Vienna*, at firſt an inconſiderable Village, grew ſo faſt, that it ſoon put on the Form of a City, and *Henry* II. then Duke of *Auſtria*, pitched upon the Place now called *Hoff* for his Palace to ſtand upon, in 1156. *Leopold* VII, ſirnamed *The Virtuous*, ſurrounded *Vienna*, then looked upon as a Ducal City, with a Brick Wall, flanked with Towers, ſome Footſteps of which are ſtill to be ſeen at the Gate, called *The Gate of the Red Tower*. This was done with the Money paid by *Richard* I. King of *England*, for his Ranſom, after he had been taken Priſoner by the ſaid *Leopold*, in his Return to *England* from the *Holy Land*, for a pretended Affront offered him by that Prince, at the Taking of *Aco*, or *Ptolemais*. *Leopold* VIII. Duke of *Auſtria*, Son to *Leopold* VII, ſirnamed *The Glorious*, after the Death of his elder Brother *Frederic*, built a ſplendid and ſuperb Palace in *Vienna*, which has been the Seat of the *Roman* Emperors near three-hundred Years. The Reſidence of thoſe Emperors here has gradually aggrandized this City, filled it with Inhabitants, magnificent Palaces, and Nobleſſe of different Nations; in which flouriſhing State we beheld it. Since the Year 1540, eſpecially in 1636, the Place has been regularly fortified, and is now one of the ſtrongeſt Towns in *Europe*. The Suburbs on every Side ſeem equal to ſo many Cities. Before the Year 1683, they were adjacent to the Foſſes; but, ſince that Time, they are removed at a certain Diſtance from thence, and are adorned with ſo many fine Palaces and beautiful Gardens, that, for above half of the Year, nothing can appear more delightful and agreeable.

Vienna has ſuſtained ſix Sieges. 1. It was attacked by *Frederic* II. Duke of *Auſtria*, and forced to ſurrender to him, in 1241. This Prince had been expelled *Vienna*, four Years before, when the Citizens invited the Emperor *Frederic* II. thither, who gave the Town a new Coat of Arms, *viz*. A golden Eagle in a black Field, and made it an imperial City. 2. It was taken, and delivered from the tyrannic Government of *Ottocar*, King of *Bohemia*, by the Emperor *Rudolphus* I. of *Hapſburg*, in 1277. 3. It was attacked by *Matthias Corvinus*, King of *Hungary*, who found himſelf obliged to retire from before it, at the Approach of the Emperor *Frederic*, advancing at the Head of a powerful Army to its Relief, in 1477. 4. The aforeſaid King *Matthias* beſieged, and took it, in the Year 1485; but, after the Death of that Prince, it opened its Gates to *Maximilian*, Son to the Emperor *Frederic* IV. in 1490. 5. It was beſieged by *Soliman the Magnificent*, Emperor of the *Turks*, in 1529. During this Siege, *Philip* Count *Palatine* of the *Rhine* was Governor of the City; that Part of the Wall, near the Gate of *Carinthia*, being the moſt expoſed, was defended by a Body of *Spaniards*; the other contiguous to it, extending as far as the Gate of the *Red Tower*, by *Erneſt de Brandenſtein*, with ſome of the Forces ſent by the Princes of the Empire, and Two-thouſand *Bohemians*; the next Part of the Wall reaching to the *Jews Tower*, by the *Auſtrians*, under the Command of *Reiprecht ab Eberſtorf*; and the other Parts by the Citizens, *Stirians*, *Carinthians*, &c. under the Conduct of *Maximilian Leiſſer*, *John Greiſneck*, *John Hauſer*, *Leonard à Velſs*, *Abel ab Holeneck*, *Eckius a Reiſchach*, *John Caccianer*, &c. who all behaved with ſuch Bravery, that the Sultan was obliged to draw off his Forces, and retire to *Buda*. 6. Sultan *Mohammed* IV. eſpouſing the Intereſt of the *Hungarian* Malecontents, at the Inſtigation of the *French* King *Lewis* XIV, ſent a moſt formidable Army, under the Command of his Grand Viſier *Kara Muſtapha*, to form the Siege of *Vienna*, and intirely ruin the Houſe of *Auſtria*, in 1683. The City was then moſt gallantly defended by Count *Rudiger Erneſt à Starenberg*, and, after near two Months Siege, delivered by *John* III. King of *Poland*, and that moſt renowned General *Charles* V. Duke of *Lorrain*. The Particulars of theſe glorious Actions have been ſo minutely deſcribed, and are, even at preſent, ſo recent in many People's Memories, that it would be ſuperfluous to dwell upon them here; however it may not be improper to obſerve, that this Deliverance is annually commemorated at *Vienna*, with great Solemnity. As for the ſlight Inſults of the Count *de Thurn*, the *Bohemian* General, in 1619, and the *Swedes* ſome Years after, they ſcarce deſerve to be mentioned.

The principal Churches, and religious Houſes, in *Vienna*, are the following. 1. The Cathedral Church, begun by *Albert* II. Archduke of *Auſtria*, in the Year 1340, dedicated to St. *Stephen* the Protomartyr, and finiſhed by the Archduke *Rudolphus* IV. in 1364. The noble Tower, or Steeple, that diſtinguiſhes this Church ſo greatly, from all the others, was begun by the aforeſaid *Rudolph*, about the Year 1363, ſo far advanced as to be equal in Height to the Roof of the Church by *Albert* III. and brought to the Perfection we now ſee it arrived at by *Albert* IV. in 1400. It is four-hundred * and ſixty Foot high, and a Work ſo noble and ſtupendous, that it ought to remain, not only above three Centuries, as it has already done, but even till the Fabric of Nature itſelf is deſtroyed; inſomuch that, according to *Æneas Silvius*, afterwards Pope *Pius* II, when ſome *Boſnian* Ambaſſadors firſt viewed it, they could not help obſerving, that, "in their Opinion, it muſt have coſt "more than the whole Kingdom of *Boſnia* "was worth." This Church is likewiſe famous for the *Gazophylacium* of ſeveral of the *Lipſani*, the Tombs or Monuments, of the Archdukes *Rudolph* IV. *Albert* III. *Albert* IV. *Albert* VI. *William Leopold*, ſurnamed, *The Proud*, &c. and the rich Marble *Mauſolæum* of the Emperor *Frederic* IV. The Bowels of the Emperors *Leopold* and *Joſeph*, put into two ſilver Boxes or Cheſts, were interred here. The Bell in the little Tower is ſaid to be twenty-thouſand Pound Weight. In the Church-yard, there is a Stone Pulpit, from whence *S. Joannes Capiſtranus* is believed to have preached in *Latin* to the Populace, who though ignorant of even the firſt Rudiments of that Language, it is pretended, miraculouſly underſtood him.

St. *Stephen*'s Church, though near Four-hundred Years old, as already obſerved, was ſubſtituted in the Place of another more antient one, coeval, or nearly ſo, with the City itſelf. Here one *Eberhardus* is ſaid to have firſt officiated, about the Year 1140, or rather 1157, at the Appointment of *Rembertus* Biſhop of *Paſſau*; but the Names of all his Succeſſors are loſt, except that of one *Peter*, dignified with the Title of *Magiſter*, who lived at the Time of the Provincial Council, held at *Vienna*, in 1267, over which preſided *Guido* Cardinal of St. *Lawrence* in *Lucina*, Prieſt of the *Ciſtercian* Order, and Legate of the Apoſtolical See. Amongſt the great Perſonages, who aſſiſted at this Council, may be reckoned *John* Biſhop of *Prague*, *Peter* Biſhop of *Paſſau*, *Bruno* Biſhop of *Brixen*, *Conrad* Biſhop of *Freiſingen*, and *Leo* Biſhop of *Ratiſbon*, beſides a large Number of Deans, Archdeacons, *&c.* Nay, according to *Lazius*, the Patriarch of *Aquileia*, the Archbiſhop of *Saltzburg*, the Biſhops of *Trent*, *Olmutz*, and *Breſlaw* aſſiſted hereat; though an anonymous Author cited by *Lambecius*, who lived at the Time of this Council, excludes the three laſt Biſhops, when he aſſerts that *Guido* only convened the Biſhops, who were Suffragans to the Archbiſhop of *Saltzburg*. And, in Conformity to this Aſſertion, *Stero* affirms, that one *Uladiſlaus* was, this very Year 1267, conſecrated Archbiſhop of *Saltzburg*, on *Trinity-Sunday*, *June* 12, after the Breaking up of the Council, which happened, during the Vacancy of that See; ſince, according to the aforeſaid anonymous Author, it began *May* the Tenth, 1267, and continued only three Days. *Rudolph* IV. Archduke of *Auſtria*, as hinted above, finiſhed the Church of St. *Stephen*, in 1364; when it was likewiſe made a Cathedral Church, with Stalls for twenty-four Canons, over whom one *Wernherus* firſt preſided. Theſe Canons were to be dreſſed in Purple, and to wear a golden Croſs, on their Breaſt; and when Prayers were to be put up on any Occaſion, twelve of them had Orders to precede, and as many to follow, the *Carmelites*, in all Proceſſions. But this Cuſtom, as well as the Purple Garment, has ſince been laid aſide, and the Number of Canons been reduced to fourteen. In 1480, the Emperor *Frederic* IV. with the Leave and Concurrence of Pope *Paul* II. founded a Biſhopric at *Vienna*, declared free and exempt from all Archiepiſcopal Juriſdiction. *Leo à Spaur*, a *Tyroleze*, was the firſt Biſhop of *Vienna*. Betwixt this *Leo* and the *Cardinal Melchior Cleſelius*, who died in 1630, there were thirteen Biſhops of *Vienna*. The Cardinal was ſucceeded by *Anthony*, Abbot of *Krembſmünſter*, who was created a Prince, by the Emperor *Ferdinand* II.

2. The Abbey of the *Scotch Benedictines*, founded by *Henry* II. Duke of *Auſtria*, in 1158, as the Charter expreſſes it, *in Honorem Dei & Laudem ſuæ Genetricis glorioſiſſimæ Virginis, denique in Commemorationem Beati* Gregorii, &c. It was intended likewiſe to be a *Caravanſera*, or Place of Refreſhment, for the Pilgrims going to the *Holy Land*; and, as the *Scotch* Pilgrims

---

* When *Soliman the Magnificent* beſieged *Vienna*, he promiſed the Citizens to ſpare the Tower, or Steeple of St. *Stephen*'s Church, if they would place upon the Top of it a Half-Moon and Star, the *Turkiſh* Arms; which was readily complied with. But the *Turks* were not ſo polite in 1683. The Garriſon therefore obſerving, that ſeveral of the Enemy's Shot were levelled at that Tower, they took down the *Turkiſh* Arms; and it is to be hoped they never will be admitted into this City again.

coming here were obſerved to be the moſt numerous, it ſeems from thence to have deduced its Name, though *Cuſpinianus* ſays, it was ſo called from the *Scotch* Religious, who were invited hither. The preſent Church belonging to this Monaſtery was built ſince the Year 1590. when the old one was overthrown by an Earthquake, which ſhook the whole City. The Religious here at preſent live very well.

3. The Monaſtery of the *Carmelites* was founded, according to *Fugger* and *Cuſpinian*, by *Leopold the Glorious*, Duke of *Auſtria*, a little before the Beginning of the thirteenth Century; but, if any Credit may be given to *Lazius*, by *Rudolphus* IV. *Gerard de Roo* ſeems to reconcile theſe jarring Accounts, when he relates, that *Rudolph* IV. was ſo munificent a Benefactor to the *Carmelites*, that he might be conſidered as their Founder, and was accordingly honoured by them with that Title. It is probable, that the Church, which *Lazius* affirms to have been erected in Honour of the Virgin *Mary*, was one Inſtance of his Munificence; ſince this Church, which ſtands in the *Forum*, or Market-Place, called *Hoff*, and has a fine Entry or Portico, has not the Appearance of a Structure betwixt five and ſix hundred Years old. The *Jeſuits* had this Monaſtery given them by *Ferdinand* I. King of the *Romans*, in 1554.

4. The noble Church at *S. Maria Rotunda*, built in the Reign of the Emperor *Ferdinand* II, ſtands upon the Ruins of a more antient one, erected by *Leopold the Virtuous*, in 1100; and given by another *Leopold*, Archduke of *Auſtria*, to the Order of the *Prædicants*, in 1325, eighteen Years after the *Templars*, its former Poſſeſſors, had been extinct. Annexed to this Church is a large public Library, denominated from its Founder the *Windhagian* Library, where at certain ſtated Hours every Body has the Liberty of ſtudying. The Church, with the Library, makes a fine Appearance.

5. The Church of the *Holy Croſs* was begun by *Ottocar*, King of *Bohemia*, in the Room of a ſmaller one, and a religious Houſe, aſſigned to the *Seraphic* Order, by *Frederic* II. Duke of *Auſtria*, who began to reign in 1227; carried on by *Blanche*, Daughter to *Philip the Fair*, King of *France*, and Wife to the Archduke *Rudolph* III; and at laſt finiſhed by *Elizabeth* of *Aragon*, Wife to the Emperor *Frederic* III. It has been finely decorated and adorned by the *Minorites*; in the Wall of whoſe Cloiſter, is a very remarkable *Hiatus*, or Chaſm, through which, it is reported, the Devil carried to Hell an impious Wretch, who preſumed to eat the Hoſt ſeven Times in one Day. Such Stories as theſe are not uncommon at *Vienna*.

6. The parochial Church of St. *Michael*, built by *Rudolph* III. and *Otto*, Archdukes of *Auſtria*, upon the Ruins of a more antient one, was given to the regular Clerks of St. *Paul*, in the Year 1626, by the Emperor *Ferdinand* II. Theſe Clerks were ſubſtituted in the Place of the ſecular Clergy, who before performed all the parochial Duty here.

7. The Church of St. *Anna* was founded for the Uſe of Strangers. The *Jeſuits* firſt ſeated themſelves here, when they were invited to *Vienna*, by the Emperor *Ferdinand* I, in 1551; but removing ſoon after from hence, it was given to the Knights of St. *Stephen*; and laſtly, it was again conſigned to the *Jeſuits*, as a Place proper for the Education of their Youth, in 1626.

8. The Aulic Church of St. *Auſtin*, with the Convent adjoining to it, owes its Foundation to *Otto*, Archduke of *Auſtria*, in 1338, or the Year following. After his Death, it came firſt into the Poſſeſſion of the Hermits of St. *Auguſtin*; but now it is inhabited, and has been finely beautified, by the *Diſcalceated*, or *Bare-footed*, *Auguſtines*. In the Middle of this Church is a Chapel called the Chapel of *Loretto*, becauſe built after the Model of *the Holy Houſe of* LORETTO. The Hearts of the two Emperors *Leopold* and *Joſeph*, put into two ſilver Urns, or Boxes, were depoſited behind the high Altar here. There is a Gallery of Commuication between this Chapel and the Imperial Palace.

9. The Church of St. *Dorothea* was begun by *Albert* II. Archduke of *Auſtria*, and finiſhed by *Rudolph* IV. committed, as is ſaid, at firſt to the Care of the ſecular Preſbyters; to which *Andreas Blanck*, or *Planckner*, *Præceptor* to *Albert*, Archduke of *Auſtria*, and Chancellor, afterwards annexed a College of the Regular Canons of St. *Auguſtin*.

10. The Church of St. *Jerom* was founded by *Conradus Holzerus*, a Citizen of *Vienna* of great Diſtinction, for Female-Penitents Singing the *Horæ Canonicæ* every Day in the *German* Tongue, about the Beginning of the fif-

teenth Century. The *Minorites* formerly occupied the Monaſtery of St. *Theobald* in one of the Suburbs, but demoliſhing this, and retiring into the City, for Fear of the *Turks*, about the Year 1589, they were invited to the Church of St. *Jerom*.

11. The Church belonging to the Academical College of the *Jeſuits* was founded by the Emperor *Ferdinand* II. in 1628; but it was not finiſhed till ſome Time after.

12. The Church of St. *Francis*, with a Vault deſigned to receive the Bodies of the Princes of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and the *Aſceterium* of the *Capuchins*, famous for the vaſt Number of ſacred Relicks it contains, deſerves to be mentioned next. The Emperor *Matthias*, and *Anna* his Conſort, began to erect it, but it was not finiſhed till the Year 1631. The Bodies of the Emperors *Leopold* and *Joſeph* were buried here. The former of thoſe Princes died *May* the fifth, N. S. 1705, and the latter *April* the ſeventeenth, N. S. 1711.

Beſides theſe Churches and religious Houſes, there are ſeven Nunneries, with the Churches appertaining to them, diſtributed in different Parts of this City.

1. The Church of St. *James* is of great Antiquity, being either founded by *Leopoldus Largus*, Marquiſs of *Auſtria*, or *Leopold the Virtuous*, in 1190. Several *Carinthian* Matrons afterwards ſettled here, and embraced the Rule of St. *Auguſtin*.

2. The Nunnery of *Santa Clara*, at the Gate called *Himmelport*, or *the Gate of Heaven*, over which *Catherine*, Daughter to *Albert* II. Archduke of *Auſtria*, for ſome Time preſided, was founded by one *M. Gerard* of *Vienna*, in 1267, for the Nuns of St. *Norbertus*. It was much enlarged by *Agnes* of *Auſtria*, the Wife of *Andrew* King of *Hungary*, in 1331. *Anna*, the Daughter of the Emperor *Frederic* III. and the King of *Poland*'s Widow, did this Nunnery the Honour to reſide in it. Cardinal *Cleſelius* finding the Number of theſe religious Virgins much diminiſhed, placed here the *Canoniſſæ* of St. *Auguſtin*.

3. The Church of St. *Lawrence*, with the religious Houſe adjoining to it, appropriated to the Uſe of a certain Number of Nuns, was erected and endowed by *Otto*, Archduke of *Auſtria*, in 1337. Afterwards the religious Ladies, ſubject to the Laws of St. *Auguſtin*, removing from an Habitation they had at a ſmall Diſtance from the City, ſettled themſelves here.

4. The Emperor *Ferdinand* II, at the Deſire of his Wife, *Anna Eleonora*, tranſlated a certain Number of Nuns of the Order of *Santa Clara*, to St. *Nicholas*'s in *Vienna*, from *Presburg* in *Hungary*. Their Houſe was enlarged in 1651. Before the Erection of it, there was upon the Spot where it ſtands a College for poor Students, to which *John Fabri*, Biſhop of *Vienna*, left his fine Library, *September* the firſt, 1540.

5. The royal Nunnery founded by *Eliſabeth* of *Auſtria*, Widow to *Charles* IX. King of *France*, in 1583, is inhabited by religious Virgins of the Order of *Santa Clara*, who were tranſlated hither originally from *Munich*. It occupies the Spot where the Palace of *Charles Anthony*, Archduke of *Auſtria*, formerly ſtood.

6. The Nunnery of St. *Joſeph* was built and endowed by *Anna Eleonora*, Conſort to the Emperor *Ferdinand* II. and appropriated by her to the Uſe of the Virgins of Mount *Carmel*. We muſt not omit obſerving that the Remains of this religious Lady were depoſited here.

7. The *Urſulines* being invited hither by *Eleonora*, Wife to the Emperor *Ferdinand* III, erected themſelves a Church and Nunnery, in 1675.

Theſe are the Churches and religious Houſes in *Vienna* of principal Note, though there are ſome others which deſerve to be juſt touched upon.

The Churches of St. *Peter*, and St. *Rupertus*, are very antient; but the preciſe Time of their Foundation, for Want of proper Light from Hiſtory, cannot be aſcertained, the Extravagances of *Merianus* and *Lazius* on this Head deſerving not the leaſt Regard. The ſame may be ſaid of the Churches of St. *John Baptiſt* and St. *Eliſabeth*, the firſt of which is appropriated to the Knights of the *Teutonic* Order, and the latter to thoſe of *Malta*. The Church of the *Bleſſed Virgin* muſt be allowed to be a Place of high Antiquity, and is under the Juriſdiction of the Biſhop of *Paſſau*. We muſt not paſs over in Silence, now we are ſpeaking of the Places more immediately ſet apart for religious Purpoſes,

poſes, the brazen * or copper Statue of the *Immaculate Virgin* upon a high Column, erected by the Emperor *Leopold*, in 1667, and an Obeliſk raiſed by the ſame Prince in the Herb-Market, in Honour of the *Moſt Holy and Undivided Trinity*. This laſt was begun in 1682, and finiſhed in 1692, being intended as an Offering, to expreſs the grateful Senſe the Emperor had of the City of *Vienna*'s being delivered from a peſtilential Diſeaſe, that made great Havock amongſt its Citizens, in 1679.

In the Suburb called *Leopoldſtat*, from whence the *Jews* were expelled by the Emperor *Leopold*, in 1670, ſeated upon an Iſland in the *Danube*, towards the Northern Part of the Town, the following Places deſerve to be mentioned. 1. The Convent of *Bare-footed Carmelites*, founded by the Emperor *Ferdinand* II. 2. The Hoſpital of the Religious ſtiled *Fratres S. Joannis Dei*, with the Church of St. *John Baptiſt*, firſt erected by the Emperor *Matthias*, and, after the Fire in 1652, put into a better Form by the Emperor *Ferdinand* III.

In the Suburb towards the Eaſt, a little without the Gate of *Stuben*, or the *Hungarian* Gate, in the Highway, there ſtands a fine Church, with an *Auguſtin* Monaſtery, founded in Honour of St. *Sebaſtian* and St. *Roch*. This ſuffered firſt greatly by Fire, in 1656; and afterwards by the *Turks*, in 1683. But it has ſince been rebuilt, and beautified.

In the Suburb towards the South, there is firſt a handſome Church, with a Convent of *Minims* of St. *Francis de Paula*. Theſe Religious were drawn hither by the Munificence of *Ferdinand* II. in 1624. 2. The Church of St. *Joſeph*, with a very antient Convent of *Carmelites*, who, after they had been abſent above an Age, returned to *Vienna*, in 1661. 3. The College of the PP. *Piarum Scholarum*, founded in 1698. 4. The Church of *The Bleſſed Virgin the Helper*, in *Latin Eccleſia Beatiſſimæ Virginis Auxiliatricis*, ſerved by the Regular Clerks of St. *Paul*, and ſaid to be famous for many Miracles wrought in it.

To a Traveller viſiting the Suburb inclining towards the Weſt occur the Pariſh of St. *Udalricus*, and an *Aſceterium* of *Capuchins*; as likewiſe two Monaſteries of *Benedictin* and *Trinitarian* Friars, who came hither from *Spain*; the former in 1633, and the latter not many Years ſince, at the Invitation of the Emperor *Leopold*. Laſtly, and which cloſes the whole Circuit of the City, not far from the *Danube* there is a Convent of the *Servites*, or Fathers ſtiled *Servi Beatæ Virginis*, who ſeated themſelves here, in 1639. But their Church and Monaſtery were founded by Don *Ottavio Piccolomini*, Duke of *Amalfi*, in 1651.

The Buildings of *Vienna*, at leaſt for the moſt Part, we cannot think ſo grand as ſome have repreſented them. The Palaces there will by no Means anſwer the Expectations of a Traveller, who comes from *Italy*, to ſee the Metropolis of the *German* Empire. The Streets generally ſpeaking ſeem narrow, and many of the Houſes ſuch as make no very extraordinary Appearance. Notwithſtanding which, here are People from almoſt all the *European*, and ſome of the *Aſiatic* Ntions. *Turks*, *Tartars*, *Ruſſians*, *Hungarians*, *Sclavonians*, *Greeks*, *Ratzians*, *Croatians*, *Poles*, *Italians*, *French*, *Spaniards*, *Armenians*, &c. ſo diverſify it, that it ſeems to be an Epitome of at leaſt a good Part of *Europe* and *Aſia*. And perhaps in this conſiſt the chief Beauty and Grandeur of the Place; ſince nothing can be more pleaſing and agreeable to a Traveller, as well as more noble and grand, than to have a Collection of the principal Nations of the Globe preſented to him in one View. This ſeems as it were to indicate, that the Court of the *World itſelf* reſides here, and conſequently to imply, that the Head of it is more immediately the Vicegerent of the great Governor of the Univerſe.

The Imperial Palace in *Vienna* conſiſts of two Parts, *viz.* the old Palace built by *Leopold the Glorious*, as above obſerved, and enlarged by *Ottocar* King of *Bohemia*; and the Addition to this, begun in the Year 1662, by the Emperor *Leopold*. This Palace is not only rendered illuſtrious by the Reſidence of the Imperial Family, but likewiſe by the invaluable Treaſury in it, which, for its vaſt Multitude of moſt rare and ineſtimable Jewels, is allowed to be the firſt in *Europe*; as likewiſe for the many excellent Pieces done by the moſt celebrated Painters, collected chiefly by the Archduke *Leopold William*, and hung up in ſeveral inner Rooms, which together form a Gallery, and are called *Kunſt-Kammer*. In this Palace is to be ſeen the Imperial, or *Vienna* Library, ſo celebrated all over the learned World. It contains, as we were told, above Twelve-thouſand Manuſcripts, and at leaſt an Hundred-thouſand printed Volumes; a great Acceſſion having of late Years been made to it out of the Eaſt. The Limits we have preſcribed ourſelves here will not permit us to give even a general Deſcription of this celebrated Library, which would of itſelf fill a conſiderable Volume; and beſides, this has been rendered intirely ſuperfluous and unneceſſary by thoſe great Men *M. Lambecius* and *M. Neſſel*, Librarians to the Emperor *Leopold*. We have nothing further therefore to do, in order to ſatisfy the Curioſity of our Readers in this Particular, than to refer them to the two following moſt learned and elaborate Pieces.

---

* We thought it needleſs to give a particular and minute Deſcription of the Statues here mentioned, ſince this has been already done by our learned and ingenious Countryman Dr. *Brown*.

Petri Lambecii Hamburgensis
Commentariorum de Auguſtiſſima Bibliotheca
Cæsarea Vindobonensi, *&c.* Lib.
1^{mus}, 2^{dus}, 3^{tius}, 4^{tus}, 5^{tus}, 6^{tus}, 7^{mus}, 8^{vus}.
Vindobonæ, *Typis Matthæi Coſmerovii, Sac. Cæſ. Majeſt. Typogr.* &c. 1665, 1669-70, 1671, 1674, 1675-79.

And,

Catalogus
Sive
Recenſio Specialis *omnium Codicum Manuſcriptorum*
Græcorum, *nec non Linguarum* Orientalium
Auguſtiſſimæ Bibliothecæ Cæsareæ
Vindobonensis,
Quem,
Juſſu & Auſpiciis
Sacratissimi Gloriosissimi
Que Imperatoris Romanorum,
LEOPOLDI I.
Magni, Pii, Felicis,
Inclyti, Victoris, *ac*
Triumphatoris semper
Augusti, *Quem* Deus Sospitet,
In publicam Lucem edidit
Daniel de Nessel, J. U. D.
Sacræ Cæsareæ Majestatis
Conſiliarius & Bibliothecarius Aulicus.
Vindobonæ et Norimbergæ, Typis
Leopoldi Voigt, & Joachimi
Balthaſaris Endteri, Anno Salutis M,DC,XC.

This laſt Piece conſiſts of ſeven Parts, and an Appendix containing five Additaments. The ſeventh Part is very curious, containing ſeveral fine Plates, and Explications of Curioſities to be met with in the Imperial Library. Among the Reſt here are mentioned a famous Baſilisk, found in a deep Well, *A. D.* 1212. in the Reign of the Emperor *Frederic* II. two or three *Chineze* Portraits, a *Mexican MS.* ſome Treatiſes in the *Chineze* Language, ſeveral natural Curioſities, *&c.* delineated and explained, *&c.* In the Appendix we find ſeveral antient Coins, and other valuable Relicks of Antiquity, *&c.* The Librarian Signior *Pio Nicolo Garelli* is ſaid to be an excellent *Græcian*, and to be extremely well verſed in Literary Hiſtory and all Kinds of Critical Learning. He is likewiſe a Gentleman of great Politeneſs, Addreſs, and good Nature, affable, generous, and vaſtly obliging to Foreigners, eſpecially ſuch as are Perſons of Erudition. There is ſaid to be an inviolable Friendſhip between him and Signior *Paſſionei*, the Pope's Nuncio at the Imperial Court.

The Emperor's Cabinet of Medals is extremely noble and grand, conſiſting of at leaſt Twenty-thouſand of all Sorts. But, to mention a few only of theſe would give our curious Readers no Satisfaction, eſpecially as there is a printed Catalogue of them. We ſhall therefore refer them to that Catalogue.

The *Raccolta* likewiſe of natural and artificial Curioſities, as well as valuable Remains of Antiquity, appertaining to his Imperial Majeſty, is equally noble and grand, and perhaps ſcarce to be paralleled. But a Liſt of theſe has been more than once offered to the Public. It would therefore be Loſing of Time to tranſcribe from thence the Deſcription of any Part of them. It requires at leaſt a Month to go through every Part of the *Muſæum*, in which theſe Curioſities are depoſited.

There are ſeveral fine Palaces here, as thoſe of Prince *Eugene* of *Savoy*, juſt out of Town, the Princes *de Schwartzenburg* and *Lichtenſtein*, the Counts *de Dietrichſtein* and *Herberſtein*; not to mention the *Favorita*, an Imperial Palace in one of the Suburbs, that of *Laxemburg* belonging likewiſe to his Imperial Majeſty, two *German* Miles out of Town, and that of the Empreſs *Amelia* oppoſite to Prince *Eugene*'s. But neither theſe, nor any of the Reſt, notwithſtanding ſome of them are adorned with exceeding fine Paintings, and are noble Structures, can come up, by many Paraſangs, to ſeveral we had ſeen in *Italy*. The Architecture of ſome of the Churches abovementioned is admirable, and moſt of them within are finely beautified; yet in both theſe Reſpects we have hitherto found *Italy* far ſuperior to *Germany*.

Upon our Arrival here, the Advices received from *Conſtantinople* ſeemed to threaten an Invaſion from the Port; which threw every Part of the City, and, as was ſaid, the Court itſelf, into an inexpreſſible Conſternation. But their Fears were ſoon diſſipated, the next Advices aſſuring, that the *Turks* had their Hands ſo full of the War with *Thamas Kouli Kan*, that they had no Thoughts of coming to a Rupture with the Emperor.

The common People of *Vienna* ſeemed to have the *French* in great Contempt, and doubted not but they ſhould ſoon make them repent of declaring War againſt the Houſe of *Auſtria*; but the Nobleſſe and People of Senſe were of another Opinion. In Fine, the Court was greatly embarraſſed and perplexed, and almoſt in a deſponding Condition. For they knew *England* to be linked with *France*, or at leaſt afraid of diſobliging her, and ſuſpected *Holland* to be bribed by that Power. And without the hearty Concurrence of *England* and *Holland*, they knew they could not make a Stand againſt his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty and his Allies.

The Courts of Juſtice in *Vienna*, beſides the Conſiſtories of the Dioceſes of *Vienna* and *Paſſau* and the Univerſity, are the Ten following. 1. The Imperial Aulic Council, in which all the Cauſes of the *Romano-Germanic* Empire are diſcuſſed. 2. The Tribunal of the Marſhal of the Court, which extends to all the Miniſters and Officers of the Court. 3. The Council of War, which is confined to military Affairs. 4. The Government, or Adminiſtration, at the Head of which is more immediately the Emperor. 5. The Exchequer, or the Chamber in which every Thing relating to the Finances is managed. 6. The *Comitia*, or *Common-Council*, of the Province of *Auſtria*, conſiſting of three Orders, *viz.* that of Prelates, that of Nobles, and that of Knights. 7. The Aulic Chancery. 8. The Chancery of *Bohemia*. 9. The Chancery of *Hungary*. 10. The Chancery of *Tranſilvania*. 11. The Chancery of *Spain*, *Naples*, *Sicily*, and the State of *Milan*. 12. That of the *Auſtrian Netherlands*. 13. The Senate of the City, to which the Citizens are immediately ſubject. We muſt not omit obſerving here, that there are two Armouries in *Vienna*, the one belonging to the Emperor, and the other to the City; both of which are very well provided with all Kinds of military Stores.

The Univerſity of *Vienna*, at preſent one of the moſt celebrated in the World, is of very conſiderable Antiquity; being founded by the Emperor *Frederic* II. in the Year 1237. That Prince then permitted the Citizens of *Vienna*, in Return for their Attachment to him, to open a School, or College, being willing, as the original Charter expreſſes it, *commodo Studio provideri, per quod Prudentia docetur in Populis, et rudis Ætas inſtruitur parvorum*, &c. But this School, or College, did not extend farther than the *Literæ Humaniores* and ſome Branches of Philoſophy. Another School, or College, of this Kind was afterwards erected at St. *Stephen*'s Church, or at leaſt near the ancient Church which preceded that Cathedral, under whoſe Care and Direction other ſmaller ones at St. *Michael*'s and the Hoſpital were likewiſe built. Theſe, as well as the firſt College, were called the *Antient Seats of Literature*, in order to diſtinguiſh them from the *Proper*, or *Modern*, *Univerſity*, which was founded by *Rudolphus* IV. who obtained, for that Purpoſe, a Bull from Pope *Urban* V. dated at *Avignon*, *June* the nineteenth, 1365. The original Inſtrument itſelf was diſcovered in the Imperial Library, and publiſhed, by *Lambecius*; from whence we ſhall beg Leave to tranſcribe the following Paragraph, which, we believe, will be extremely agreeable to our curious and inquiſitive Readers: *Cum itaque ſicut nuper ex Parte dilecti Filii Nobilis Viri* Rudolphi *Ducis* Auſtriæ *fuit propoſitum in Conſiſtorio coram Nobis, ipſe Dux in Villâ ſuâ* Viennenſi Patavienſis *Diœceſis plurimùm deſideret fieri, et ordinari per Sedem Apoſtolicam Studium Generale in quâlibet licitâ Facultate, Nos Authoritate Apoſtolicâ ſtatuimus, et etiam ordinamus, ut in dictâ Villâ de cætero ſit Studium Generale, tam in Juris Canonici, et Civilis, quam in aliâ quâlibet Scientiâ, præterquam Theologicâ Facultate. Rudolphus* died at *Milan* the thirty-firſt Day of *July* following, and, beſides the abovementioned Schools, aſſigned his new Univerſity a larger Space in the City, which ſome have deſcribed as ſituated near the Church of the *Auguſtines*, and others as by that Side of the Palace towards the *Scotch* Gate. The ſame *Rudolph* alſo decreed, that the Dean of St. *Stephen*'s ſhould always exerciſe the Office of Chancellor of the Univerſity; from whence it is plain, that *Wernher* abovementioned obtained both thoſe high Dignities. *Albert* III, Brother and Succeſſor to *Rudolph*, got what had been already done confirmed, and the Faculty of Divinity added thereto, by Pope *Urban* VI. as clearly appears from his Bull, granted for this Purpoſe, and dated at *Naples*, *February* the twentieth, 1384; in which Year the ſaid *Albert* ordered a Body of Statutes to be compiled, for his Univerſity, from thoſe of that of *Paris*. He likewiſe honoured it with Privileges of the ſame Nature with thoſe of the laſt mentioned Univerſity; and transferred his Academy to a more quiet and ſilent Spot, adjoining to the Convent of the *Prædicants*, having purchaſed for this End that vaſt Religious Houſe formerly poſſeſſed by the *Templars*: For which Intelligence we are obliged to *Georgius Eder*, the *Rector Magnificus* of this Univerſity, during the firſt ſix Months of the Year 1559, in the Catalogue of the Rectors his Predeceſſors by him publiſhed. This is likewiſe confirmed, though it contradicts *Fugger* and *Lazius*, by *Cuſpinian* and *Gerard de Roo*; as alſo by the *Rubrica* of the Privileges of the Univerſity, to which this Title is prefixed: *Concluſio Ducis* Alberti *Fundatoris*; after which the Approbations of theſe Privileges granted by *Leopoldus Probus*, Brother to *Albert*, *Pilgrinus* Archbiſhop of *Saltzburg*, *John* Biſhop of *Paſſaw*, the Nobleſſe of *Auſtria*, and the Citizens of *Vienna*, expreſly attributing the Erection and Foundation of this Univerſity to *Albert* III, are inſerted. Beſides the Dignities and Privileges here hinted at, the Emperor *Frederic* IV. decreed, that the moſt famous Poets of the Univerſity ſhould be crowned with Laurel. So much for the Foundation, Privileges, and firſt Benefactors of this Univerſity.

With Regard to the Students, many of whom came from very remote Parts, they were antiently divided into ſeven Claſſes. 1. The Burſa, or Hotel, appertaining to the Youth of the City of *Vienna*. 2. That of the *Auſtrians*. 3. That of the *Swabians* and *Wirtemberghers*. 4. That of the *Stirians* and *Saltzburghers*. 5. That of the *Sileſians*. 6. That of the *Carinthians*. 7. That of the *Hungarians*. But at preſent all the Members of this Univerſity are reducible to the four following principal Nations. 1. The *Auſtrians*. 2. The People of the *Upper* and *Lower Rhine*. 3. The *Hungarians*. 4. The *Saxons*. According to the abovementioned *Georgius Eder*, the firſt *Rector Magnificus* of this moſt celebrated Univerſity was *Joannes de Randegg* of *Conſtance*, and Canon of *Augſburg*, who arrived at this high Dignity in 1377. The ſame Author has alſo given us a Liſt or Series of *Joannes de Randegg*'s Succeſſors to his own Time. The *Rectores Magnifici* continued in their Office only ſix Months, till 1628; but afterwards a whole Year. In the Year 1622, when *William Rechperger* was *Rector Magnificus*, the *Archducal College*, the *Provincial School*, the *Domus Facultatis Philoſophicæ*, and ſeveral other Buildings were given up to the *Jeſuits*, at the Command of the Emperor *Ferdinand* II. that upon the Spot occupied by them the Society might erect a College, with proper Schools and a Church appertaining to it. The four following Colleges, or Seminaries, may likewiſe be conſidered as Places of Literature, and belonging to the Univerſity: *Viz.* That at *Santa Barbara*, tranſlated, together with the Clergy of Pope *Gregory* XIII. from the Apoſtolic Nuncio's Houſe to the Neighbourhood of the *Lycæum* here; the *Collegium Pazmanianum*, or College founded by *Peter Pazmany*, Cardinal Prieſt of the Society of *Jeſus* and Archbiſhop of *Strigonium* or *Gran*, together with the Biſhops of *Raab* and *Neitra*, for the Clergy of their Dioceſes; the Seminary of St. *Ignatius* and St. *Pancratius*, built upon the Foundations of ſeveral of the antient *Burſæ*; and the *Collegium Croaticum*, or *Croatian* College, founded by the Chapter of *Zagrab*, for their Clergy. The three firſt of theſe Seminaries belong to the *Jeſuits*, who are, and always have been ever ſince the firſt Inſtitution of their Order, in great Repute here.

We muſt not omit obſerving, that the *Rector Magnificus* has ſixteen Aſſiſtants, to facilitate the Execution of his Office; and that he can puniſh the Students over whom he preſides with Death for capital Crimes. There are four Deans likewiſe of this Univerſity. The preſent Emperor *Charles* VI. is ſaid to be a great Encourager and Patron of learned Men; which brings conſiderable Numbers of them to this Place. Amongſt others we ſeveral Times heard mentioned Father *Vite George Tonnemann*,

Tonnemann, D. D. and Confeſſor to his Imperial Majeſty, Father *Charles Granelli*, Confeſſor to the Empreſs *Amelia*, and Father *Lewis Debiel*, Doctor and ordinary Profeſſor of Philoſophy in the Univerſity of *Vienna*, all three of the Society of *Jeſus*. The laſt is a Gentleman extremely well verſed in Antiquity, and particularly that Braneh of it relating to the antient *Greek* and *Roman* Coins. He laſt Year publiſhed a ſmall Piece, which in the learned World has met with a general Approbation. This Treatiſe he dedicated to the new Batchelors of Arts in the Univerſity of *Vienna*, and particularly to the illuſtrious *Cajetanus Chriſtophorus de Glanz* and *Joſephus Andreas de Ruck*, both of the City of *Vienna*; and prefixed to it the following Title-page:

UTILITAS
REI NUMARIÆ VETERIS,
Compendio propoſita.
Accedit
Appendicula ad Numos Coloniarum
per Cl. VAILLANTIUM editos,
E Cimeliarchio VINDOBONENSI cujuſdam è Societate JESU.
Auctore
R. P. LUDOVICO DEBIEL,
è Soc. JESU, AA. LL. & Philoſophiæ
Doctore, ejuſdemq; in antiquiſſima
Academia VIENNENSI Profeſſore
Ordinario.
Cum Privilegio et Facultate Superiorum.

Viennæ Auſtriæ,
Sumptibus Joannis Adami Schmidii,
Bibliopolæ Norimbergenſis.
M.D.CC.XXXIII.

During our Stay here, we dined ſeveral Times with Mr. *Robinſon*, the *Engliſh* Miniſter, who is greatly beloved by, and in high Favour at, the Court, where he reſides. He is a Gentleman of great Politeneſs and Addreſs; perfectly underſtands the Politics, Genius, and Diſpoſition of the Imperial Court; and is a hearty Friend to the Liberties of *Europe*, as well as cloſely attached to the Intereſt of his native Country. He has moreover an inexhauſtible Fund of Generoſity, Greatneſs of Soul, and good Nature. The Elegance and Magnificence, with which he entertains his Friends, as well as Countrymen, here, do an Honour to his Nation; and, in whatever Light we view him, he ſeems to be as able and engaging a Miniſter, as the *Britiſh* Court has ſent Abroad theſe many Years. Before our Departure for *Bohemia*, he was ſo good as to ſuggeſt to us ſeveral uſeful Hints, for the better Regulation of our Conduct on the Road; and likewiſe to recommend us to Dr. *Smith*, an *Iriſh* Gentleman, and Phyſician to almoſt all the noble Families in *Prague*. He alſo made us a Preſent of four Bottles of *Tokay* Wine, which came out of the Emperor's own Cellar. Two of theſe, being the common Sort, appeared like a high-coloured White Wine; but the others were of a reddiſh, or rather a browniſh, Colour, and an exceeding great Rarity even at *Vienna* itſelf. All the genuine *Tokay* Wine is ſaid to be preſerved for the Uſe of the Emperor only; ſo that all the Wine going by that Name in foreign Countries, except ſuch as his Imperial Majeſty ſends as Preſents to the Princes he is in Alliance with, cannot be the Produce of the Mountain and Diſtrict of *Tokay*. The reddiſh or browniſh *Tokay* Wine is never ſent from the Imperial Cellar to any Perſons, but thoſe of the firſt Diſtinction, who are great Favourites of the Emperor; an exceeding ſmall Quantity of it being produced by the Mountain and Diſtrict abovementioned. This Wine is very generous and good, and, taken with Moderation, proves frequently a noble Cordial. The *Germans*, particularly the *Auſtrians*, *Bohemians*, *Sileſians*, and *Moravians*, have a peculiar Fondneſs for the Wine of *Tokay*; aod ſome of them, in order to obtain it, will not ſtick at the moſt unjuſtifiable Means.

The *Auſtrian* Wine, which is white, has a fine Flavour, and is generous enough; though, in our Opinion, it comes far ſhort of the *Hungarian*. Some Houſes in *Vienna* have likewiſe very good Beer; though, for the moſt Part, the Malt-liquor here is very indifferent. The Bread alſo is excellent, as is the Butcher's Meat of all Kinds, Fowl, both wild and tame, Veniſon, Hares, Rabbets, Fiſh, &c. Of Fiſh there is a vaſt Variety, as well as Plenty, the *Danube* running cloſe by the Town. It muſt not be forgot, now we are ſpeaking of Fiſh, that a Diſh conſiſting of freſh Sturgeon, or at leaſt a Fiſh of the ſame or a *ſimilar Family,

---

* As we never ſaw this Fiſh whole, nor a Sturgeon in any other Country, we cannot pretend to determine,

mily, taken out of the *Danube*, prepared in ſome Manner or other, ſeveral Times made up Part of our Dinner. In Fine, Proviſions of all Kinds here are not only excellent, but very reaſonable; *Auſtria*, *Stiria*, *Carinthia*, *Bohemia*, *Moravia*, *Sileſia*, and above all *Hungary*, being exceeding fertile Countries, and abounding not only with all the Neceſſaries, but even many of the Elegancies of Life. For a more particular Account of the Fiſh here, eſpecially thoſe produced by the *Danube*, we muſt beg Leave to refer our curious Readers to *Geſner* and our ingenious Countryman Dr. *Brown*. It is likewiſe probable, that one of us, who took a ſhort Trip into the *Upper Hungary*, may expatiate upon this Head, as well as that of Proviſions in general, more largely hereafter, when he comes to give a ſhort Deſcription of that Part of *Hungary* bordering upon *Auſtria*.

The Imperial Court, though reckoned in *Germany* very grand and auguſt, is not ſo brilliant as ſome others in *Europe*. It ſtill retains much of the old *Spaniſh* Gravity and Pride; and the *Etiquette* that prevailed at *Madrid*, during the Reigns of the *Auſtrian* Kings of *Spain*, is now obſerved with great Formality at this Court. Many of the *Spaniſh* Cuſtoms are likewiſe at preſent held here in high Eſteem; and the Imperial Family itſelf, as well as the prime Nobility of both Sexes, ſometimes publickly appears in the old *Spaniſh* Dreſs, which is reckoned very decent and becoming. The *Spaniards*, who continued firm in their Allegiance to the Houſe of *Auſtria* through the whole Courſe of the laſt War, and after the Concluſion of it, were expelled their native Country for their Attachment to his Imperial and Catholic Majeſty, are now highly careſſed at *Vienna*, and the greateſt Favourites of the Emperor; at which Diſguſt is taken by ſome of his natural Subjects. But, in this, we cannot think his Imperial Majeſty's Conduct is greatly to be blamed; ſince they have ſuffered ſo much on his Account, and ſince he probably may think, that by ſhewing a grateful Senſe of their paſt Services, as well as their Influence, and his own Power, he may ſome Time or other be enabled to make a Puſh for the Crown of *Spain*, his Pretenſions and Claim to which he could never hitherto, either by fair Means or Force, be induced to renounce. The Emperor *Charles* VI, as to his Perſon, is ſaid to have all the Air of the *Auſtrian* Family, to be a little corpulent, and ſomething above the middle Size. It is univerſally allowed here, that a good Fund of common Senſe is fallen to his Share, that he has an excellent Judgment, and that he is very regular and devout in performing the Duties of Religion. The Empreſs Regent, according to all Accounts, was in her younger Years a moſt lovely Creature, and is ſtill a very fine Woman. The eldeſt Archdutcheſs, *Maria Tereſia*, her Daughter, who is ſoon to be married to the Duke of *Lorrain*, they ſay, reſembles her much; though ſome that we met with would have it, that the youngeſt Archdutcheſs *Maria Anna* ſurpaſſed her Siſter in Beauty. The Empreſs *Amelia*, Widow of the Emperor *Joſeph*, who died in 1711, is affirmed to be conſtantly at her Devotions, and to be in a Manner ſecluded from the World. The Archdutcheſs *Maria Elizabetha*, Siſter to the preſent Emperor, is Governeſs of the *Auſtrian Netherlands*, and reſides altogether at *Bruſſels*. His Imperial Majeſty's youngeſt Siſter, the Archdutcheſs *Maria Magdalena*, is ſeldom talked of, living in a very retired Manner. *Maria Anna* of *Auſtria*, another of the *Leopoldine* Archducheſſes, now Queen of *Portugal*, took her Leave of her native Country in 1708, when ſhe was married to *John* V. King of *Portugal*, with whom ſhe lives at *Liſbon*. It is feared here, that his preſent Imperial Majeſty will never have any Male Iſſue; which, ſhould it happen, notwithſtanding the *Pragmatic Sanction*, might prove of

---

mine, whether the Fiſh here taken Notice of was a real Sturgeon, or the *Huſo* of *Geſner*, which in ſeveral Particulars pretty much reſembles a Sturgeon. If the latter, we take it to have been the *Antacæus* of *Ælian*, which, according to that Author, was produced in the *Iſter*. The *Hungarians* call the *Huſo Tock*, or *Tock-Hal*, i. e. *the Tock-Fiſh*. It is taken ſometimes in conſiderable Quantities out of the *Danube*, within ten *German* Miles of *Vienna*, notwithſtanding Dr. *Brown* ſeems to inſinuate the Contrary. For a farther Account of this famous and elegant Fiſh, we muſt beg Leave to refer our curious Readers to Dr. *Brown* and *Geſner*, who have given us a minute and circumſtantial Deſcription of it. See Dr. *Brown's* Deſcription of the City of *Vienna*. *Ælian*. de Animal. Lib. xiv. C. 26. & *Geſn*. de Aquatil. P. 5——8. 52——55. Ed. *Francofurt*. 1620.

fatal Conſequence to the general Repoſe of *Europe*, as well as the particular Tranquility of the Hereditary Dominions of the Houſe of *Auſtria*.

We looked upon it as a Misfortune, that we had no Opportunity of ſeeing the Imperial Family, or even the Head of it, the Emperor. His Imperial and Catholic Majeſty was confined by a Cold, and a violent Pain in his Foot, to the Empreſs's Apartments, moſt Part of the Time that we were in *Vienna*. Frequent Conferences, however, were held upon the critical Situation of Affairs, which greatly embarraſſed the Imperial Court, and not a little affected all Ranks and Degrees of People. The Reſults of theſe Conferences ſeldom tranſpired here, whatever they might do to Potentates in Alliance with the Emperor. Some Rumours were, however, continually propagated, in order to pleaſe and amuſe the People. There appeared a great Dejection of Mind in the Populace, upon the Arrival of a Courier from *Dreſden*, with the News of the King of *Poland*'s unexpected Arrival there from *Warſaw*, in the utmoſt Haſte, having had a hundred Poſt-Horſes at every Stage. Various were the Conjectures formed on this Occaſion. Some believed, as it was induſtriouſly given out by the Court, that his *Poliſh* Majeſty thought fit to come to *Dreſden*, to haſten the Departure of the heavy Artillery for *Poland*, and to give ſundry Orders relating to the preſent Juncture of Affairs; others imagined, that ſuch a formidable Confederacy was formed againſt him in *Poland*, occaſioned by the Defection of ſome of the principal Grandees who had eſpouſed his Intereſt, that he found himſelf obliged to ſeek for Shelter in *Saxony*; and laſtly, others averred, that King *Auguſtus* had undertaken this Journey with no other View than to put his Hereditary Dominions into a Poſture of Defence, the *French* at this Time threatening them with an Invaſion. Moſt People at *Vienna* feared however, that his Majeſty's Retreat from *Poland* was not voluntary, eſpecially as the Court was ſaid to have received Advice from *Breſlau*, that moſt of the *Poliſh* Lords, who aſſiſted at the Coronation of King *Auguſtus*, were gone to their Country Seats; that one of the Princes *Lubomirſki* was retired into *Hungary*, and the other into *Sileſia*; and, laſtly, that the Marſhal of the Crown had refuſed the Preſent which his *Poliſh* Majeſty had ſent him.

But notwithſtanding the People ſeemed greatly dejected, yet they did not deſpond. The Court flattered them, as well as themſelves, with the Hopes of prevailing upon *England* and *Holland* to declare War againſt *France*, or at leaſt to enable the Houſe of *Auſtria* to cope with that formidable Power. It was alſo hotly reported, that Prince *Eugene* would ſet out in a few Days for the Army upon the *Rhine*; and every Body at *Vienna* took for granted, that *Victory* would certainly attend that renowned General. The Situation of the Imperial Affairs in *Italy* at this Juncture likewiſe was ſuch as ſeemed to give ſome Satisfaction to the Court; and to divert the Minds of the People from foreign Affairs, which at this Time had, indeed in the Main, no very promiſing Aſpect, it was given out, that the eldeſt *Caroline* Archdutcheſs was ſoon to be married to the Duke of *Lorrain*. Beſides which, in general People ſeemed to be highly pleaſed, that ſo able a Miniſter had been lately nominated to the Court of *Dreſden*, as was Count *Wratiſlau*.

When we came firſt to *Vienna*, all Converſation turned upon the Affairs of *Italy*. The People of all Ranks and Denominations ſeemed to be more concerned for the Succeſs of their Arms there, than for what might befall them in any other Quarter. Neither was this altogether without Reaſon; for they had much to loſe there, and but little in any other Part. The Empire itſelf in a good Meaſure ſecured the *Auſtrian* Dominions in *Germany*, as did the *Dutch* thoſe in the *Netherlands*, by the Treaty of Neutrality they concluded with *France*. Whereas in *Italy* the Kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily*, as likewiſe the Dutchy of *Mantua*, were in imminent Danger of being wreſted out of the Hands of the Emperor, as the Dutchy of *Milan* had already been. Don *Carlos* was marching with a powerful Army, under the Command of the Conde *de Montemar*, to conquer the former; and the *French*, *Spaniards*, and *Sardinians* threatened to reduce the latter, and even to penetrate into the Hereditary Dominions of the Houſe of *Auſtria* on that Side, this Campaign. However, the Imperial Court put as good a Face as poſſible upon the Matter, and gave out, that they were in no Pain for *Naples* and *Sicily*, ſince the

Troops under Count *Viſconti*, Viceroy of *Naples*, after having received the Reinforcements from *Sicily*, and the Recruits ſent them from *Germany*, by the Way of *Trieſte*, would be more than ſufficient to make the *Spaniards* ſick of their *Neapolitan* Expedition; and that the Emperor's Army of the *Rhine*, in Conjunction with that of the Empire, would be in a Condition even to act offenſively, by the latter End of *May*. According to the Liſt handed about here, the Imperial Army in *Lombardy* was to conſiſt of the following Troops.

Battalions.

Guido Staremberg, 3.
Harrach, 3.
Livingſtein, 3.
Firſtenbuſch, 3.
Wallis, 1.
Hilburghauſen, 3.
Palfi, 2.
Wachtendonck, 2.
Ogilvie, 1.
Daun, 3.
Maximilian Staremberg, 3.
Welzeck, 1.
Seckendorff, 3.
Culmbach, 2.
Ligneville, 2.
Great Maſter, 3.
Neylan, 2.
Francis Wallis, 1.
Konigſegg, 3.

Tot. 44 Battal.

Squadrons.

Saxe Gotha, 7.
John Palfi, 7.
Merci, 7.
Jorger, 7.
Lichtenſtein, 7.
Veterani, 7.
Hamilton, 7.
Frederic Wirtemberg, 7.
Hohenzollern, 7.
Huſſars, 5.

Tot. 68 Squad.

Grenadiers.

36 Companies, of 100 Men each.

As each Battalion conſiſts of 700 Men, and each Squadron of 250, the Forces of which this fine Army is to be compoſed amount to 48,700 Men.

Whilſt we were at *Vienna*, Prince *Lewis* of *Wirtemberg* commanded the Imperial Forces in *Lombardy*; but all People agreed, that the Emperor, at the Requeſt of Prince *Eugene*, had appointed the Field-Marſhal Count *de Merci* Commander in Chief of thoſe Forces. That General was looked upon by the Prince as the moſt proper Perſon for this Employment, ſince nothing but the Gaining of a Battle could retrieve the Emperor's Affairs in *Lombardy*, and Count *Merci* was one of the moſt bold and daring of all the Imperial Generals.

The following general Officers are to ſerve under him, according to the Accounts publiſhed here.

Lieutenant-Generals.

Lanthieri.
Livingſtein.
Dieſbach.
St. Amour.
Culmbach, and
Valparaiſo.

Tot. 6 Lieut. Gen.

Major-Generals.

Waldeck.
Anhalt.
Welſeck.
Ligneville.
Hilburghauſen.
Palfi.
La Tour.
Firſtenbuſch.
Saxe Gotha.
Hohenems.
Henning.
Wachtendonck.
Colmenero.
Devens.
Sutcow.
Berlinger.
Kavaneck, and
Zungenbeck.

Tot. 18 Maj. Gen.

Some Time before our Arrival here, the following Liſt of the Imperial Troops to ſerve upon the *Rhine* was publiſhed, but many People did not eſteem it over exact.

HORSE.	Men.
Caraffa,	1094
Lobkowitz,	1094
Lanthieri,	1094
Savoy,	1094
Philippi,	1094
Alexander Wirtemberg,	1094
Savoy Dragoons,	1094
Weywar,	1000
Gotha,	1000
Deſofy,	1000
Olpari,	1000
Tot. Horſe,	11658

FOOT.

FOOT.	Men.
Kettler,	3000
Baden,	3000
Muffling,	3000
Alt Wirtemberg,	3000
Walſegg,	3000
Maximilian Heſſe,	3000
Rhinegrave Salm,	3000
Wirtemberg, two Regiments,	4600
Saxe-Gotha,	4000
Weymar,	2000
Eyſenach,	2000
Wolfembuttel,	1500
Alexander Wirtemberg, two Regiments	4600
Swiſſers, two Regiments,	4000
Marulli, one Battalion,	800
Pruſſians,	7000
Danes,	6000
Hanoverians,	7000
Heſſians,	5000
Troops of the Circles,	12000
Tot.	81,500
Tot. Horſe and Foot	93,158

Before our Departure from *Vienna*, Advice was received, that the Count *de Cetner*, great Maſter of the Kitchen to the King of *Poland*, had been purſued by a *Poliſh* Detachment into *Sileſia*, which had committed great Depredations there. Several other Incurſions were likewiſe made into *Sileſia* by Detachments from the Palatine of *Kiow*'s Troops, according to the Intelligence that arrived here towards the End of *March*. This determined us to take the Route of *Prague*, though one of our Company was very deſirous of ſeeing *Breſlau*. Neither did we afterwards repent of this Reſolution.

It will not be improper here to mention the following great Perſonages, who make up the principal Part of the Imperial Court.

His Royal Highneſs *Francis* Duke of *Lorrain* and *Bar*, Viceroy, or Vicar-General of the Kingdom of *Hungary*. He reſides, for the moſt Part, at *Presburg* in *Hungary*; and is ſoon, according to common Fame here, to mary *Maria Tereſia*, the eldeſt *Caroline* Archdutcheſs.

1. His Serene Highneſs Prince *Eugene* of *Savoy* and *Piedmont*, Marquis of *Saluces*, &c. Knight of the *Golden Fleece*, actual Privy-Councellor, Preſident of the Council of War, Lieutenant-General-Velt-Marſhal of his Imperial and Catholic Majeſty and of the Empire, Vicar-General of the States which his Imperial Majeſty poſſeſſes in *Italy*, Colonel of a Regiment of Dragoons, *&c. &c.*

2. His Excellency *Philip Lewis* Count *de Sinzendorff*, Hereditary Treaſurer of the *Holy Roman Empire*, Baron *de Ernſtbrunn*, &c. Grand Hereditary Judge to the Combats, Gentleman Sewer, or Carver of the *Upper* and *Lower Auſtria*, Hereditary Cup-Bearer of the *Lower Auſtria*, Intimate Councellor of State and of Conference of his Imperial and Catholick Majeſty, Grand Chancellor of the Court, *&c.*

3. His Excellency *Gundacer Thomas de Staremberg*, Count of the *Holy Roman Empire* and of *Staremberg*, Grand Hereditary Marſhal of the Archdutchy of *Auſtria* on this Side and beyond the *Ens*, Knight of the *Golden Fleece*, actual Privy-Councellor and Councellor of Conference of the Miniſterial Council of the Finances, Preſident and Director of the Miniſterial Deputation of the Bank, *&c.*

4. His Excellency *Aloyſius Thomas Raymond*, Count *de Harrach*, Hereditary Maſter of the Horſe of the *Upper* and *Lower Auſtria*, Knight of the *Golden Fleece*, actual Privy-Councellor and Councellor of Conference to his Imperial and Catholic Majeſty, Marſhal of the States of *Auſtria*, &c.

5. His Excellency *Lothaire Joſeph* Count *de Konigſeck*, intimate actual Privy-Councellor, Velt-Marſhal-General, Vice-Preſident of the Aulic Council of War. In his Abſence his Poſt is, or at leaſt lately was, filled by General *Jorger*, who *per interim* diſcharges all the Duties of it for him.

6. His Excellency *John Herman Francis* Count *de Neſſelroth*, Councellor of State and of War, Lieutenant-Velt-Marſhal, Commiſſary-General of War, and Colonel of a Regiment of Infantry.

7. His Excellency *Francis Lewis* Count *de Sinzendorff* and *Pottendorff*, General-Velt-Marſhal, Lieutenant-Commandant of *Spielberg*, and *Brinn*, in the Marquiſate of *Moravia*.

8. His Excellency *Henry William* Count *de Welczeck*, actual Privy-Councellor of his Imperial and Catholic Majeſty, Velt-Marſhal, and Commandant of the Fortreſs of Great *Glogau* in *Sileſia*.

9. His Excellency *Sigiſmond Rudolph* Count *de Sinzendorff*, Hereditary Treaſurer of the *Holy Roman Empire*, Great Cup-Bearer in *Auſtria* on the other Side the *Ens*, Knight of the *Golden Fleece*, Grandee of *Spain*, actual Privy-Councellor of his Imperial and Catholic Majeſty; his Lieutenant-Velt-Marſhal, and Great Maſter of the Houſhold.

10. His Excellency *John Gaſpar* Count *de Cobentzel*, Hereditary Great Cup-Bearer in *Carniola*, &c. actual Privy-Councellor to his Imperial and Catholic Majeſty, Great Chamberlain, *&c.*

11. His Excellency *Adolph* Count *de Martinitz*, Knight of the *Golden Fleece*, actual Privy-Councellor and Chamberlain of his Imperial and Catholic Majeſty, Great Marſhal of the Court.

12. His Excellency the young Prince *de Schwartzenberg*, Landgrave *de Kleggau*, Duke *de Crumau*, &c. Knight of the *Golden Fleece*, Chamberlain and great Maſter of the Horſe to his Imperial and Catholic Majeſty. Whilſt the Imperial Court was at *Prague*, or at *Carlsbad*, the Emperor ſhot accidentally this Prince's Father, in 1732; which gave that Monarch great Affliction.

13. His Excellency *John Julius* Count *de Hardegg*, &c. Hereditary Great Cup-Bearer in *Auſtria* on this Side the *Ens*, actual Lord of the Bed-Chamber to his Imperial and Catholic Majeſty, Great Huntſman, *&c.*

14. His Excellency *John Adam* Count *de Paar*, Member of the Aulic Council, Lord of the Bed-Chamber to his Imperial and Catholic Majeſty, and Poſtmaſter-general.

15. His Excellency *Gundaker* Count *de Althan*, Member of the moſt honourable Privy-Council of his Imperial and Catholic Majeſty, Lord of the Bed-Chamber, General of Horſe, Colonel of a Regiment of Dragoons, *&c.*

16. His Excellency *Wirich Philip Lawrence* Count *de Daun*, Prince *de Thiano*, Knight of the *Golden Fleece*, actual Privy-Councellor of his Imperial and Catholic Majeſty, Velt-Marſhal, great Maſter of the Ordnance, *&c.*

17. His Excellency *Henry Joſeph* Count *de Daun*, Lord of the Bed-Chamber to his Imperial and Catholic Majeſty, General of the Artillery, Colonel of a Regiment of Infantry, *&c.*

18. His Excellency *John Francis* Count *de Dietrichſtein*, intimate actual Councellor of the Emperor, great Huntſman in *Stiria*, Preſident of the Tribunal of the Chamber, *&c.*

19. His Excellency *Ferdinand Krackowsky* Count *de Kollowrath*, actual Privy-Councellor of his Imperial and Catholic Majeſty, *&c.*

20. His Excellency *George Hannibal* Marquis *Viſconti*, Velt-Marſhal, Viceroy of the Kingdom of *Naples*, &c.

21. His Excellency *John Francis* Count *de Sonnenberg*, Member of the Aulic Council of War, General of the Artillery, military Director of the *Upper* and *Lower Auſtria*, &c.

22. His Excellency *George Oliver* Count *de Wallis*, General of the Artillery, Member of the Aulic Council of War, Colonel of a Regiment of Infantry, *&c.*

23. His Excellency *Francis* Count *Jorger*, Lieutenant-Velt-Marſhal, Member of the Aulic Council of War, Colonel of a Regiment of Dragoons, *&c.*

24. His Excellency *Gaſpar de Cordova*, Member of the Aulic Council of War, General of the Cavalry, Colonel of a Regiment of Horſe, *&c.*

25. His Excellency *John* Count *Draskowitz de Trakoſtyan*, Member of the Aulic Council of War, Lieutenant-Velt-Marſhal, Lieutenant-Governor of the Kingdom of *Croatia*, &c.

26. His Excellency *Matthew* Marquis *Lucini*, Member of the Aulic Council of War, Lieutenant-Velt-Marſhal, *&c.*

27. His Excellency *Raimond* Baron *de Pozzo*, Member of the Aulic Council of War, *&c.*

28. His Excellency *Francis Ferdinand Kinskie* Count *de Chinitz* and *Littau*, &c. actual Councellor of State, Chamberlain of his Imperial and Catholic Majeſty, Great Maſter of the Court of *Bohemia*, Great Chancellor of that Kingdom, *&c.*

29. His Excellency *William Albrecht Krackowsky* Count de *Kollowrath*, actual Councellor of State, Chamberlain, and Vice-Chancellor of the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, &c.

30. His Excellency *Rudolph Joſeph Korkenſki* Count *de Tereſchau*, actual Chamberlain of his Imperial and Catholic Majeſty, Great Hereditary Maſter of the Pantry of *Bohemia*, Deputy to the States of that Kingdom, *&c.*

31. His Excellency *Francis Henry Schlick* Count de *Paſſaun*, Knight of the Order of St. *Wenceſlaus*, actual Chamberlain to his Imperial and Catholic Majeſty, as King of *Bohemia*, &c.

32. His Excellency *Joſeph* Marquis *de Villaſor*, Count *de Monte Santo*, actual Privy-Councellor, Chamberlain and Preſident of the Council of *Spain.*

33. His Excellency the Count *de Cordova di Saſtago*, Viceroy of *Sicily*, &c.

34. His Excellency *John Baſil de Caſtelvi* Count *de Cervellon*, Privy-Councellor for the Kingdom of *Sicily*, &c.

35. His Excellency *Dominic* Count *de Almanſa*, Privy-Councellor for the Kingdom of *Sicily*, &c.

36. His Excellency *Ignatius* Count *de Perlongo*, Privy-Councellor for the Kingdom of *Sicily*, &c.

37. His Excellency *Joſeph* Duke *de Poſitano*, Privy-Councellor for the Kingdom of *Naples*, &c.

38. His Excellency *Charles* Count *Pertuſati*, Privy-Councellor for the Dutchy of *Milan*, &c.

39. His Excellency *John Anthony de Boxador* Count *de Cavalla*, intimate Councellor of his Imperial and Catholic Majeſty, Preſident of the Council of the *Auſtrian Netherlands*, &c.

40. His Excellency the Count *d' Erdodi*, Preſident of the Chamber of *Hungary*, and Councellor of State to his Imperial and Catholic Majeſty.

41. The right reverend *Adam Acſady*, *van Acſad*, Biſhop of *Veſprin*, Abbe *de St. Martin de Vaska*, Councellor of his Imperial and Catholic Majeſty, actual Chancellor of the Kingdom of *Hungary.*

42. His Excellency *Lewis* Count *de Bathiani*, Councellor of the Court of *Hungary*, Vice-Chancellor of *Hungary*, and great Cup-Bearer of the ſame Kingdom.

43. His Excellency *John Joſeph Bornemiſza*, Baron de *Kaſzon*, Councellor of his Imperial and Catholic Majeſty, Chancellor and ſuperior Judge of the Principality of *Tranſilvania.*

44. His Excellency the Count *d'Erdodi*, Biſhop of *Agria* in *Hungary*, and Councellor of State to his Imperial and Catholic Majeſty.

45. His Excellency Prince *Wenceſlaus de Lichtenſtein*, Privy-Councellor to his Imperial and Catholic Majeſty, Colonel of a Regiment of Dragoons, &c.

46. His Excellency Count *Khevenhuller*, Hereditary Shield-Bearer of *Carinthia*, Count *de Franckenburg*, Baron *de Landſcon* and *Wehrnberg*, Lord of *Oſterwicz*, and *Carlsberg*, Lieutenant-Velt-Marſhal, Colonel of a Regiment of Dragoons, Governor of *Raab*, and Member of the Imperial Aulic Council.

47. His Excellency the Count *de Seidleritz*, lately nominated Member of the Imperial Aulic Council.

48. His Excellency *Frederic Charles* Count de *Schonborn*, Biſhop of *Bamberg* and *Wurtzburg*, Cabinet-Councellor to his Imperial and Catholic Majeſty, Vice-Chancellor of the Empire, &c.

49. His Excellency *John William* Count *de Wurmbrand*, Hereditary great Maſter of the Kitchen of the Dutchy of *Stiria*, actual Privy-Councellor, Chamberlain, and Preſident of the Aulic Council.

50. His Excellency *John Adolph* Count *de Metſch*, actual Privy-Councellor of his Imperial and Catholic Majeſty, Vice-Preſident of the Aulic Council of the Empire, &c.

51. His Excellency the Prince *de Lobkowitz*, Lieutenant-Velt-Marſhal, actual Privy-Councellor of the Emperor, great Maſter of the Houſhold to the Empreſs Regent.

52. His Excellency *Jacob Hannibal Frederic* Count *de Hohenems* and *Gallarata*, actual Privy-Councellor of his Imperial and Catholic Majeſty, Chamberlain and great Maſter of the Houſhold to the *Leopoldine* Archdutcheſs *Maria Magdalena.*

53. His Excellency *Joſeph Ignatius* Count *de Paar*, actual Privy-Councellor of the Emperor, and great Maſter of the Empreſs Dowager *Amelia Wilhelmina*'s Court.

54. His Excellency *Otto Ferdinand* Count *de Hochenfeld*, actual Chamberlain of his Imperial and Catholic Majeſty, great Maſter of the Kitchen to the Empreſs Dowager *Amelia Wilhelmina*, &c.

55. *Francis-Theodore* Baron *de Hudlern*,

Councellor of his Imperial and Catholic Majeſty, Chamberlain of the *Silver Key* to the Empreſs Dowager *Amelia*, &c.

56. His Excellency *Ferdinand ab Herberſtein* Count de *Herberſtein*, Baron *de Neuperg* and *Gutenhaag*, Lord of *Lancowitz*, &c. Hereditary great Chamberlain and Sewer of *Carinthia*, &c. He is ſoon, according to the general Report here, to be ſent on an Embaſſy to the Court of *Sweden*.

57. His Excellency *Maximilian* Count *de Staremberg*, actual Privy-Councellor of his Imperial and Catholic Majeſty, Velt-Marſhal, Colonel of a Regiment of Infantry, Lieutenant of the Guards *du Corps*, Member of the Aulic Council of War, and Commandant at *Vienna*.

58. His Excellency *Francis Paul* Count *de Wallis*, Lieutenant Velt-Marſhal, Member of the Aulic Council of War, Colonel of a Regiment of Infantry, and Commandant of *Temeſwaer*.

59. His Excellency *John Anthony* Count *Locatelli*, Lieutenant Velt-Marſhal, Member of the Aulic Council of War, and Colonel of Cuiraſſiers.

60. His Excellency *Andrew* Count *de Hamilton*, General of Cavalry, Member of the Aulic Council of War, and Colonel of a Regiment of Cuiraſſiers.

61. His Excellency *Ferdinand Emanuel* Marquis *d' Alvarez*, Councellor of the State of *Milan*.

62. His Excellency the Count *de Seilern*, Vice-Chancellor of *Auſtria*, &c.

Though the preceding Catalogue is taken partly from a printed Liſt reckoned very exact, and partly from verbal Accounts of exceeding good Authority, yet we doubt not ſeveral Inaccuracies, and even Errors, may be found in it; but as we are well aſſured, it is not very remote from Truth, we hope our candid Readers will give it a favourable Reception.

We have been perſwaded, though at firſt we did not deſign it, to inſert here the Names of the following illuſtrious Perſons, who either now are, or very lately were, in the Service of the Empreſſes and Archdutcheſſes; and therefore may be conſidered as bearing a very near Relation to the Imperial Court.

Maria Tereſia Dutcheſs of *Monſterberg* and *Franckenſtein* in *Sileſia*, Princeſs *d'Averſperg*, great Miſtreſs of the Court to the Empreſs Regent.

Maria Elizabetha Conuteſs *de Colonna*, great Miſtreſs of the Ladies to the Empreſs Regent.

Antonietta Baroneſs *de Gilleis.*
Roſalia Counteſs *de Thurn.*
Maria Elizabetha Counteſs *de Braunern.*
Antonietta Counteſs *de Mollarth.*
Tereſia Counteſs *d'Eſterhaſi.*
Iſabella Counteſs *de Styrum Limburg.*
Maids of Honour to the Empreſs Regent.

Anna Euphemia Counteſs *de Petazzi.*
Frances Counteſs *de Spauer.*
Maria Joſepha Counteſs *de Fuchs.*
Maria Elizabetha Counteſs *de Dietrichſtein,*
Maria Ant. Counteſs *de Zobor.*
Maria Anna Counteſs *de Proskau.*
Maria Roſa Counteſs *de Saſtago.*
Joſephina Counteſs *de Trautmanſdorff.*
Ladies of Honour to the Empreſs Regent.

Charlotte Counteſs *de Fuchs* Governante of the *Caroline* Archdutcheſſes,

Frances Eleonora Counteſs *de Scherffenberg*, great Miſtreſs of the Houſhold to the *Leopoldine* Archdutcheſs *Maria Magdalena.*

Maria Iſabella Counteſs *de Brennern.*
Antonietta Counteſs *de Mollarth.*
Maids of Honour to the *Leopoldine* Archdutcheſs *Maria Magdalena.*

Maria Iſabella Counteſs *de Thurn.*
Maria Anna Euphemia Counteſs *de Petazzi.*
Frances Counteſs *de Spauer.*
Ladies of Honour to the *Leopoldine* Archdutcheſs *Maria Magdalena.*

Sigiſmond Count *de Rinchmaul.*
Francis Count *de Potzazki.*
J. And. Count *de Lengheim.*
Ferd. Ant. Baron *de Roveré.*
J. Peter Count *d'Arrivabene.*
Leopold Count *de Salm.*
Fr. Wil. Count *de Thierheim.*
John Wentzel Count *d'Opperſdorff.*
J. Alb. Charl. Count *de Geyersberg.*
Chamberlains and Knights of the Court of the Empreſs Dowager *Amelia.*

His Excellency *John Charles* Count *de Noſtitz*, actual Privy-Councellor of his Imperial and Catholic Majeſty, Captain of the Arches, &c. to the Empreſs Dowager *Amelia*.

His Excellency *Francis William* Count *de Salm-Reifferſcheid*, Hereditary Marſhal of the Chapter of *Cologne*, actual Privy-Councellor of his Imperial and Catholic Majeſty, great Maſter of the Horſe to the Empreſs Dowager *Amelia*, &c.

Anna Margarita Princeſs *d'Eſterhaſi*, born Marquiſe *de Scina*, great Miſtreſs of the Houſhold to the Empreſs Dowager *Amelia*.

The Marquiſe *Lucilia de gli Obbizi*, born Counteſs *de Saſſi*, Miſtreſs of the Ladies, &c. to the Empreſs Dowager *Amelia*.

Maria Dorothea Baroneſs *de Klenk*.
Iſabella Counteſs *de Kuen*.
Tereſa Counteſs *de Thierheim*.
Mar. Ant. Counteſs *de Sinzendorff*.
Frances Counteſs *de Thierheim*.
Joſephina Counteſs *d'Erdodi*.
Maids of Honour to the Empreſs Dowager *Amelia*.

Ren. Counteſs *de Sallaburg*.
Elizabeth Counteſs *d'Althan*.
Ladies of Honour to the Empreſs Dowager *Amelia*.

Our Readers will probably expect to find here all the Titles of the preſent Emperor *Charles* VI. as likewiſe a ſhort Account of the Power and Authority that Prince has in the Empire, and the Fiefs appertaining to that Body, by Virtue of his being the ſupreme Head of it.

Titles of the Emperor CHARLES VI.

The moſt high, moſt puiſſant, and moſt invincible Prince CHARLES VI. elected Emperor of the *Romans*, always *Auguſt*, King of *Germany*, of *Caſtille*, of *Leon*, of *Arragon*, of the *Two Sicilies*, of *Jeruſalem*, of *Hungary*, *Bohemia*, *Dalmatia*, *Croatia*, *Sclavonia*, Archduke of *Auſtria*, Duke of *Burgundy*, *Brabant*, *Stiria*, *Carinthia*; *Carniola*, *Luxembourg*, *Wirtemberg*, *Upper* and *Lower Sileſia*; Prince of *Suabia*, Marquis of the *Holy Roman Empire*, *Burgau*, *Moravia*, *Upper* and *Lower Luſatia*; Prince and Count of *Hapsbourg*, of *Tirol*, of *Ferette*, of *Kybourg*, and of *Goritia*; Landgrave of *Alſatia*, Lord of *Windiſmarck*, of Port *Naon* and of *Salins*, &c. &c. &c. born *Oct*. 1. N. S. 1685, declared King of *Spain* in 1703. Emperor and King of the *Romans*, of *Hungary*, *Bohemia*, &c. *Oct*. 12. 1711. He married *Elizabetha Chriſtina* of *Brunſwick Blanckenberg*, Empreſs, Queen of *Hungary*, *Bohemia*, &c. born *Aug*. 28. N. S. 1691, married *April*. 23. N. S. 1708. His eldeſt Daughter *Maria Tereſia Valburga Amelia Chriſtina*, Archdutcheſs of *Auſtria*, was born *May* 13. N. S. 1717. And *Maria Anna Eleonora Wilhelmina Joſepha*, the Youngeſt, *Sept*. 14. N. S. 1718. The Empreſs Dowager *Amelia* was born *April*. 21, N. S. 1673, and married to his Majeſty *Joſeph* King of the *Romans*, *Hungary*, &c. in 1699. *Maria Elizabetha*, *Leopoldine* Archdutcheſs, at preſent Gouvernante of the *Auſtrian Netherlands*, was born *Dec*. 13. N. S. 1680; *Maria Anna*, Daughter of the Emperor *Leopold*, and Queen of *Portugal*, *Sept*. 7. N. S. 1683; and *Maria Magdalena*, the youngeſt *Leopoldine* Archdutcheſs, *Mar*. 26. N. S. 1689. The abovementioned *Maria Anna* of *Auſtria* was married to *John* V. King of *Portugal*, *Oct*. 27. N. S. 1708.

With Regard to the Imperial Authority, the Emperor in Chief, and in that Quality, Sovereign Monarch, under GOD, of the *Holy Roman Empire*. His Dignity gives him the Precedency in the *Chriſtian* World; ſo that he is conſidered as the firſt Prince of it. At *Rome* he has the Title of *Advocate*, *Grand Prevôt*, and *Protector of the Church*. Every Thing done in the Empire, when the Empire acts as a Body, is tranſacted in his Name. He convenes and diſſolves the Diets of the Empire. He has the Right to propoſe the Points of Declaration to the Body of the Empire, and to authorize their Reſolutions, which are executed in his Name, as are likewiſe all the Decrees of the *Imperial Chamber*. He only has a Right *to the firſt Prayers* in the Empire. He alone creates and confers the high ſecular Dignities, ſuch as thoſe of King, Prince, Archduke, Duke, Marquis, Landgrave, Count and Baron, in the Empire. He only confers the Sovereignty, and Regalia, and the principal Fiefs of the Empire, upon Eccleſiaſticks by the Sceptre, and upon Seculars by the Standard and Sword. But he cannot eſtabliſh any Fact relating to Religion, aboliſh any Laws, alter the Value of Money, declare

War within or out of the Empire, impoſe general Contributions, erect Fortreſſes, make Peace, or contract Alliances, as Emperor, without the general Conſent and Concurrence of the Empire.

The *Aulic Council* is one of the two ſuperior Courts of the Empire, which have a univerſal Juriſdiction, and are the *dernier Reſort* of all the Members and Subjects of the Empire, in all Affairs of a judicial Nature. The Emperor names the Officers in this Court; but the Elector of *Mentz* has the Power of viſiting it. It is held near the Perſon of the Emperor, and is, for that Reaſon, ſtiled *The Juſtice of the Emperor.* His Imperial Majeſty may preſide there, whenever he pleaſes. He votes there, pronounces the Acts or Decrees of the Court; and, when he is there in Perſon, ſigns them. This Tribunal is compoſed of a Preſident, always a Catholic, a Vice-Chancellor, always preſented by the Elector of *Mentz*, a Vice-Preſident, and eighteen Counſellors, nine of which are Catholics, and the reſt Proteſtants. They are divided into two Benches; one of which is occupied by the Nobles, the other by the Lawyers. The Counts *de Gahlen*, *Stein*, *Queſtenberg*, *Paar*, *Wieſer*, *Schonborn*, *Hamilton*, *Kuffſtein*, *Ulfeld*, *Oſtein*, *Welzeck*, *Noſtitz*, and *Serini*, are at preſent the moſt conſiderable Members of the *Aulic* Council.

The Number of Souls in *Vienna* ſome compute at Two-hundred thouſand; but others more juſtly, as we apprehend, at One-hundred ſeventy thouſand, or One-hundred eighty thouſand; ſo that this City, though conſtantly honoured with the Preſence of ſo potent and auguſt a Monarch as the Emperor of the *Romans*, is not much more than a fifth Part of *London*. This ſeems to be in a good Meaſure confirmed by the *Acta Breſlavienſia*, which give us Tables of the Births and Burials in *Vienna* for the ſix following Years.

1717.	Burials 5205.	Births 4030.
1718.	Burials 6110.	Births 4242.
1720.	Burials 6825.	Births 4126.
1721.	Burials 6490.	Births 4104.
1722.	Burials 4961.	Births 4417.
1723.	Burials 5443.	Births 4457.

Hence it appears, that *Vienna*, if we regard the Number of People it contains, is not much above one fifth Part of *London*, ſcarce a fourth of *Paris*, and very little more than a third of *Prague*. However, in ſeveral Reſpects, it may vye with, and even muſt be allowed to excel all other Cities in *Europe*.

Whilſt we were at *Vienna*, we paid a Viſit to Mr. *Edwin*, an *Engliſh* Gentleman of great Worth, and his Siſter Miſs *Edwin*, a young Lady of the fineſt Accompliſhments, who then reſided there. Miſs *Edwin* was pleaſed to entertain us with an Account of Prince *Eugene*, in whoſe Company ſhe had lately been, and of whom ſhe gave a very advantageous Character. We ſaw that Prince once in his Coach riding about the City. He ſeemed to be pretty much advanced in Years; but had an exceeding good Aſpect, and a very lively piercing Eye. He is ſaid to talk a good deal, and very much to the Purpoſe, upon every Subject that occurs; and to preſerve, even after ſeventy Years of Age, an uncommon Degree of Vivacity. He has a fine Aviary here, full of a great Variety of curious and uncommon Birds. His Collection of wild Beaſts is likewiſe much admired by Foreigners. The Gardens belonging to his Palace, his Library, and Stables, as well as thoſe of the Emperor, are ranked amongſt the principal Curioſities of this Place. The Prince is ſaid to be ſomething above a middle Stature, and pretty thin. General *Philippi* is a great Favourite with him. Miſs *Edwin* informed us, that ſhe had lately taken a Trip to *Neitra*, a City of conſiderable Note in the *Upper Hungary*.

The Archdutchy of *Auſtria*, of which *Vienna* is more immediately the Capital, though it is conſidered likewiſe as the Metropolis of *Germany* and the *Roman* Empire, is bounded on the Eaſt by *Hungary*; on the Weſt by *Bavaria*; on the South by *Stiria*; and on the North by *Bohemia* and *Moravia*. In the Time of the *Roman* Republic, and the firſt *Roman* Emperors, it was divided into three Parts, which went by three different Names. That Tract, to the South of the *Danube*, contained two of theſe; the firſt of which, extending from the *Inn* to Mount *Cetius*, appertained to *Noricum Ripenſe*, the other to *Pannonia*; and that to the North of the ſaid River, inhabited by the *Quadi* and *Marcomanni*, and afterwards by other Nations, was deemed a Province of *Germany*. All Particulars relating to *Auſtria* before this Period have, for a long Series of Ages, been buried in Oblivion; the ridiculous

Fables foiſted into the *Auſtrian* Annals by *Henricus Gundelſingius*, about the Year 1476, having long ſince been exploded by all the learned Writers of this Country, particularly by *Æneas Sylvius*, *Cuſpinian*, and *Lambecius*. Theſe Fictions, according to ſome, ſeem to have taken their Riſe from four antient Monuments, with *Hebrew* Inſcriptions upon them, ſaid to have been found at *Guntendorff*, and publiſhed by *Lazius*. But if any curious Perſon ſhall think it worth his while to compare theſe Inſcriptions with what has been advanced by *Gundelſingius*, he will eaſily perceive the Abſurdity of ſuch a Notion.

Pannonia was firſt viſited by the *Roman* Arms, about One-hundred ſeventy-one Years before the Commencement of the *Chriſtian Æra*, when the Conſul *P. Licinius Craſſus*'s Lieutenant undertook an Expedition againſt *Illyricum*. For that *Pannonia* was antiently looked upon as a Part of *Illyricum*, we learn from *Strabo*; and that the aforeſaid Lieutenant penetrated into *Pannonia*, as far as the City of * *Carnus*, about ſeven *German* Miles from the Spot on which at preſent *Vienna* ſtands, is aſſerted by *Livy*. This Country we find likewiſe invaded by *Auguſtus*, about thirty Years before the Birth of *Chriſt*, who four Years after triumphed over the Natives of it; notwithſtanding which, that Prince ſeems never to have reached the Southern Bank of the *Danube*. Afterwards *Tiberius*, about the ſeventh Year of the *Chriſtian Æra*, took up his Winter Quarters in that Part of *Auſtria* where *Vienna* is ſituated, being then about puſhing on the War, under the Auſpices of *Auguſtus*, againſt *Maroboduus*, Leader or General of the *Marcomanni*. The *Pannonians* ſeveral Times ſhook off the *Roman* Yoke; but at laſt, about *A. D.* 12. or at fartheſt, *A. D.* 25. their Country was reduced to the Form of a *Roman* Province. Much about the ſame Time, *Noricum Ripenſe* was alſo ſubjugated by *Claudius Druſus*, and other *Roman* Generals. The *Tranſdadubian* Part of *Auſtria*, or that Tract lying to the North of the *Danube*, ſeems never to have been intirely ſubdued by the *Romans*; though the Inhabitants of it were frequently expoſed to their Incurſions.

St. *Quirinus*, Biſhop of *Siſcia*, firſt began to plant *Chriſtianity* in *Illyricum*, in the Reign of the Emperor *Diocleſian*; but the *Norici* had the Goſpel preached to them by St. *Laurentius*, about thirty Years after the Death of Chriſt, according to the Annals of *Paſſau*. He was followed by *Syrus* and *Juventius*, Diſciples of St. *Hermagoras*; notwithſtanding which, St. *Severinus* had the greateſt Share in the Converſion of the *Norici*, *A. D.* 453. The *German* Part of *Auſtria* received the *Chriſtian Faith*, *A. D.* 396. in which Year, according to St. *Paulinus*, who lived at that Time, *Fritigil*, Queen of the *Marcomanni*, was converted by St. *Ambroſe*, Biſhop of *Milan*, who held an epiſtolary Correſpondence with her. Her Converſion was immediately ſucceeded by that of her Huſband and his Subjects.

Towards the Decline of the *Roman* Empire, the *Boii*, *Suevi*, *Marcomanni*, *Gepidæ*, *Gothi*, *Longobardi*, and other barbarous Nations, pouring great Armies into *Noricum* and *Vindelicia*, over-ran the whole Tract between the *Danube* and the *Alps*, and annexed it to *Germany*. The *Huns* likewiſe and the *Sclavi* afterwards advanced into theſe Quarters. But the *French* and the *Germans*, under the Command of *Charlemain*, being united with the *Bavarians*, defeated, in a great Battle, theſe Barbarians, upon the Banks of the *Ens*, which was then the common Boundary between them, and extended their Eaſtern Frontier much farther, *A. D.* 791. The Tract acquired on this Occaſion, chiefly by the Valour and Bravery of the *Germans*, was called, in their Mother-tongue, *Ooſtryck*, or *Oeſterreich*, in *Latin Auſtria*, or the *Eaſtern March*; and the

---

* This City was called *Carnus* by *Livy* and *Ptolemy*; but by *Pliny*, the Itinerary, and *Peutinger*'s Table *Carnuntum*. It it generally ſuppoſed by the Learned to have occupied the Spot on which *Petronell*, or *Petronella*, at preſent ſtands. However, *Cluverius* imagines *Haimburg* to anſwer to the antient *Carnuntum*. And *Lambecius* endeavours to reconcile this with the common Opinion, by aſſerting that *Carnuntum* was ſo large a City that it extended from *Petronell* to *Haimburg*. Though *Licinius Craſſus*'s Lieutenant beſieged this City, he could not take it, according to *Livy*; but it ſurrendered to *Tiberius*, *A. D.* after he had given a great Overthrow to the *Dalmatians* and *Pannonians*. We ſhall not expatiate on this City farther here; ſince one of us intends to give a farther Account of it hereafter, when he propoſes to deſcribe Part of the *Upper Hungary*, bordering upon *Auſtria*. See *Liv. Dec.* V. Lib. iii. *Ptol.* Lib. ii. Cap. 15. Tab. *Peuting.* *Antonin.* Itinerar. *Plin.* Lib. iv. Cap. 12. *Cluver.* in *Vin.* & *Nor.* Cap. 5. *Lambec.* in Addit. ad Lib. ii. &c.

Counts, or Rulers, preſiding over it, *Marchgraffen*, Markgraves, or Marquiſſes of *Auſtria*: Which Title they obtained, on Account of their Defending the Frontiers againſt the *Sclavonians* and *Hungarians*. They were at firſt ſubject to the Dukes of *Bavaria*; but afterwards immediately to the Kings of *Germany*, or the Emperors. The Title and Dignity of Marquis, or Markgrave of *Auſtria*, firſt became hereditary in the Reign of *Henry the Fowler*, who created *Leopold* I. of the illuſtrious Family of the Counts of *Babenberg*, Hereditary Marquis of *Auſtria*, after the Death of *Rudinger de Pechlarn*, Prefect of the *Oriental March*, A. D. 928. *Auſtria*, or the *Oriental Marquiſate*, at this Time, reaching from the *Ens* to a little beyond Mount *Cetius*, was greatly enlarged, and even its preſent Eaſtern Limit ſettled, by St. *Leopold*, who died A. D. 1136. As for the Weſtern Part between the *Ens* and the *Inn*, it was taken from *Bavaria*, and annexed to *Auſtria*, by the Conſent of the Emperor *Frederic* I. who, that he might prevail upon *Henry* II. then Marquis of *Auſtria*, to renounce his Pretenſions to the reſt of *Bavaria*, which his Brother and Predeceſſor, *Leopoldus Largus*, had obtained of the Emperor *Conrad* III, honoured *Auſtria* with many noble Privileges, ſtiling it, in the public Inſtrument drawn up for this Purpoſe, the *Heart* and *Shield* of *Germany*, and raiſed it to a Dutchy, in 1156. When it came to be firſt dignified with the Title of Archdutchy, for Want of ſufficient Light from Hiſtory, cannot now be certainly determined; ſome fixing this in the Reign of *Frederic* IV. others in that of *Albert* I. or *Frederic* II. of the Houſe of *Babenberg*; and laſtly, others make this Title to precede *Frederic* I. and even *Henry* IV, who reigned *A. D.* 1058. However, we may in general venture to affirm, as being ſupported herein by the beſt of the *Auſtrian* Hiſtorians, that ſome one of the *Auſtrian* Princes of the Houſe of *Babenberg* was firſt diſtinguiſhed by the Title of Duke, and ſome one of thoſe of the Houſe of *Hapſburg* by that of Archduke of *Auſtria*.

Frederic II, the laſt of the Houſe of *Babenberg*, dying, without Iſſue, in 1246, there were great Commotions in *Auſtria*, many Princes aſpiring to the Sovereignty of that fine Province. But at laſt *Herman* of *Baden* prevailed, in Right of his Wife; and afterwards *Ottocar*, King of *Bohemia*, by Virtue likewiſe of his Wife's Pretenſions. But *Ottocar* firſt repudiated his Wife, on Account of her Age, and afterwards poiſoned her. And having, after a ſecond Marriage, and a Refuſal of Homage to the Emperor *Rudolph* I. whoſe Election he affected to treat with Contempt, uſurped the Sovereignty of *Auſtria*, contrary to Equity, and the Conſent of the Empire, which was eſſentially neceſſary to his Eſtabliſhment therein; he was adjudged an Enemy to the Empire, by the Diet at *Augſbourg*, in 1275. War therefore was declared againſt him: In Conſequence of which, the Emperor, two Years after, invaded *Auſtria*, made himſelf Maſter of it in one Campaign, and obliged *Ottocar* by Treaty to cede it to him.

But that Prince, being greatly reproached by his Wife *Kunegund*, for his Cowardice and puſillanimous Conduct, renewed the War, and periſhed in the Proſecution of it. Upon which, *Auſtria*, at the Requeſt of the Deputies of the Province, was conferred upon *Albert*, Son of the Emperor *Rudolph*, by the Princes of the Empire, in the Diet held at *Augſbourg*, A. D. 1282, and ſince that Time has remained in the Poſſeſſion of the Houſe of *Hapſburg*.

Auſtria is ſituated in the ſeventh Climate, according to the *Calculus* of *Strabo*, or in the eighth, according to that of the Moderns, between 47 Deg. 26 Min. and 48 Deg. 56 Min. N. Lat. and, computing from the Iſland of *Palma*, between 36 Deg. 15 Min. and 40 Deg. 50 Min. Long. according to the *German* Geographers. The Country has an extremely pleaſant Aſpect, is finely watered with Rivers, diverſified with Hills and Plains, and exceedingly fruitful, producing not only all Sorts of Corn, but generous Wine, in great Abundance. It is divided into *Upper* and *Lower*, the firſt of which inclines to the Weſt, and the other to the Eaſt. To the South of the *Danube*, the common Boundary of theſe Provinces, is the *Ens*; and to the North of that River, a Line drawn from the *Danube*, a little above *Ips*, to the Borders of *Bohemia*, beyond the City of *Weitra*. The *Lower Auſtria* has a twofold Diviſion aſſigned it by *Cuſpinianus*: Firſt, it is divided into *Steinfeld* and *Tulnerfeld* on this Side the *Danube*, and *Marchfeld* and *Gensfeld* on the other. Secondly, in Relation to the States, when they are aſſembled, *Lower Auſtria* is divided into that Part below the Wood or Foreſt of *Vienna*,

enna, and that above the ſaid Foreſt, beyond the *Danube*; or, as ſome term it, into the Diſtrict under Mount *Meinhard* and that above it.

The Footmen in *Vienna*, for the moſt Part, uſe the *Hungarian* Habit, and are called Heydukes. Many of the *Auſtrian* Ladies have fine Complexions, and are very beautiful. The Women's Caps and Bonnets here are of various Forms. The politer Sort follow chiefly the *Italian* Mode of Dreſs, which ſeems to be a Medium between the *Engliſh* and *French*. The beſt Coach-horſes here are thoſe ſent from *Tranſilvania*; which, as well as the Saddle-horſes produced there, travel with great Celerity. We had Letters of Credit from Meſſrs. *Swymmer* and *Hewet* at *Venice*, to Meſſrs. *Radd* and *Hoſlui* here. The Suburb of *Leopoldſtadt*, where the *Turkiſh* Ambaſſador always begins his Entry in Form, and into which we entered by the *Stuben*, *Hungarian*, or, as it is frequently called in this City, the *Buda*, Gate, is a well-built Street, and may be reckoned one of the Curioſities of *Vienna*. Before we departed from hence, one of us determined to ſee ſome Part of the *Upper Hungary* contiguous to *Auſtria*.

The beſt Inn in *Vienna* is the *Drey-Hawken*, where all *Engliſh* Gentlemen that viſit this Town put up. It was, however, ſo full, when we arrived, that we could not find Admiſſion, and therefore were obliged to take up with an Inn of inferior Rank. The Accommodations here were not to be blamed, but a thieviſh Spirit ſeemed to have poſſeſſed the Servants; for one of us had his Room broke open, his Portmanteau rummaged, and ſeveral Things of Value taken out of it; amongſt which was a fine Gold Medal of Pope *Clement* XI, an Ounce Weight, of which we could never afterwards get the leaſt Intelligence. Though one of us deſired to ſee *Breſlau*, he was determined by the Majority, according to the Rules obſerved in Travelling; and therefore, having ſatisfied ourſelves with *Vienna*, we made the neceſſary Diſpoſitions for our Journey to *Prague*.

[*To be continued.*]

The *Engliſh* Hermit *, or Wonder of this Age. Being a Relation of the Life of *Roger Crab*, living near *Uxbridge*; taken from his own Mouth; ſhewing his ſtrange, reſerved, and unparalleled Kind of Life, who counteth it a Sin againſt his Body and Soul, to eat any Sort of Fleſh, Fiſh, or living Creature, or to drink any Wine, Ale, or Beer. He can live with three Farthings a Week. His conſtant Food is Roots and Herbs; as Cabbage, Turneps, Carrots, Dock-leaves, and Graſs; alſo Bread and Bran, without Butter or Cheeſe: His Cloathing is Sack-cloth. He left the Army, and kept a Shop at *Cheſham*, and hath now left off that, and ſold a conſiderable Eſtate to give to the Poor, ſhewing his Reaſons from the Scripture, *Mark* x. 21. *Jer.* xxxv.

---

* This is the 125th Number in the Catalogue of Pamphlets in the *Harleian* Library.

Wherefore if Meat make my Brother to offend, I will never eat
Fleſh while the World ſtands, 1 Cor. viii. 13.

London, Printed, and are to be ſold in *Pope*'s-*Head Alley*,
and at the *Exchange*, 1655. *Quarto*, containing twenty-
two Pages.

The Publiſher to the Reader.

Honeſt Reader,

B*Efore you come to the Author's own Epiſtle, and Narration, I ſhall mention ſome remarkable Paſſages, which I had from his own Mouth, and find them not mentioned in his Writing; and, I can aſſure thee, this Relation is no feigned Story, or Fable, but thou haſt it preſented to thy View, as I received it from the Author himſelf, with all the Verſes of his own Compoſing.*

This Roger Crab *is well known to many in this City, and the County; and, while this Book was printing, he ſtaid purpoſely here, in the City, till it was publiſhed, and, I think, is in Town ſtill; he lodged at the* Golden Anchor *in* White-croſs Street, *at one Mr.* Carter'*s Houſe, a Glover, where divers People reſorted to ſee him, where ſuch, as doubt of it, may be ſatisfied. I am informed by himſelf, and others, how that, three Years ſince, he was a Haberdaſher of Hats, and kept a Shop at* Cheſham, *in* Buckinghamſhire; *and hath ſince given over his Trade, and ſold his Eſtate, and given it to the Poor, reſerving a ſmall Matter to himſelf, being a ſingle Man; and now liveth at* Icknam, *near* Uxbridge, *on a ſmall Rood of Ground, for which he payeth fifty Shillings a Year, and hath a mean Cottage, of his own Building, to it; but that which is moſt ſtrange, and moſt to be admired, is his ſtrange, reſerved, and hermetical Kind of Life, in refuſing to eat any Sort of Fleſh, who ſaith it is a Sin, againſt his Body and Soul, to eat Fleſh, or to drink any Beer, Ale, or Wine; his Diet is only ſuch poor homely Food, as his own Rood of Ground beareth, as Corn, Bread, and Bran, Herbs, Roots, Dock-leaves, Mallows, and Graſs; his Drink is Water; his Apparel is as mean alſo; he wears a ſackcloth Frock, and no Band on his Neck; and this, he ſaith, is out of Conſcience, and in Obedience to that Command of Chriſt to the young Man in the Goſpel, and in Imitation of the Prophets, and the* Rechabites *in* Jer. xxxv. *who neither planted Vineyards, nor built Houſes, nor drank Wine, and were highly commended by the Lord for it: I reaſoned the Caſe with him, and told him, that I conceived Chriſt's Meaning, when he bad the young Man ſell all he had, and give to the Poor, was, that he ſhould part with all his deareſt Sins, that were as dear to him as his Poſſeſſions, or elſe to try him for his Covetouſneſs; he anſwered, How can a Man give that Money to the Poor, which he ſelleth his Sins for? I perceive he is well read in the Scriptures; he hath argued ſtrongly, with ſeveral Miniſters in the Country, about this, and other ſtrange Opinions which he holds; but I will not be ſo tedious to the Reader, as to mention them all; he approves of Civil Magiſtracy, and is neither for the Levelers, nor Quakers, nor Shakers, nor Ranters, but above Ordinances. He was ſeven Years in the Wars for the Parliament; he is the more to be admired, that he is alone in this Opinion of eating, which, though it be an Error, it is an harmleſs Error. I have heard, ſince this was in the Preſs,*

Preſs, that Captain Norwood *was acquainted with* Roger Crab, *and, inclining to his Opinion, began to follow the ſame poor Diet, till it coſt him his Life*; Felix quem faciunt aliena pericula cautum. *In the Primitive Times, we read of ſuch Perſons that were weak, who did eat Herbs, and made a great Scruple of eating Fleſh; but the Apoſtle ſaith, That every Creature of God is good, if it be received with Thankfulneſs,* 1 Tim. iv. 4. *And in* 1 Cor. viii. 13, *ſaith he,* If Meat make my Brother to offend, I will eat none while the World ſtands. *And in* Rom. iv. 2, 3, 4. One believeth that he may eat all Things, another, who is weak, eateth Herbs; let not him that eateth deſpiſe him that eateth not, *&c. The Reaſon why this Man betook himſelf to this Hermit's reſerved Life, he ſaith, was, That he might be more free from Sin, as Luſt, Pride, and becauſe of the many Lyes, Swearing, and Deceiving, that are too frequently uſed by moſt Shopkeepers, and Tradeſmen, as the Prophet complains in* Hoſ. iv. 1, 2, 3. For the Lord hath a Controverſy with the Inhabitants of the Land, becauſe there is no Truth, nor Mercy, nor Knowledge of God, but by ſwearing and lying, and killing, and ſtealing, and whoring, they break out, and Blood toucheth Blood; therefore ſhall the Land mourn, *&c. But, however, we may ſee how apt Men are to err, both on the right Hand, and on the Left, and to run into Extreams; yet, of the two Extreams, this is the better, and more tolerable, which this* Engliſh *Hermit hath choſen, rather than that of our* Engliſh *Anticks, and Prodigals, who give themſelves over to run into all Exceſs of Riot and Uncleanneſs, committing all Sorts of Wickedneſs with Greedineſs; ſome given up to Drunkenneſs, others to Whoredom, and a third Sort to Gluttony, as, of late Days, it was reported of one* Wood, *called the great Eater of* Kent, *who could eat a whole Sheep at a Meal, beſides other Victuals; alſo Mr.* Marriot, *the great Eater of* Gray's-Inn, *was ſuch another Glutton.* Euſebius *reports of one* Domitius, *who, receiving more Meat at Supper than his Stomach could digeſt, or his Belly contain, died ſuddenly, ſitting at the Table; and Doctor* Taylor, *that famous Preacher of* Aldermanbury, *in his Book of the Theatre of God's Judgments, makes Mention of* Maximinus *the Emperor, who was given to ſuch Exceſs and Gluttony, that every Day, for his Allowance, he had forty Pounds of Fleſh, and Bread anſwerable, and five Gallons of Wine for his Drink, which he conſtantly devoured, beſides Sallets, and made Diſhes.*

Alſo the Emperor Boneſus *would drink Healths, and eat exceſſively; both theſe came to miſerable Ends, this Emperor was hanged, and the former cut in Pieces by his Soldiers; ſee more at large in the Second Part of that Book, Page* 102. *I will add but one more Relation he mentions, which, had I not ſo good an Author for, I ſhould not give Credit to it: A rich Citizen's Son, having left him, by his Father, thirty thouſand Pounds in ready Money, beſides Jewels, Plate, and Houſes richly furniſhed, was ſo prodigal, as to conſume all his whole Eſtate in three Years; and he had a great Longing to pleaſe all his five Senſes at once, and did accompliſh it, allowing to every Senſe a ſeveral hundred Pound; it would be too tedious to mention all the Story; he grew, at laſt, to all Debauchedneſs that could be named, and was forced, ſhamefully, to beg of his Acquaintance, and was, after, preſſed for a common Soldier; ſee Page the laſt of that Book above-mentioned. I ſhall no longer detain the Reader from the Hermit's Relation; theſe Things, I thought, would be moſt pertinent to impart to thee, hoping thou wilt make this good Uſe of it, by avoiding theſe two Extreams, and walking in the golden Mean of true Godlineſs, which hath the Promiſe of this Life, and of that which is come.* Vale.

One more remarkable Thing he told me: That, when he was in Clerkenwell *Priſon,* *the Seventeenth of this* January, 1654, *his Keeper, having a Prejudice againſt him, ordered the Priſoners not to let him have Bread with his Water, and ſhut him down in the Hole all Night. The next Morning, being ſomething hungry, walking in the Priſon-yard, there came a Spaniel, and walked after him three or four Turns, with a Piece of Bread in his Mouth: He looked upon him, and wondered why the Dog walked, as he thought, with a Chip in his Mouth; he looked at the Dog, and he laid it down, and perceived it was Bread; he walked away again, and the Dog walked after him with it again; then he ſtopped, and the Dog laid it down to his Hand; then he took and wiped it, and eat it.*

To Mr. *Godbold*, Preacher at *Uxbridge*, in *Middleſex*,

I *Dedicate this my Diſcourſe, becauſe he was my Friend to help conquer my old Man, by informing my Friends of* Cheſham, *That I was a Witch, and was run away, and would never come again. You, being a publick Preacher, may do me great Service, in helping me to diſhonour him; for I have been almoſt three Years conquering my old Man by Diſhonour. Therefore, if you can ſtir up any more to forward this Work, pray* ~~*do; if it*~~ *be not hurtful to yourſelf, and they that do ſo. I reſt*

Your reſerved Friend,

Roger Crab.

To the Impartial Reader.

I*N whom malicious Envy delights, to be for Birds of a Feather, draw together: But ſuch a Conſtitution is not to be condemned, leſt we ſhould condemn the Work of God in the Fleſh, but rather to be inſtructed with the Light of the Scriptures, that thereby he may know himſelf, and judge himſelf to be undone and empty, that Love and Zeal may take Poſſeſſion, and then he will be more valiant, and bold for God and the Scripture, than he that is moderately conſtituted: Then let us labour for a ſingle Eye, which maketh the whole Body light; I mean a ſingle Heart in ſingle Deſigns, which cannot ſtand with Lindſey-woolſey Garments, nor with double Tongues, nor Varieties of Fancies after Meats and Drinks; for Chriſt himſelf was to eat Butter and Honey, till he came to Knowledge to chuſe the Good, and refuſe the Evil,* Iſa. vii. 15. *And if natural* Adam *had kept to this ſingle natural Fruit of God's Appointment, namely, Fruits and Herbs, we had not been corrupted. Thus we ſee, that, by Eating and Drinking, we are ſwallowed up in Corruption; for, ever ſince* Noah *came out of the Ark, the World being drowned, and no Fruits nor Herbs on the Earth, Man was ordered to eat the Fleſh of the Creature which came out of the Ark; ſo that, by that Means, our Deſires were made ſtrong after Fleſh; that, when the Herbs and innocent Food was come forth, we ſlighted it, calling it Traſh in compariſon of a Beaſt, or beaſtly Fleſh; ſo that, by that Means, the fleſh-deſtroying Spirits and Angels draw near us, and frequently attend Mankind. This you may ſee by the Angels that came to* Abraham, *to deſtroy the Fleſh of the* Sodomites: Abraham, *knowing their Deſign, killed them a Calf, and made them a fleſhly Feaſt; ſo that we may ſee, God hath all Sorts of Creatures for all Sorts of Deſigns, and for all Sorts of Food, both in Heaven and in Earth; innocent Creatures for innocent Food, and beaſtly Creatures for beaſtly nnd fleſhly Food.*

I reſt your Friend as you pleaſe,

Roger Crabb.

From my poor Cottage near
Uxbridge, Jan. 1654.

SEEING I am become a Gazing-ſtock to the Nation, and a Wonderment to many Friends, in this my reſerved Life, I ſhall, therefore, indite a few Lines, as the moſt High ſhall direct me; wherein I ſhall give an Account of this my Undoing, owning Chriſt and the Prophets to be exemplary, both in propheſying and practiſing, as far as God ſhall give Power to any Man; I having truly examined it, and often diſputed it, with all Sexes and Miniſters in moſt Counties in *England*, and moſt of them grant me, that the Practice of Chriſt and the Prophets is written for our Learning; and if this be granted, that we ought to be Imitators of their Righteouſneſs, hereby the Judgment of God may be ſeen to a *Sodomite* Generation, living now upon *Engliſh* Ground; but firſt I ſhall begin with myſelf, who have tranſgreſſed the Commands of God, and ſo am found guilty of the whole Law; living in Pride, Drunkenneſs, and Gluttony, which I upheld by Diſſembling and Lying, cheating and cozening my Neighbours: But, now, that Light which enlighteneth every Man that cometh into the World, according to *John's* Writing, hath diſcovered the Love of God to my Underſtanding, which cauſeth me to withdraw from what I have done; and, inſtead of ſtrong Drinks and Wines, I gave the old Man a Cup of Water; and, inſtead of roaſt Mutton and Rabbets, and other dainty Diſhes, I gave him Broth, thickened with Bran, Pudding made with Bran, and Turnep-leaves, chopped together, and Graſs; at which the old Man (meaning my Body) being moved, would know what he had done, that I uſed him ſo hardly; then I ſhewed him his Tranſgreſſion, as aforeſaid; ſo the Wars began, the Law of the old Man, in my fleſhly Members, rebelled againſt the Law of my Mind, and had a ſhrewd Skirmiſh; but the Mind, being well enlightened, held it, ſo that the old Man grew ſick and weak with the Flux, like to fall to the Duſt; but the wonderful Love of God, well pleaſed with the Battle, raiſed him up again, and filled him full of Love, Peace, and Content in Mind, and is now become more humble; for now he will eat Dock-leaves, Mallows, or Graſs, and yields, that he ought to give God more Thanks for it, than, formerly, for roaſt Fleſh and Wines; and certainly concludes, that this muſt be of God, if it be done out of Love, and not out of Self-ends; for, before, the old Man fought with his ſteel Sword, with his fleſhly Power againſt old Men, and that Envy in him begat Envy in them, and both of the Devil, in Pretence of Liberty and Peace, it is eaſily judged of by the Event; for our Fighting, to regulate Government in the old Men, we ſee it ſtill as bad, if not worſe, than it was before: Therefore, let us put off the old Man, with his fleſhly Laws, which reached no farther than the Government of earthly Bodies; ſo that every one, for their Obedience to God in this fleſhly Law, receiveth a Reward, to uphold his fleſhly Body here upon Earth, and would go no further, than Reaſon could reach, in the Organs of Fleſh: Therefore, this Law could never give Life in the ſpiritual Chriſt, but the Practiſers thereof were the greateſt Enemies to Chriſt, as you ſhall ſee fully in their calling of Chriſt Devil, and putting of him to Death, *Mat.* x. *Luk.* xxiii. Far worſe than bloody Butchers, for they deſtroy their Fellow-creatures for Gain, and to feed their Bodies; but theſe deſtroyed that innocent Lamb of God, merely out of deviliſh Zeal and Envy againſt Innocency; this moves the Butcher to the Queſtion, to know why I would forbear Eating of Fleſh: To which I anſwer,

Firſt, I do it exemplarily from the Prophet *Daniel*, Chap. i. who ſaith, the King's Meat defileth his Body, and beſeecheth, that he might eat Pulſe, and drink Water. This, *firſt*, we ought to believe, becauſe the Scripture ſaith ſo. 2. I believe it from Experience. 3. From Reaſon.

1. I have Experience, that God hath enlightened my Underſtanding in a great Meaſure, more than before I took this Courſe, ſo that all the Tithe-mongers and ſelf-ended People, profeſſing Religion, are afraid to meet me in any publick Diſpute; but, leſt I ſhould judge myſelf wiſer, in my own Conceit, than my Underſtanding will bear me out, I am here ready to be tried by any Perſon or Perſons whatſoever: And ſo much for Experience. Now I ſhall ſhew ſome Reaſons:

My firſt Reaſon is, That God never accepted of any Creature, for a Sacrifice of Fleſh, that would deſtroy a Body of Fleſh to feed on; and alſo forbad his People the *Jews* to feed on them; for it is a Practice of Dogs and Wolves, Bears and Lions, Hogs and Ravens,

vens, Kites and Hawks, and many ſuch like Devourers of Fleſh; and all or any of theſe have no Need to fear their Lives, but from or of ſome of that ſame Kind; no innocent Creature need ever fear his Life from an innocent Creature. If all Birds would take the Dove for an Example, and all Beaſts take the Lamb for their Example, and all Men take Chriſt for their Example, then *Mars* and *Saturn*, the two chief Devils, would be trampled under Feet. Such a Time is promiſed, but not yet; but God waiteth with long Patience upon the Veſſels of Wrath, whilſt they prepare themſelves, by thirſting after Fleſh and Blood, which are thereby made fit to deſtroy each other. Therefore hearken to the Doctrine of Chriſt, in *Matth.* Chap. v. and vi. ‘Deny yourſelves, humble yourſelves, undo yourſelves of all Righteouſneſs of the Fleſh; become as little Children, like Lambs, like Doves;’ then Chriſt is ours, and we are his. Few Words to the Wiſe are ſufficient. I ſhall return to the reaſonable Part of the Law in this Nation, which excludes Butchers from being Jurymen of Life and Death: Surely, if they are judged incapable of being of a Jury, becauſe they kill the Creatures, they, that buy them with their Money to devour them, cannot be clear; for we always count the Receiver more ſubtle and worſe than the Thief; ſo that the Buyer is worſe than the Butcher. But *Mars*, being the God of War, is the Governor of theſe Deſtroyers, and, while he can get Fleſh to feed on, he will increaſe his Deſires to deſtroy Fleſh; ſo that *Mars*, being Servant to the moſt High God, breeds them up with Fleſh, until they are full of Corruption. Then he raiſeth up Tranſgreſſor againſt Tranſgreſſor to deſtroy each other, as you have it in *Iſa.* xxi. 2. where it ſaith, *A grievous Viſion was ſhewed unto me, the Tranſgreſſor againſt the Tranſgreſſor, and the Deſtroyer againſt the Deſtroyer. Go up,* Elam, *beſiege* Media, *&c.* Had my Parents been ſo innocent, as to have taught me this Doctrine in the Time of my Youth, I had ſaved my Scull from being cloven to the Brain in the late War for the Parliament againſt the King, and alſo ſaved myſelf from the Parliament's two Years Impriſonment, which they gave me for my Pains, and from my Sentence to Death in the Field by my Lord Protector; but all thoſe Things wrought together for the beſt to me, and, in my Eſtimation, are of more Value, than an Office of Five-hundred Pounds a Year; for I, in ſome Meaſure, know myſelf, and before I neither knew God, nor Devil, nor myſelf; but now, having found out that my Body was governed by the Inclination of my Conſtitution from the ſtarry Heavens; having tried it with many Sorts of Food, and with much Faſting and Praying, according to the Scripture, which gave me Light into the Conſtitutions of others, and enabled me to adminiſter Phyſick to others; ſo that I have had a hundred, or ſixſcore Patients at once; this gave me a great Light of the Evil that came by eating of Fleſh: If my Patients were any of them wounded, or feveriſh, I ſaid, Eating Fleſh, or Drinking ſtrong Beer would inflame their Blood, venom their Wounds, and increaſe their Diſeaſe; ſo there is no Proof like Experience: So that Eating of Fleſh is an abſolute Enemy to pure Nature, pure Nature being the Workmanſhip of a pure God, and corrupt Nature under the Cuſtody of the Devil. Now for the Objection in 1 *Tim.* iv. 3. where it ſaith thus: *Forbidding to marry, and commanding to abſtain from Meats, which God hath created to be received, with Giving Thanks, of them which believe and know the Truth.* And, Ver. 4. it ſaith, *For every Creature of God is good, and nothing ought to be refuſed, if it be received with Thankſgiving.* This Scripture is very uſeful for the Purpoſe, and will give much Light to the Adherers to this Opinion, and confirm them of ſound Principles within themſelves; for whoſoever ſhall forbear Marrying, or abſtain from Meat from the Commandment of Man, which pretends his Commands to be of God, all that are obedient hereunto will ſerve the Devil, and muſt needs be without the Spirit of Sanctification; neither are they Believers, neither obey the Truth; ſo that, if they ſhould eat of every Creature, there would a Hundred be poiſoned at a Meal, for Want of the Spirit of Power and Sanctification, which *Paul* and others had by the Promiſe, which promiſed them, if they drank any deadly Poiſon, it ſhould not hurt them; and could take away Serpents; and, *if they laid their Hands on the Sick, they ſhould recover*, as you may ſee in *Mark* xvi. 18. Another Objection is alledged from that Scripture in *Matth.* xv. 11. where it ſaith theſe Words: *That which goeth into the Mouth defileth not the Man, but that which cometh out of the Mouth, that defileth the Man*; *which is Murders, Adulteries,* *Fornications*, *Thefts*, *falſe Teſtimonies*, *Slanders*, &c. If this be meant, that any Thing put into the Mouth cannot defile the Body, then no Man can be poiſoned; but there hath been many a Man poiſoned, by taking Things into the Mouth: If ſo, then nothing ought to be taken, but that which is nouriſhable to pure Nature, except they have Faith and Power of Sanctification to exclude the Venom. So, in ſhort, my Judgment is of every Place of Scripture, which ſpeaks any Thing of this Nature, that, to him that believeth, all Things are lawful, as in Relation to Chriſt in the Spirit, but ſome Things not expedient. Now to thoſe that will not unlink themſelves from the World, as to deny Father and Mother, Wife, Children, Lands, and Livings, and all for Chriſt's Sake in the ſpiritual Eſſence, but will rather ſerve him according to the Fleſh in the ten Commandments. Now this is the wonderful and admirable Love of God, that he will give them a Reward alſo, according to that Diſpenſation they are under; for he hath promiſed them a Bleſſing in Baſket and in Store, and their Children long Life in the Land for their Obedience to their Parents in the Fleſh; but no more than fleſhly Rewards can be given for fleſhly Obedience; for he, that dieth with fleſhly Deſires, fleſhly Inclinations, and fleſhly Satisfactions (this being a Compoſure of the Spirits of Darkneſs in this Body) muſt riſe again in the ſame Nature, and muſt be taken into the Center of *Mars*, the God of Fleſh, Blood, and Fire; ſo that every Man ſhall receive the Things which are done in his Body, according to that he hath done, whether it be good, or evil, 2 *Cor.* v. 10.

Then, how happy are they, that take Chriſt and the Prophets for their Example! Chriſt, being an innocent Pattern to the whole World, expoſed himſelf to all Danger and Difficulty, not for his own Ends in the Fleſh, but for others Sakes, even them that perſecuted him, and violated him with Terms of Ignominy, calling him a Glutton and a Wine-bibber, Blaſphemer and a Devil, and at length killed him out-right, and hanged him ſhamefully upon the Croſs. The Perſons that did it were the Prieſts, Counſellors, Lawyers, and the rude Multitude inſtructed by them, filled all with Envy againſt Innocency; but all this worketh together for the beſt to them that fear God in Humbleneſs and Meekneſs, with Love and Charity; where Envy cannot be, but ſome Glimpſe of the ſpiritual Light, which diſcerneth all Things, *even the deep Things of God*, according to the Scriptures, 1 *Cor.* ii. 10. But Reaſon itſelf will diſcover a Glimpſe of God's Proceedings in theſe our Days; he hath tried almoſt every Sort of Men, and every Sort of Sects, according to their Pedigree in our Land.

1. The King and Biſhops were exalted next to Chriſt.

2. The Parliament, who found Fault with them, not pulling the Beam of Covetouſneſs out of their own Eyes, and their Sects depending, were all exalted inſtead of the other.

3. The Army, with their Trades and Sects depending upon the ſame Account, became exalted: So the Gentlemen and Farmers have had their Turn in Offices and Dearth of Corn, and now they will try inferior Trades, as Journeymen and Day-labourers, and their Aſſociates depending, even to the Orphan and Alms-man, which now give them the Fulneſs of Bread, and Cloathing, and Silver, and all according to their reſpective Place and Capacity they are in: So that now we look over all their Proceedings, and judge by their Fruits, and it will be a hard Matter for a low Capacity to judge which of all theſe Parties hath been moſt juſt; but I, being of the loweſt Sort, and unlearned, being amongſt Day-labourers and Journeymen, have judged myſelf with them the worſt of all theſe Parties, in Pride, Gluttony, Drunkenneſs, Lying, Diſſembling, Swearing, Curſing, Covetouſneſs, diſobedient to Parents, breeding up Children to Diſobedience, and all other Abominations. Were not the moſt High wonderful and merciful to us, one of theſe Sins are enough to bring Judgment and Terrors upon the whole Land, namely, the Sin of Drunkenneſs, being explained, will prove it; when the All-ſeeing Eye looks into every Alehouſe of this Nation, and ſeeth of which Sort are moſt there, and they will appear to be labouring poor Men, which, in Times of Scarcity, pine and murmur for Want of Bread, curſing the Rich behind his Back; and before his Face, Cap and Knee, and a whining Countenance; and ſome are cholerick, and diſcontented, and will not ſpeak at all, neither of them conſidering what they did in the Time of Plenty, when they drank in one Day as much as a Buſhel of Barley will make, which will keep two ordinary Families a whole Week in Bread; this two

Men will do twice or three times a Week; and, when *Sunday* cometh, they will hear two Sermons, and have their Child chriſtened by the Virtue of his Faith, and receive the Sacrament at *Eaſter*, and then all is well; his Conſcience being ſeared up, he returns to his Companions, and falls on, as before, to Drunkenneſs and Gluttony, Spoiling, Backbiting his Neighbours, Swearing and Curſing, and Reviling againſt the higher Powers for Oppreſſing him; making a good Conſtruction of his Fellow-Drunkard which is drunk three or four Days in the Week; they will ſay he is an honeſt Fellow, and no Body's Foe but his own, although both he, and they that do ſo, are the greateſt Oppreſſors under the Sun, and the greateſt Enemies to the poor fatherleſs Orphans, Widows and Strangers, which are below them; for by their Drunkenneſs and Gluttony Corn is made dear; Corn being dear, Land is made dear; ſo that the Farmer muſt give a great Rent for his Farm, and is conſtrained to hire many more Acres. By this Means Cattle and Corn have been at a high Rate, the Farmer being covetous-minded to uphold his Wife and Children in Pomp and Pride, Feaſting and Gluttony at Chriſtenings and Banquetings, by which Means Surfeits and Diſeaſes drive them to the Phyſicians, who wait for their Prey, to get Money to purchaſe Lands and Houſes, that they may let it out to them again. Thus, you ſee, that the Body of *England* is become a Monſter: God hath created Eyes in us that are the Feet, to diſcover her Nakedneſs as far as the Middle; we have a little Light of her Arms, and her Head, which keeps her Pomp by Sword and Violence; but our Sight being weak, and moſt Work to do at Home, and moſt convenient for every Man to pull the Beam out of his own Eye, according to the Scriptures, *Matth.* vii. 3. that we may ſee clearer, *and juſtly judge the Tree by its Fruits*, we ſhall try the inferior and lower Sort of Feaſting among Women, called by the Name of Chriſtenings, which are theſe: *Firſt*, To exchange upon ſome Body that is ſilly, or fooliſh, ſluttiſh, or covetous, or an ill Huſband, or a Drunkard: Others be condemned for often Feaſting, and Wearing fine Cloaths, Swearing and Lying, ſo that all Sorts are laughed at, and judged, but ourſelves, whilſt we ourſelves are doing the very ſame Things; and this is the Fruit that grows upon the Tree called Chriſtening, or Baptizing the Child into the Father's Faith; which is an admirable Tree, if it be true, that the Child can be in Chriſt by the Father's Faith, and no Falling from Grace; then let us conſider, whether *Adam* did believe in Chriſt; and, if it be found he did, then this Baptiſm would have ſaved all the People from *Adam* to this Day, and will do from this Day forward; for the Child, being baptized into the Father's Faith, groweth up, and begetteth Children, and cannot fall away, baptizing Children into their Faith, and ſo forward: So that, if God had been as wiſe as we in our own Conceit, he might have ſaved the Lives of all his Prophets, and Apoſtles, and People too; but the moſt High is now once more beginning to break through the Clouds of Darkneſs in poor innocent Forms of Earth, raiſing them up from Carpenting, Fiſhing, and Tent-making, *to confound the High and Mighty, for the Wiſdom of Man is Fooliſhneſs*, 1 Cor. Chap. i. Now let us compare this inferiour Feaſt, called Chriſtening, with the Feaſt of Chriſt among the Multitude, and ſee which was moſt exemplary to the People, and which produced moſt Good to Soul and Body; and conſider the Example of Chriſt's Birth in a Manger, with the Pomp and Pride of Children's Births in our Days. Again, conſider what Feaſt there was when Chriſt was baptized of *John*, and, I think, we ſhall find none at all. Then let us ſee what Chriſt had at his Feaſt with the People; he being able to *command Stones to be Bread*, or *Water to be Wine*, was alſo able to command roaſt Beef or Pig; but he was to be exemplary to all People on Earth, in all his Actions and Doctrine; made an innocent Feaſt for the People with Barley Loaves and Fiſhes, *Mat.* xiv. But ſome will object and ſay, he was able to work Miracles, and we are not. To which I anſwer; If we, as he, were able to command all Things, and yet would have nothing at our Feaſt but Barley Loaves and Fiſhes, what Advantage would our Power be to this Feaſt? The Feaſt being innocent, without hurting any Creature on Earth; but, on the contrary, he endeavoured to preſerve, and to reconcile the People to God with ſound Words of Inſtructions, uttered with Love, Peace, and Meekneſs, with Motions of healing all People that were brought to him: So that you may ſee a great Difference betwixt his Feaſt and the other. Again, he often went to the Feaſt of the *Jews*, and to a Wedding, to ſhew forth the Power of his Father, in turning Water into Wine; but we never find that ever he was drunk, or eat a Bit of Fleſh at any of their Feaſts, or Weddings: The Paſſover was his own Feaſt, and did belong to the Fulfilling of the Law of the Father in his Fleſh, even for a diſobedient People, which the Lord, by *Moſes*, brought out of *Egypt* from their Fleſh Pots, into the Wilderneſs, to purify their Bodies with Angels Food, called *Manna*, which they ground in Mills, or beat in Mortars, to make in Cakes: But they, loſing their Groſſneſs, grew lean and hungry, and *murmured, and rebelled againſt the Lord, luſting after the Fleſh-pots of Egypt*: Their Deſires being much and ſtrong, the Lord granted them Fleſh, even as he granted them a King, and his Wrath and Plague came with it, as you may ſee in *Numb.* xi. 33. and *Pſal.* lxxviii. 31. *While the Fleſh was yet between their Teeth, before it was chewed, even then the Wrath of the Lord was kindled againſt the People, and the Lord ſmote the People with an exceeding great Plague.* Thus, you ſee, what miſerable Creatures we are, being bred up with Fleſh and Blood, Onions and Garlick, all under *Mars*, whom God hath made Governor all over that Humour that luſteth after Fleſh and Blood, which is made ſtrong in us, by feeding of it, as I myſelf may ſpeak by Experience; for, if God had commanded me to forbear Fleſh before I had Knowledge of this my Diſcourſe, although he had ſent an Angel, or a Man-working Miracles, I doubt I ſhould have judged all to be of the Devil, for the Luſt I had after the Sweetneſs of Fleſh; even as the rich Men, in theſe our Days, will deny the Scripture, wherein Chriſt commanded the rich Man in the Goſpel, *to ſell his Goods, and give to the Poor*: But they will ſay, it reached no farther, than that one rich Man ſhould; for, ſay they, if we ſhould believe this Scripture extended to us, we ſhould make the Poor richer than ourſelves. So it ſeems by this, that they had rather deny this Scripture, and many more that ſpeak to this Purpoſe, even Chriſt and all, rather than to part from their Riches; this would have been my Condition in Ignorance.

Therefore let not the rich Men miſtake me, and think that I would have them ſell their Goods, before God hath enlightened their Underſtandings, and let them ſee the Danger of keeping it, for then they would play the Hypocrites, and do as Bad to themſelves, as if they had kept it, although Good to others: This would be the Condition of every one that ſhall forbear Fleſh, or Beer, as in Relation to God, becauſe it is a Sin againſt the Body, or Bodies and Souls of Men: *Except any Man think he ſins againſt God in eating, to him it is Sin, becauſe he is weak, and doubteth*: So he ought to forbear, becauſe of his Scruple; as you ſhall ſee in *Rom.* xiv. 8. 1 *Cor.* viii. 10. For if any Man ſee thee, which hath Knowledge, ſit at Table in the Idol's Temple, ſhall not the Conſcience of him which is weak, be imboldened to eat thoſe Things which are ſacrificed to Idols? You may obſerve from this, that he that walketh by another Man's Light, before he is fully convinced in himſelf, if he buildeth on Sand, he will fall in the Tempeſt, becauſe he hath loſt his tender Light of his Scruple, which *Paul* endeavoured to ſtrengthen in every one of his Brethren, let them be of what Opinion they would in Matter of Conſcience. It is very plain in *Rom.* xiv. and very few in theſe Days believeth it; for we all cry out againſt many Opinions, yet every one would have his own Opinion juſtified; we may as well cry out and condemn every one his Neighbour, becauſe they differ in Phyſiognomy, and ſo condemn the Work of God without us, as well as within us, but this is Rebellion againſt our Maker; for the Scripture commandeth us not to judge one another in Matter of Conſcience towards God, but for the Sin againſt our Brethren and Neighbours; we ought to know the Tree by its Fruits. So that any Man or Men in Countries, Towns, or Cities, that ſhall defraud their Brethren, and ſhall advance themſelves in Pride by Oppreſſion and Tyranny, imitating *Sodom* and *Gomorrah* in all Manner of Abominations; if any ſee this imitated in *England*, it is high Time for us, or them that do ſo, to become Imitators of Chriſt and the Prophets; firſt, in Order of the Prophets that came before Chriſt, who were ordered by their Practice to ſhew *Iſrael* their Tranſgreſſions, in drinking Water by Meaſure, and in making Bread; for *Ezekiel* took of Wheat, Barley, and Beans, and Lentils, and Millet, and Fiſhes, and put them in a Veſſel, and made Bread thereof; and, inſtead of Butter and Spice, he was to take Cow's Dung inſtead of Men's Dung, to prepare his Bread with, and he was to have his Portion by Weight, *Ezek.* iv. 9. Thus, the Prophet was to ſhew them their Error in Matter of Food; and for Cloathing, you may ſee in *Iſa.* xx. who was a Prophet of God, ordered not only to wear Sackcloth, but to go naked, and without Shoes three Years. If theſe Scriptures are written for our Learning, Imitation, and Practice, then we are to judge which are the Prophets of God, by this Practice in Scripture; and if ſo, where ſhall we find Prophets of God? But ſome will ſay, we are to follow Chriſt and the Apoſtles, in the New Teſtament; and, if you will have it ſo, then we muſt exactly ſee what Orders they had in their Commiſſion, that we know them from Hirelings: We find in the Commiſſion, that they were to go and preach without Money, or Scrips, or Shoes on their Feet, but to be ſhod with Sandals, *Mark* vi. 8. So we may doubt whether we ſhall find any Apoſtles too, if we ſhall judge by Chriſt's Commiſſion; but, if you will not own theſe Scriptures, neither let us try them that mark out the falſe Apoſtles and Teachers, namely *John* x. where he ſaith, *the Hireling is not his Shepherd*; and *Mat.* vii. where he ſaith, *ye ſhall know them by their Fruits, inwardly they are ravening Wolves.* Many more Scriptures to this Purpoſe there are; but, if you have a Mind to your Hireling ſtill, you will believe no Scripture that is againſt him, neither is there any for him; ſo that all true practical Part of Scriptures muſt be laid aſide; only talk of it and diſpute of it a little, and pick out of it a few Places to preach out of, and to write, to get ſome Money to uphold their Pride and Honour in this World, to pleaſe the old Man in the Fleſh: Surely if *John the Baptiſt*, ſhould come forth again, and call himſelf *Leveller*, and take ſuch Food as the Wilderneſs yielded, and ſuch Cloathing, and preach up his former Doctrine, 'He that hath two Coats ſhould give away one of them, and he that hath Food ſhould do likewiſe;' How ſcornfully would our proud Gentlemen and Gallants look on him, that hath gotten three or four Coats with great Gold and Silver Buttons, and Half a Score dainty Diſhes at his Table, beſides his gallant Houſe, and his Furniture therein; therefore this Scripture muſt be interpreted ſome other Way, or elſe denied; and this is our Condition, if the Scripture will not ſerve for our own Ends to fulfil ſelfiſh Deſires, to uphold the old Man in his fleſhly Honour, which belongeth to the Magiſtrate only, whom God hath made a Miniſter for thy Wealth's Sake, and doth not at all belong to Innocency, nor Chriſt in the Spirit; for there is ſmall Sign of the old Man's Dying or Putting off, whilſt he ſmites his Fellows for the Liberty of his fleſhly Deſires; and this is our Condition, that love the World, in whom the Love of God cannot be, 1 *John* ii. 15, 16. 'Love not the World, neither the Things of the World: If any Man love the World, the Love of the Father is not in him; for all that is in the World, as the Luſt of the Fleſh, the Luſt of the Eyes, and the Pride of Life, is not of the Father, but is of the World:' Theſe Scriptures have I endeavoured formerly to interpret ſome other Way, by Abſurdities and Conſequences; how that, if we ſhould not wear ſuperfluous Things, Thouſands of People would ſtarve for Want of Trading, and ſo by Conſequence bring greater Evil upon us: So I, being not willing to loſe my [redacted] worldly Pomp, I queſtioned the Truth of the Scriptures, and even God himſelf, and all for Want of ſome Glimpſe of ſpiritual Light, which my natural Eyes in Reaſon could not diſcern. Therefore, the moſt High was pleaſed to convince me with natural Forms, namely, Birds of the Air, which every Day brought me Intelligence according to my worldly Occaſions; for almoſt three Years Space I have obſerved them, for they would foretel me of any Danger or Croſs, or any Joy from Friends; I mean any Danger or Diſhonour to my Perſon, or Loſs of Cattle, or Corn, or any other Diſadvantage to my Advancement in the World; and this clearly convinced me, that there was a Power above Man. Then I conſidered the wiſe Man's Saying, *Eccleſ.* x. 20, 'Curſe not the King, no not in thy Thought, neither curſe the Rich in thy Bed-chamber, for the Fowls of Heaven ſhall carry the Voice, and that which hath Wings ſhall declare the Matter:' Alſo I conſidered that God made Uſe of a Bird to feed *Elias* the Prophet; by this I ſaw, that he made Uſe of natural Cauſes to fulfil natural Deſires, ſo I came to know God in Nature. Moreover, I conſidered the Scriptures where the Lord ſpeaks againſt the Sooth-ſayers, and againſt Aſtrologers, Sorcerers, and Wizards; all theſe I found to be the Spirits of Darkneſs, and will reach no further then the old Man in the Fleſh, yet very neceſſary to be known, that we may avoid the Evil thereof: Chriſt and the Prophets knew all theſe Things, or elſe they would never have ſpoken againſt them, but we in the old Man have often ſpoken againſt Things that we knew not, out of blind Zeal, but not according to Knowledge:

Therefore, let the Scripture rule us, that we judge no Man's Heart, which belongeth to God only in the Spirit, but our Judgment muſt be external of every Tree according to their Fruits; for by their Fruits we ought to know them: So to reprove every Man his Neighbour to his Face, leave off Backbiting and Slandering one another, and making up our Laughter in deriding the Actions of others, which we cannot do, unleſs we think ourſelves wiſer then they: This ſad Thing have I obſerved in many Families, when they have happened in any Diſcourſe, it ſeldom or never ended without backbiting, or deriding one another behind their Backs with their Tongues, which cauſeth Envy, and ſets on Fire every Man that uſeth it againſt his Neighbour, according to the Scripture, *Jam.* iii. and this cometh for Want of mortifying the old Man in the Fleſh, *Rom.* viii. 13. Theſe and many other Helps there are in the Scriptures, if we will believe it, to overcome the Fleſh; for Chriſt ſaith, *Mat.* vii. 8. 'Whoſoever asketh 'receiveth, and he that ſeeketh findeth, and 'to him that knocketh it ſhall be opened:' This Scripture ſeems to reach further than the Diſciples in ſome Caſes; for ſome that did not believe made Uſe of his Name to caſt out Devils, and it ſeems the Power of God aſſiſted them therein; for they could not do it by the Power of the Devil, for then they would not have made Uſe of Chriſt's Name. Again, Chriſt himſelf ſaith, 'If Satan caſt out Satan, 'his Kingdom cannot ſtand,' *Mat.* xii. 26. And it is contrary to any Reaſon, that God ſhould caſt out God, or the Devil caſt out the Devil: So we find according to the whole Tenour of Scripture, that God anſwereth all Sorts of People according to that Diſpenſation they are under, if their Deſires are fervent, whether it be for their Good, or their Hurt, as I have proved ſufficiently in my Diſcourſe concerning the Fleſh given to the Children of *Iſrael*, 1 *Sam.* viii. 7. where God ſaith to *Samuel*, 'Hear the Voice of the People in all 'that they ſhall ſay unto thee. So God condeſcended to the Deſires of the People for the Hurt of their Bodies in granting them a King; but if any out of Zeal towards God in the Spirit will pray unto him, and yet would uphold the Righteouſneſs of God in the Fleſh; God anſwering them with ſuch Spirits as may diſhonour them in this World, by Lying or falſe Propheſying, to deſtroy the Honour of the old Man in them, that they may be brought forth as tried in the Fire, more pure in the Spirit of Light; but if any ſhall enquire after God at the Mouth of his Prophets, only to uphold the Honour and Ambition of the old Man in this World, God will ſend them falſe Spirits to preach Lyes, on Purpoſe to deſtroy them; and this will come upon thoſe that are for their own ambitious Ends, as you may ſee in 1 *Kings* xxii. where the falſe Spirits wait on God for their Meſſage, and God ſends them forth, and bids them proſper, to pleaſe *Ahab* in his Requeſt: Thus we ſee for the Love of this World People are deſtroyed. Then let us conclude, that it is high Time to caſt off the old Man with his Rudiments, with his Malice and Envy, and entertain Light, Love, Peace, and Joy in the Holy Ghoſt: That this may be our Treaſure, leading us up to that Throne of Grace, full of unſpeakable Joys, where Chriſt ſitteth in the Council of his Father, with all his Angels, entertaining all with Fulneſs of Joy, that enter in at this narrow Gate, wiping away all Tears, and all Deſires ſhall ceaſe, and Sorrow ſhall never more come near them; and inſtead thereof ſuch Joy, that neither Tongue of Men or Angels can expreſs.

If Men and Angels do prove ſilent, then
Why ſhould not I, an inferior Man:
Now am I ſilent, and indite no more,
Pray uſe no Violence then againſt the Poor.

O Mortal Form, what doſt thou mean,
  To make ſuch long Delay;
Keeping thy Soul ſo poor and lean,
  Againſt the dreadful Day?
To which we all muſt once appear,
  To receive our Sentence deep;
The ſorrowing Heart, and terrible Fears,
  Making our Souls to weep.
Two Things there are to us propos'd.
  Whilſt we on Earth do dwell,
In chuſing one, the other's loſt,
  Let it be Heaven or Hell.
Then muſt our Choice be circumſpect,
  Without a wordly Mind:
Leſt God one Day do us reject,
  And we no Mercy find.

If Heaven we choſe, then Hell is loſt,
  We cannot it embrace;
But to the Glory of Joy we muſt,
  Swallowed be in endleſs Grace.
If Hell we chooſe, the World is gain'd,
  Which is that Fleſh deſires:
Then need we nothing to refrain,
  That Pride and Luſt requires.
Such are our Luſts and Covetouſneſs,
  The Belly and Back to pleaſe;
With ſelling and buying, diſſembling and lying,
  Yet we cannot live at Eaſe.
But ſtill in Diſcontent abide,
  Deſiring after more:
Our Envy would that all had died,
  That loved not the Whore.
Her Merchants they do howl and weep,
  Their Traffick none will buy:
They wiſhing now to ſow or reap,
  One Year before they die.
In *Revelation*, Chap. nineteen,
  In Truth there you may read;
Who 'tis ſhall bear the Scepter,
  When the old Whore is dead.
Thus to the Wiſe in their Conceit,
  As I myſelf have been:
They now ſhall know that once they might,
  Have left the greateſt Sin.
O *England* then repent
  For the Miſery thou art in,
Which have all, by Conſent,
  Liv'd on each others Sin.
If Pride ſhould baniſh'd be away,
  Then Tradeſmen out would cry,
Come let us kill, eat, and ſlay,
  Or elſe for Want we die.
Then would the Gentry mourn,
  Without Pride they cannot live;
And Slaves to get them Corn,
  Whilſt they themſelves deceive.
Thus Pride becomes our God,
  And dear to us as Life;
Whoſe Abſence makes us ſad,
  And cannot pleaſe our Wife.
If the poor labouring Men,
  Live of their own Increaſe;
Where are your Gentry then,
  But gone among the Beaſts?
If any would know who is the Author,
  Or aſk whoſe Lines are theſe:
I anſwer, one that drinketh Water,
  And now a Liver at Eaſe.
In Drinking cannot be drunk,
  Nor am I mov'd to ſwear:
And from Wenching am I ſunk,
  My Bones are kept ſo bare.
For it is the Groſsneſs of the Fleſh
  That makes the Soul to ſmart:
And is the Cauſe of his own Luſt,
  That commits Adultery in his Heart.

Propoſals for Building, in every County, a Working-Alms-Houſe or Hoſpital, as the beſt Expedient to perfect the Trade and Manufactory of Linnen Cloth. Whereby, 1. All poor People and their Children, from five or ſix Years old, may be employed and maintained; as alſo all Beggars, Vagrants, &c. reſtrained and for ever prevented, and ſo all Pariſhes eaſed of that intolerable Burden. 2. Many hundred-thouſand Pounds kept at Home, which now every Year goes out of the Kingdom for Linnen, whereby our Wealth becomes a Prey to other Nations. 3. Much Land improved in every County to great Advantage of Landlord and Tenant. Humbly offered to the Conſideration of the

great Wiſdom of the whole Nation, now aſſembled in Parliament. Printed at *London*, by *W. G*, for *R. Harford*, at the Sign of the *Angel*, in *Cornhill*, 1677. *Quarto*, containing fourteen Pages.

Conſidering the great Complaints of Poverty; the heavy Burdens, moſt Pariſhes lie under to maintain their Poor, which daily increaſe; the Swarms of Beggars, Vagrants, and idle People in City and Country; the great, and it is feared, irrecoverable Decay of our ancient Trade for woollen Cloth; the vaſt Charge we are yearly at in purchaſing Linnen, *&c.* from other Nations, whereby our Treaſure is exhauſted, and our Lands fall for Want of being improved ſome other Way, beſides planting Corn, breeding for Wool, *&c.* which are become of ſo low a Price, as ſcarce to turn to Account: And underſtanding, that, for remedying thereof, the Improving the Manufactory of Linnen is now under Debate, I have taken the Boldneſs to offer the following Propoſal, which if thought fit to be put in Practice, will, in my Opinion, infallibly conduce to all the good Ends deſired and intended, *viz.*

That there may be erected in every County, according to its Extent or Populouſneſs, a greater or leſſer working Alms-Houſe, wherein the Poor may be continually employed in the Manufactory of Linnen Cloth.

The Advantages whereof are evident; for,

I. This Manufactory is an Employment for the weakeſt People, not capable of ſtronger Work, *viz.* Women and Children, and decrepit or aged People, now the moſt chargeable; as likewiſe for Beggars and Vagrants, who live idly, and by the Sweat of other Men's Labours, and can no Way ſo effectually be brought to Induſtry and Order, as when reduced into ſo narrow a Compaſs or Confinement, under fitly qualified Rulers, Officers, and regular Government.

II. Theſe Working-Alms-Houſes may raiſe and ſupply the Nation yearly with a ſufficient Stock of Linnen Cloth, the fineſt Sort excepted, if true Meaſures be taken, and the Deſign effectually proſecuted: As for Example, one Million three-hundred and fifty-two Thouſand Pounds Worth of Cloth may yearly be ſpun in them only, beſides what is made in private Families——Thus demonſtrated;

1. It is well known by Experience, that three Quarters of a Pound of Thread, worth Twelve-pence *per* Pound Spinning, will make one Ell of Cloth, worth two Shillings *per* Ell? which three Quarters of a Pound two Spinners may ſpin in one Day; hence it follows,

2. That two-thouſand Spinners will ſpin Thread enough in one Day to make a thouſand Ells of Cloth, worth a hundred Pound. And, working but two-hundred and ſixty Days in the Year, may ſpin twenty-ſix Thouſand Pounds Worth of Linnen Cloth in a Year.

3. Suppoſe then there be as many publick Work-houſes, as there are Counties, which are fifty-two, and in every Work-houſe, one with another, two-thouſand Spinners (though in ſome more, ſome leſs) then according to theſe reaſonable Meaſures, there will be the forementioned Sum of one Million Three-hundred and fifty-two Thouſand Pounds Worth of Cloth ſpun in one Year; which is what we undertook to demonſtrate.

This or ſome ſuch prodigious Sum of Money might yearly be raiſed to the Nation, whereby a treble Benefit would enſue: *Firſt*, we might ſave ſo much Money, now yearly ſent out of the Nation for Linnen, which, as computed by very worthy intelligent Perſons, has of late coſt us more than a Million *per Annum*. *Secondly*, By employing thoſe Hands, which, for the greateſt Part, are idle; it being reaſonably ſuppoſed that there are, at leaſt, a hundred-thouſand Beggars, or others, who want a lawful Employment. Beſides, almoſt all both Men, Women and Children, that can but pull Tire, or Tow from the Diſtaff, or ſuch eaſy Work, may be ſpeedily employed and removed from being chargeable; ſo that there will be no Fear of any Pariſh in the Kingdom being oppreſſed, or indeed charged, ſave only in Caſe of extreme Age, or Children in their Infancy, neither of which continues long. And *Thirdly*, Much Land, throughout *England*, will be greatly improved by ſowing Hemp, Flax, *&c.*

Object. It may be objected, That if the Houſe be ſtocked with ſo many weak, antient People and Children, this will croſs the great Deſign, becauſe they will not be capable to ſpin their Quantity of Cloth, nor ſo fine.

Anſw. As to Fineneſs, it matters not, if but one in five be employed in it, to an exquiſite Degree; for there is enough Occaſion for coarſer, for Sacking, Sails, Ticking, common Table-Linnen, Sheets, *&c.* And as to Quantity, it may not be the leſs, becauſe the moſt laborious Thing in Spinning is Turning of the Wheel.

Now, for the better Effecting a Deſign ſo profitable and honourable to the Kingdom, I have improved my ſmall Genius to the utmoſt, notwithſtanding I, above all Projectors, have been moſt diſcouraged: And I know whoever will attempt any Thing for publick Benefit, may expect theſe three Things. The firſt is neceſſary, the ſecond cuſtomary, and the third diabolical) *viz.* To be the Object of wiſe Men's Cenſure, other Men's Laughter, and, if advantageous to himſelf, Envy's implacable Diſpleaſure; of which laſt, I have had a Share to the higheſt Degree, that Revenge could expreſs; and this too from a pretended loving Brother, a Perſon of an honeſt Profeſſion, and of as debauched a Conſcience; yet I ſay, notwithſtanding ſuch Diſcouragements, I have ſpent ſome Time for publick Advantage, *viz.* To find out an Expedient both for Eaſe and quick Diſpatch, ſo as that the Weak may do as much as the Strong, and the Strong, much more than before.

As thus: One Man may turn fifty Spinning Wheels, which ſhall ſerve a hundred Perſons to ſpin with at once; ſo that the Spinners ſhall have Nothing to do but employ both Hands to draw Tire from the Diſtaff. The Demonſtration of the Infallibility of this Invention may be eaſily made, when commanded.

As alſo, an Engine by which fifty Men may, without ſtriking a Stroke, beat as much Hemp in one Day, as a hundred ſhall do in two Days.

Beſides the Advantage of this Spinning Engine in Eaſe, its Expedition will alſo be conſiderable; for if, as we doubt not, by this Help Spinners can earn Nine-pence *per* Day, as eaſy as Six-pence *per* Day without it: By that Means computing only a thouſand Spinners in each of the fifty-two Work-houſes, in one Year's Time, will be gained the Sum of one Hundred and Sixty-three Thouſand, Nine-hundred and ſixty eight Pounds and upwards, as by Calculation appears; and the Invention for Hemp-beating, which is the hardeſt Work of all, will likewiſe, in its Kind, be very conſiderably advantageous.

Object. 2. But ſome will be ready to object, and tell us, That we talk of brave Things, if Words would do the Work; but where is the Money for the Building of ſuch great Hoſpitals? And Providing all Tools and Materials will coſt many thouſand Pounds.

I confeſs here is the Knot, which ſeems knit by Magick Art; but, if it can be untied, without Cutting or Breaking the Thread, then I hope our Propoſals will not be rejected.

Anſw. To this therefore I humbly anſwer, That it may be done by a County Charge, with as much Satiſfaction, *Pleaſure*, and Advantage, as to part with five Pounds to prevent paying fifty Shillings, *per Annum*; which I think no wiſe People will judge to be an hard Bargain; eſpecially, if they conſider the other vaſt Profit to the Nation, and that thereby they purchaſe, in the Country, fifty Shillings, *per Annum*, more by Improvement of their Lands for Hemp or Flax.——As thus;

Suppoſe every Pariſh, one with another, throughout the Nation, relieves as many poor People, Beggars, *&c.* as doth amount to Twelve-pence in the Pound; ſo that every hundred Pound *per Annum* pays five Pounds *per Annum* to the Poor: Now if every hundred Pound *per Annum* pay five Pounds towards Building ſuch Hoſpital, then whereas more than half their Poor conſiſts of Children, Women, and decrepit weak Perſons, unfit for any other Employment, but ſuch as may fitly be removed to this Hoſpital; it follows, more than Half their Charge will for the future be abated; yea, many Pariſhes have ſcarce any Poor to provide for.

Wherefore, as for Raiſing Money, we will take our Meaſures thus: In *England*, there are commonly accounted Nine-thouſand Seven-hundred and twenty-five Pariſhes, and fifty-two Counties; ſo that, one with another, there are a hundred and eighty-ſeven Pariſhes to each County; and each Pariſh ſuppoſed to be worth Fifteen-hundred Pounds *per Annum*, ſome more, ſome leſs, at the Rate of Twelve-pence *per*

Pound, it will amount to the Sum of Fourteen-thouſand and twenty-five Pounds, in each County, which undoubtedly will compleat the Houſe and Materials.

Object. 3. But this Method will not hold, becauſe one County hath not ſo many Pariſhes as another.

Anſw. It matters not; let each County build proportionably to their Money, as it will ariſe at Twelve-pence *per* Pound, we doubt not but it will be ſufficient.

Object. 4. It may further be objected, as impoſſible, That the Spinning Engine ſhould turn to Account, becauſe, as often as one Spinner has Occaſion to ſtop, all the reſt muſt be idle; and again, ſince every Wheel hath its Motion alike, and ſeveral Spinners work ſome faſter, ſome ſlower, therefore, all conſidered, this Project will make but a Confuſion.

Anſw. To this I reply; any one may ſtop, and the reſt work on, and alſo may vary the Motion of each Spinning Inſtrument, ſo as the nimbleſt and the ſloweſt may have their Deſire: Nor may theſe Inſtruments be contemned, ſince they are as cheap as the other, and ſo ordered, that the Spinners may ſit or ſtand when they pleaſe; which, doubtleſs, will be a good Conveniency.

The Invention of theſe Engines is wholly mine, and, if they prove effectual, I hope I ſhall not be deprived of Receiving ſome Benefit thereof; becauſe I am ſo free, as, in Effect, to diſcover it before-hand. However, I ſubmit to what the Pleaſure of Authority ſhall allow: And to the Intent, theſe Hoſpitals may never fail of Encouragement, that the Invention may be for ever ſecured to them, and prohibited to all others, ſo that the ſame may be improved only for their Benefit, and private Perſons not take the Advantage thereof, to the Prejudice of this our pious and neceſſary Deſign: I doubt not but many will ſay, Tuſh! This is eaſy; any Body may invent ſuch Things as theſe.—Thus the Induſtry of one is gratified with the Contempt of others: Howbeit I leave it with all humble Submiſſion to the grave Wiſdom aforeſaid, to conſider,

1. Whether theſe great Hoſpitals may not become Nurſeries for Bringing up all poor People's Children to Induſtry, and how, by a Methodical Government, every one may be ſo encouraged, that, one ſtriving to excel the reſt, in a very ſhort Time, the fineſt Linnen may be made at Home, upon far better Terms, than what comes from beyond the Seas; and whether there be not a Probability, if the Engines take, that we may come to tranſport Linnen, upon as good Terms as other Nations, ſince Flax and Hemp may here be as plentifully produced as in any other Country.

2. Whether this great and profitable Trade may not be managed, for the moſt Part, by thoſe who at preſent are a Burden; ſo that thoſe which before were induſtrious, may follow their former Employments, and ſo no Want of People for Huſbandry, *&c.*

Object. 5. But what ſhall we do for Weavers?

Anſw. I propoſe it to Conſideration, whether it might not be a more Chriſtian and effectual Courſe to ſuppreſs notorious Malefactors, except only in Caſes of Treaſon and Murder, to condemn them hither, for Life or Years, where they may be ſerviceable to turn Wheels, fit Tire to the Diſtaffs, reel Yarn, ſwingle or hitchel Hemp or Flax, weave, *&c.* which an ordinary Ingenuity may learn in a few Days, rather than to ſend them out with a Brand to commit freſh Villainies, or tranſport them, whence they preſently return: And this is the rather to be heeded, for that foreign Plantations have now ſo little Occaſions for them, that Merchants refuſe to take them off the Sheriff's Hands, without being paid for their Paſſage; ſo that above eighty Convicts in *Newgate* lately obtained a general Pardon, on that very Score, becauſe they knew not what to do with them: Beſides, how many overſtocked Trades are there that complain for Want of Trade, *&c.* Theſe may quickly learn to weave, and never fear an Employ.

Object. 6. But, as to Convicts brought hither, it will be objected, That they muſt be kept more ſecure, leſt they eſcape and do Miſchief.

Anſw. They may be ſecured well enough, and thoſe that turn the Wheel, *&c.* may be ſeparated by an Iron Grate from the reſt:——And here, by the Way, the pious Wiſdom of the City of *London* may find out a Means, whereby all thoſe impudent Night-walkers, and Nurſes of Debauchery, may be wholly removed, which at preſent are a Deſtruction, both to the Eſtates, Bodies, and Souls of many Hundreds, and cannot be reclaimed by ordinary *Bridewels*, becauſe their Labour there is only a Puniſhment, and turns not to Advantage, to keep them there all their Days, or at leaſt, until they marry, and keep within Doors.

Object. 7. Some may imagine an Inconvenience, in ſending ſo many People from all Parts of the County to one Place, and ſay, Why were it not better to build many little Work-Houſes, rather than one great one?

Anſw. I anſwer, by no Means; for then we ſhall miſs one great and chief Deſign, *viz.* the Maintenance of good Government; by which the whole Family may be inſtructed in good Manners, both towards God and Man; only, as ſome Counties are greater, more populous, *&c.* they may have more or leſs, proportionably.

Object. 8. There ſtill remains one Objection and that is, What ſhall we do for Hemp and Flax?

Anſw. To which I anſwer, That Hemp or Flax, one or the other, may plentifully be had in every County of *England*: Take *Suſſex*, as an Example; any indifferent good Land, chalky, *&c.* from the Foot of the *Downs*, to the Sea-ſide, with double Folding or Dunging, and twice Plowing, will produce Hemp in Abundance; yet though their Land be rich enough, dry, *&c.* it will not produce good Flax: But, to ſupply that, many thouſand Acres of the Wild of *Suſſex* will produce Crops of Flax, worth ſome four, ſome five, ſome ſix Pounds an Acre, and that Kind for Hemp, as aforeſaid, worth as much. Beſides, for Encouraging the Planting the ſame at Home, it may be convenient to lay an Impoſition of four or five Shillings, in the Pound, or upwards, upon all Hemp, Thread, Cordage, or Linnen imported from foreign Parts; by Means whereof, we may raiſe it at Home, cheaper than buy them Abroad, and then every Body will plant Hemp and Flax abundantly, as a Thing of Courſe, inriching thoſe that promote it.

But why four or five Counties ſhould, as ſome have propoſed, enjoy this great Wealth and Advantage of promoting the Linnen Manufactory, and Improvement of Lands, and not the reſt, I cannot underſtand; nor, for what Reaſon, ſo many People ſhould be drained out of all the Nation, into four or five Midland Counties, ſince thoſe Counties, next adjoining to the Sea, ought to be kept moſt populous.

But to what Purpoſe ſhould ſo much Hemp be planted?

I anſwer, Hemp is of greater Strength than Flax, therefore of more excellent Uſe for great Advantage, as Cables, Ropes, and all Kinds of Cordage, Sails, Sacking, *&c.* As alſo Thread for all Nets for Fiſhery; for which, and other Purpoſes, we now buy yearly ſeveral hundred thouſand Pounds Worth, from beyond the Seas; ſo that, without Controverſy, there is as much Hemp to be uſed as Flax, and conſequently the Hemp-Mill may be as uſeful as the Spinning Inſtrument.

Having, we hope, ſatisfactorily anſwered all material Objections againſt the main Body of this Deſign, it remains to conſider of the Order and Method of Governing theſe great Families or Corporations; but the Particulars thereof we leave to the deeper Wiſdom and judicious Care of *Authority*; only in general propoſe:

1. That, for the better Encouragement and Support of ſo many poor People labouring in ſo profitable a Manufactory, each Alms-Houſe be provided with, and allowed a publick Granary, for ſtocking themſelves with Corn, when it is cheapeſt, againſt the Time of Dearth; a Privilege we conceive not to be ſo properly adviſable for other Companies or Handicrafts, as ſome propoſe and deſire, becauſe that would always keep Corn too cheap, and conſequently undo the Tenant, or Landlord, or both: For what makes Wheat as often at four Shillings a Buſhel (under which it is known, the Farmer cannot live) as at two Shillings and Six-pence; but becauſe all People in the Nation, that have Occaſion, muſt buy of the Land-Occupiers, at the ſame Time, when it is ſcarce? But by ſuch general Granaries, the Hopes of four Shillings *per* Buſhel will be baniſhed the Markets; but, in our Caſe, painful Huſbandry, that antient Employment may well allow Granaries, both becauſe this Manufactory and Deſign eaſes their Charge to the Poor, and is of more Advantage to the Publick, than ſome twenty Trades beſides; and particularly, becauſe it helps to improve their Lands by Flax and Hemp, that now they need not ſo much rely upon Corn, for Raiſing their Rent: Beſides, if other overſtocked Trades want Bread, let them quit their Station, and come to Weaving, and then they may enjoy the Benefit of theſe Granaries, alſo.

2. That the Maiden Children brought up in this Corporation, may, after they attain to the Age of fifteen Years, or other fit Time, be permitted to go forth to Service to learn good Houſwifry, and the Lads to Huſbandry or Trades, if they think fit; nor will there be Need of ſo great Caution to prevent the Marriages of the meaner Sort, ſince now the Pariſhes need not ſo much fear a Charge, knowing a Means how to employ all their Children, as faſt as they come to be five or ſix Years old; nor can a young Man have better Choice for a Wife than here, amongſt ſo many, all bred up induſtriouſly, under ſtrict Diſcipline, and in a Way to live: And therefore, this Method will be ſo far from cauſing any Depopulation, that it may increaſe our Inhabitants; and the more, the better, ſince we know how to diſpoſe of them, in ſuch laudable Employments: Moreover, hereby the diſtracting Cares of poor honeſt Parents, often occaſioned by a Foreſight of their Incapacity to provide for their Children, will be removed; ſo that they may paſs their Time in Peace, knowing, that a good honeſt comfortable Employment and Education is provided for their Children, and their Children's Children; nor may this leſs remove the Temptations, both in Parents, and Children, which cauſe them to be guilty of ſuch Miſdemeanors, as ſometimes bring them to the Gallows; ſo that the Expedients offered for the Accompliſhing this Manufactory will produce a happy Change in the whole Nation, *viz.* no more Want of Work or Bread for the Poor, no more Pariſhes oppreſſed, no more Beggars, a great Abatement of Felons, Thieves, Cheats, Nurſes of Debauchery, *&c.* many Lives preſerved, and (which is an hundred Thouſand Times more than all the reſt) many Souls ſaved: Much more might be ſaid in this Caſe, to ſet forth the Excellence of this Deſign! But I leave it as a Work more deſerving the Skill of the moſt learned and godly Divine, and ſhall only add,

In order to that laſt mentioned incomparable End, and for the better Education and Inſtruction of this great Family, That there may be placed in each Houſe, an able, honeſt, godly Miniſter, of a good, peaceable, kind Diſpoſition, and exemplary Converſation; that ſo no Means may be wanting for Promoting God's Glory, and their Edification: To which Purpoſe, on Holidays, and other ſpare Times, all or the moſt docible Part of the People trained up here, may likewiſe be taught to read, *&c.*

So may our moſt great Prince and worthy Senators become further Inſtruments, for the Nation's Proſperity, and the Salvation of many Souls: Thus may the Bleſſing of Heaven crown all their honourable Enterpriſes and prudent Counſels, with moſt proſperous Succeſs; which that it may be ſo, is the hearty Deſire of

Your moſt humble,

obedient, and faithful

Subject and Servant,

R. H.

The *Iriſh* Cabinet: Or, His Majeſty's ſecret Papers, for Eſtabliſhing the Papal Clergy in *Ireland*, with other Matters of high Concernment, taken in the Carriages of the Archbiſhop of *Tuam*, who was ſlain at the late Fight at *Sleigo* in that Kingdom. Together with two exact and full Relations of the ſeveral Victories obtained by the Parliament's Forces, through God's Bleſſing, in the ſame Kingdom.

Ordered by the Commons aſſembled in Parliament, That his Majeſty's Papers, taken at *Sleigo*, be forthwith Printed and Publiſhed. *H. Elſynge Cler. Parl. D. Com.*

London, Printed for *Edward Husband*, Printer to the Honourable Houſe of Commons, and are to be ſold at his Shop at the Sign of the *Golden Dragon* in *Fleetſtreet*, near the *Inner-Temple*, *January* 20, 1645. Containing twenty-eight Pages in *Quarto*.

WHereas much Time hath been ſpent in Meetings and Debates betwixt his Excellency *James*, Lord Marquis of *Ormond*, Lord Lieutenant and General Governor of his Majeſty's Kingdom of *Ireland*, Commiſſioner to his Moſt Excellent Majeſty, *Charles*, by the Grace of God, King of *Great Britain*, *France*, and *Ireland*, &c. for the treating and concluding of a Peace in the ſaid Kingdom with his Majeſty's humble and loyal Subjects, the Confederate and *Roman* Catholicks of the ſaid Kingdom of *Ireland* of the one Part, and the Right Honourable *Donnogh*, Lord Viſcount *Muſkerry*, and Others, Commiſſioners deputed and authoriſed by the ſaid Confederate *Roman* Catholick Subjects of the other Part; and thereupon many Difficulties did ariſe, by Occaſion whereof ſundry Matters of great Weight and Conſequence neceſſarily requiſite to be condeſcended unto by his Majeſty's ſaid Commiſſioners, for the Safety of the ſaid Confederate *Roman* Catholicks, were not hitherto agreed upon, which retarded, and do as yet retard the Concluſion of a firm Peace and Settlement in the ſaid Kingdom. And whereas the Right Honourable *Edward*, Earl of *Glamorgan*, is intruſted and authoriſed by his Moſt Excellent Majeſty, to grant and aſſure to the ſaid Confederate Catholick Subjects further Grace and Favours, which the ſaid Lord Lieutenant did not as yet, in that Latitude as they expected, grant unto them; and the ſaid Earl having ſeriouſly conſidered of all Matters and due Circumſtances of the great Affairs now in Agitation, which is the Peace and Quiet of the ſaid Kingdom, and the Importance thereof, in order to his Majeſty's Service, and in relation to a Peace and Settlement in his other Kingdoms; and hereupon the Place having ſeen the ardent Deſire of the ſaid Catholicks to aſſiſt his Majeſty againſt all that do or ſhall oppreſs his Royal Right or Monarchick Government; and having diſcerned the Alacrity and Chearfulneſs of the ſaid Catholicks to embrace honourable Conditions of Peace, which may preſerve their Religion and other juſt Intereſts. In Purſuance therefore of his Majeſty's Authority under his Highneſs's Signature Royal and Signet, bearing Date at *Oxon* the twelfth Day of *March*, in the twentieth Year of his Reign, granted unto the ſaid Earl of *Glamorgan*, the Tenor whereof is as follows, *viz. Charles Rex. Charles*, by the Grace of God, King of *England*, *Scotland*, *France*, and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, *&c.* To our truſty and right well-beloved Couſin, *Edward*, Earl of *Glamorgan*, Greeting. We, repoſing great and eſpecial Truſt and Confidence in your approved Wiſdom and Fidelity, do by theſe, (as firmly as under our Great Seal, to all Intents and Purpoſes) authoriſe and give you Power to treat and conclude with the Confederate *Roman* Catholicks in our Kingdom of *Ireland*, if, upon Neceſſity, any Thing be to be condeſcended unto, wherein our Lieutenant cannot ſo well be ſeen in, as not fit for us at the preſent publickly to own: Therefore we charge you to proceed according to this our Warrant, with all poſſible Secrecy, and for whatſoever you ſhall engage yourſelf upon ſuch valuable Conſiderations, as you in your Judgment ſhall deem fit: We promiſe on the Word of a King, and a Chriſtian, to ratify and perform the ſame that ſhall be granted by you, and under your Hand and Seal; the ſaid Confederate Catholicks having by their Supplies teſtified their Zeal to our Service: And this ſhall be in each Particular to you a ſufficient Warrant. Given at our Court at *Oxford*, under our Signet and Royal Signature, the twelfth Day of *March*, in the twentieth Year of our Reign, 1644. To our right truſty and right well-beloved Couſin, *Edward* Earl of *Glamorgan*. It is therefore granted, accorded, and agreed by and between the ſaid Earl of *Glamorgan*, for and on the Behalf of his Moſt Excellent Majeſty, his Heirs and Succeſſors, on the one Part, and the Right Honourable *Richard* Lord Viſcount *Mountgarret*, Lord Preſident of the Supreme Council of the ſaid Confederate Catholicks, the ſaid *Donnogh*, Lord Viſcount *Muſkerry*, *Alexander M'Donnel*, and *Nicholas Plunket*, Eſq; Sir *Talbot Barronet*, *Dermot O Brien*, *John Dillon*, *Patrick Darcy*, and *Jeffery Brown*, Eſq; Commiſſioners in that Behalf, appointed by the ſaid Confederate *Roman* Catholick Subjects of *Ireland*, for and in the Behalf of the ſaid Confederate *Roman* Catholick Subjects, of the other Part, in Manner and Form following; that is to ſay,

1. *Imprimis*, It is granted, accorded, and agreed, by the ſaid Earl, for and in the Behalf of his Moſt Excellent Majeſty, his Heirs and Succeſſors, That all and every the Profeſſors of the *Roman* Catholick Religion in the Kingdom of *Ireland*, of whatever Eſtate, Degree, or Quality he or they be, or ſhall be, ſhall for evermore hereafter have and enjoy, within the ſaid Kingdom, the free and publick Uſe and Exerciſe of the *Roman* Catholick Religion, and of the reſpective Functions therein.

2. *Item*, It is granted, accorded, and agreed, by the ſaid Earl, for and on the Behalf of his Majeſty, his Heirs and Succeſſors, That the ſaid Profeſſors of the *Roman* Catholick Religion, ſhall hold and enjoy all and every the Churches by them enjoyed within this Kingdom, or by them poſſeſſed at any Time ſince the twenty-third of *October*, 1641; and all other Churches in the ſaid Kingdom, other than ſuch as are now actually enjoyed by his Majeſty's Proteſtant Subjects.

3. *Item*, It is granted, accorded, and agreed, by the ſaid Earl, for and on the Behalf of his Moſt Excellent Majeſty, his Heirs and Succeſſors, That all and every the *Roman* Catholick Subjects of *Ireland*, of what Eſtate, Condition, Degree, or Quality ſoever, ſhall be free and exempted from the Juriſdiction of the *Proteſtant* Clergy, and every of them; and that the *Roman* Catholick Clergy of this Kingdom ſhall not be puniſhed, troubled, or moleſted, for the Exerciſe of their Juriſdiction over their reſpective Catholick Flocks, in Matters Spiritual and Eccleſiaſtical.

4. *Item*, It is further granted, accorded, and agreed by the ſaid Earl, for and on the Behalf of his Moſt Excellent Majeſty, his Heirs and Succeſſors, That an Act ſhall be paſſed in the next Parliament to be holden in this Kingdom, the Tenor and Purport whereof ſhall be as followeth, *viz.* An Act for the Relief of his Majeſty's Catholick Subjects of his Highneſs's Kingdom of *Ireland*. Whereas by an Act made in Parliament, held in *Dublin* the ſecond Year of the Reign of the late Queen *Eliſabeth*, intitled, 'An Act reſtoring to the 'Crown the ancient Juriſdiction over the 'State Eccleſiaſtical and Spiritual, and abo-'liſhing all foreign Power repugnant to 'the ſame.' And by one other Statute made in the laſt mentioned Parliament, intitled, 'An Act for the Uniformity of Com-'mon-Prayer in the Church, and the Admi-'niſtration of the Sacrament,' ſundry Mulcts, Penalties, Reſtraints and Incapacities, are and have been laid upon the Profeſſors of the *Roman* Catholick Religion in this Kingdom, in, for, and concerning the Uſe, Profeſſion, and Exerciſe of their Religion, and their Functions therein, to the great Prejudice, Trouble, and Diſquiet of the *Roman* Catholicks in their Liberties and Eſtate, and the general Diſturbance of the whole Kingdom. For Remedy whereof, and for the better Settling, Increaſe, and Continuance of the Peace, Unity, and Tranquillity of this Kingdom of *Ireland*, his Majeſty, at the humble Suit and Requeſt of the Lords and Commons in this preſent Parliament aſſembled, is graciouſly pleaſed that it may be enacted, and be it enacted by the King's Moſt Excellent Majeſty, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in this preſent Parliament aſſembled, and by Authority of the ſame, That, from and after the firſt Day of this Seſſion of Parliament, it ſhall and may be lawful to and for all the Profeſſors of the *Roman* Catholick Religion, of what Degree, Condition, or Quality, to have, uſe, and enjoy the free and publick Exerciſe and Profeſſion of the ſaid *Roman* Catholick Religion, and of their ſeveral and reſpective Functions therein, without incurring any Mulct or Penalty whatſoever, or being ſubject to any Reſtraint or Incapacity

concerning the ſame; any Article, or Clauſe, Sentence, or Proviſion, in the ſaid laſt mentioned Acts of Parliament, or in any other Act or Acts of Parliament, Ordinances, Law, or Uſage to the contrary, or in any wiſe notwithſtanding. And be it alſo further enacted, That neither the ſaid Statutes, or any other Statutes, Acts, or Ordinances, hereafter made in your Majeſty's Reign, or in the Reign of any of your Highneſs's moſt noble Progenitors or Anceſtors, and now of Force in this Kingdom; nor all, nor any Branch, Article, Clauſe, and Sentence in them, or any of them, contained or ſpecified, ſhall be of Force or Validity in this Realm, to extend to be conſtrued, or adjudged to extend in any wiſe to inquiet, vex, or moleſt the Profeſſors of the ſaid *Roman* Catholick Religion, in their Perſons, Lands, Hereditaments, or Goods, for any Thing, Matter, or Cauſe whatſoever, touching and concerning the free and publick Uſe, Exerciſe, and Enjoyings of their ſaid Religion, Function and Profeſſion. And be it alſo further enacted and declared by the Authority aforeſaid, That your Majeſty's *Roman* Catholick Subjects in the ſaid Realm of *Ireland*, from the firſt Day of this Seſſion of Parliament, ſhall be, and be taken, deemed, and adjudged capable of all Offices of Truſt and Advancement, Places, Degrees, and Dignities, and Preferment whatſoever, within your ſaid Realm of *Ireland*, any Acts, Statutes, Uſage, or Law to the contrary notwithſtanding. And that other Acts ſhall be paſſed in the ſaid Parliament, according to the Tenor of ſuch Agreements or Conceſſions as herein are expreſſed; and that, in the mean Time, the ſaid *Roman* Catholick Subjects, and every of them, ſhall enjoy the full Benefit, Freedom, and Advantage of the ſaid Agreements and Conceſſions, and of every of them.

5. *Item*, It is accorded, granted, and agreed by the ſaid Earl, for and in the Behalf of his Majeſty, his Heirs, and Succeſſors, That his Excellency the Lord Marquis of *Ormond*, Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, or any other or others, authoriſed or to be authoriſed by his Majeſty, ſhall not diſturb the Profeſſors of the *Roman* Catholick Religion in their preſent Poſſeſſion and Continuance of the Profeſſion of their ſaid Church's Juriſdiction, or any other the Matters aforeſaid, in theſe Articles agreed and condeſcended unto by the ſaid Earl, until his Majeſty's Pleaſure be ſignified for Confirming and Publiſhing the Grants and Agreements hereby articled for and condeſcended unto by the ſaid Earl.

6. *Item*, And the ſaid Earl of *Glamorgan* doth hereby engage his Majeſty's Royal Word and publick Faith, unto all and ſingular the Profeſſors of the ſaid *Roman* Catholick Religion within the ſaid Kingdom of *Ireland*, for the due Obſervance and Performance of all and every the Articles, Grants, and Clauſes therein contained, and the Conceſſions herein mentioned to be performed to them.

7. *Item*, It is accorded and agreed, That the ſaid publick Faith of the Kingdom ſhall be engaged unto the ſaid Earl, by the ſaid Commiſſioners of the ſaid Confederate Catholicks, for ſending Ten-thouſand Men to ſerve his Majeſty, by Order and publick Declaration of the General Aſſembly now ſitting. And that the ſupreme Council of the ſaid Confederate Catholicks ſhall engage themſelves to bring the ſaid Number of Men armed, the one Half with Muſquets, and the other Half with Pikes, unto any Port within this Realm, at the Election of the ſaid Earl, and at ſuch Time as he ſhall appoint, to be by him ſhipped and tranſported to ſerve his Majeſty in *England*, *Wales*, or *Scotland*, under the Command of the ſaid Earl of *Glamorgan*, as Lord General of the ſaid Army: Which Army is to be kept together in one intire Body, and all other the Officers and Commanders of the ſaid Army are to be named by the ſupreme Council of the ſaid Confederate Catholicks, or by ſuch others, as the General Aſſembly of the ſaid Confederate Catholicks of this Kingdom ſhall intruſt therewith. In Witneſs whereof, the Parties to theſe Preſents have hereunto interchangeably put their Hands and Seals, the twenty-fifth Day of *Auguſt*, 1645.

Signed, ſealed, and delivered in the Preſence of *John Somerſet*, *Jeffery Barron*, *Robert Barry*.

Glamorgan.

'Copia vera collata fideliter cum Originali.'
Thomas Caſhell,
Franc. Patricius Waterford de Liſmore.

This is a true Copy of the original Copy, found in the Archbiſhop of *Tuam*'s Carriage, compared by us,
Arthur Anneſley.
Rob. King.

Articles

Articles of Agreement, made and concluded upon, by and between the Right Honourable Edward *Earl of* Glamorgan, *and in Purſuance, and by Virtue of his Majeſty's Authority under his Signet and Royal Signature, bearing Date at* Oxford, *the twelfth Day of* March, *in the twentieth Year of his Reign, for and on the Behalf of his moſt Excellent Majeſty, of the one Part; and the Right Honourable* Richard *Lord Viſcount* Mountgarret, *Lord Preſident of the Supreme Council of the Confederate Catholicks of* Ireland; Donnogh *Lord Viſcount* Muſkerry, Alexander Mac Donnell, *and* Nicholas Plunket, *Eſquires*; *Sir* Robert Talbot, *Baronet*; Dermot O Brien, John Dillon, Patrick Darcy, *and* Jeffery Brown, *Eſquires, for and on the Behalf of his Majeſty's* Roman *Catholick Subjects, and the Catholick Clergy of* Ireland, *of the other Part.*

I*Mprimis*, The ſaid Earl doth grant, conclude, and agree, on the Behalf of his Majeſty, his Heirs, and Succeſſors, to and with the ſaid *Richard* Lord Viſcount *Mountgarret*, *Donnogh* Lord Viſcount *Muſkerry*; *Alexander Mac Donnell* and *Nicholas Plunket*, Eſquires; Sir *Robert Talbot*, Baronet; *Dermot O Brien*, *John Dillon*, *Patrick Darcy*, and *Jeffery Brown*, Eſquires, That the *Roman* Catholick Clergy of the ſaid Kingdom ſhall, and may from henceforth for ever, hold and enjoy all and every ſuch Lands, Tenements, Tithes, and Hereditaments whatſoever by them reſpectively enjoyed within this Kingdom, or by them poſſeſſed at any Time ſince the Three-and-twentieth of *October*, One-thouſand Six-hundred Forty-one; and all other ſuch Lands, Tenements, Tithes, and Hereditaments belonging to the Clergy within this Kingdom, other than ſuch as are actually enjoyed by his Majeſty's Proteſtant Clergy.

Item, It is granted, concluded, and agreed on, by the ſaid *Richard* Lord Viſcount *Mountgarret*, *Donnogh* Lord Viſcount *Muskerry*, *Alexander Mac Donnell*, and *Nicholas Plunket*; Sir *Robert Talbot*, *Dermot O Brien*, *John Dillon*, *Patrick Darcy*, and *Jeffery Brown*, on the Behalf of the Confederate *Roman* Catholicks of *Ireland*, That two Parts in three Parts to be divided of all the ſaid Lands, Tithes, and Hereditaments whatſoever, mentioned in the precedent Article, ſhall, for three Years next enſuing the Feaſt of *Eaſter*, which ſhall be in the Year of our Lord God 1646, be diſpoſed of, and converted for and to the Uſe of his Majeſty's Forces, employed or to be employed in his Service, and the other third Part to the Uſe of the ſaid Clergy reſpectively; and ſo the like Diſpoſition to be renewed, from three Years to three Years, by the ſaid Clergy, during the Wars.

Item, It is accorded and agreed, by the ſaid Earl of *Glamorgan*, for and in the Behalf of his Majeſty, his Heirs, and Succeſſors, That his Excellency the Lord Marquis of *Ormond*, Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, or any other or others, authoriſed or to be authoriſed by his Majeſty, ſhall not diſturb the Profeſſors of the *Roman* Catholick Religion in their preſent Poſſeſſion, and Continuance of the Poſſeſſion of their Churches, Lands, Tenements, Tithes, Hereditaments, Juriſdiction, or any other the Matters aforeſaid in theſe Articles agreed and condeſcended to by the ſaid Earl, until his Majeſty's Pleaſure be ſignified for confirming and publiſhing the Grants herein articled for, and condeſcended unto by the ſaid Earl.

Item, It is accorded, granted, and agreed by the ſaid Earl, for and in the Behalf of his Majeſty, his Heirs, and Succeſſors, That an Act ſhall be paſſed, in the next Parliament to be held in this Kingdom, according to the Tenor of ſuch Agreements or Conceſſions, as herein are expreſſed; and that, in the mean Time, the ſaid Clergy ſhall enjoy the full Benefit, Freedom, and Advantage of the ſaid Agreements and Conceſſions, and every of them.

And the ſaid Earl of *Glamorgan* doth hereby engage his Majeſty's Royal Word and publick Faith unto the ſaid Lord Viſcount *Mountgarret*, and the reſt of the ſaid Commiſſioners, for the due Obſervation and Performance of all and every the Articles, Agreements, and

Conceſſions herein contained and mentioned, to be performed to the ſaid *Roman* Catholick Clergy, and every of them. In Witneſs whereof, the Parties to theſe Preſents have hereunto interchangeably put their Hands and Seals, the twenty-fifth Day of *Auguſt*, *Anno Domini* 1645.

Glamorgan.

Signed, ſealed, and delivered in the Preſence of *John Sommerſet*, *Jeffery Barron*, *Robert Barry*.

Whereas, in theſe Articles touching the Clergy's Livings, the Right Honourable the Earl of *Glamorgan* is obliged, in his Majeſty's Behalf, to ſecure the Conceſſions in theſe Articles by Act of Parliament, We, holding that Manner of ſecuring thoſe Grants, as to the Clergy's Livings, to prove more difficult and prejudicial to his Majeſty, than by doing thereof, and ſecuring thoſe Conceſſions otherwiſe, as to the ſaid Livings, the ſaid Earl undertaking and promiſing in the Behalf of his Majeſty, his Heirs, and Succeſſors, as hereby he doth undertake to ſettle the ſaid Conceſſions, and ſecure them to the Clergy, and their reſpective Succeſſors, in another ſecure Way, other than by Parliament at preſent, till a fit Opportunity be offered for ſecuring the ſame, do agree and condeſcend thereunto. And this Inſtrument, by his Lordſhip ſigned, was, before the Perfecting thereof, intended to that Purpoſe, as to the ſaid Livings; to which Purpoſe we have mutually ſigned this Indorſement. And it is further intended, that the Catholick Clergy ſhall not be interrupted by Parliament, or otherwiſe, as to the ſaid Livings, contrary to the Meaning of theſe Articles.

Glamorgan.

'Copia vera collata fideliter cum Originali.'
Thomas Caſhell.
Fra. Patricius Waterford & Liſmore.

This is a true Copy of the original Copy found in the Archbiſhop of *Tuam*'s Carriage, compared by us,
Arthur Anneſley.
Robert King.

'I *Edward*, Earl of *Glamorgan*, do proteſt 'and ſwear, faithfully to acquaint the 'King's moſt excellent Majeſty with the 'Proceedings of this Kingdom, in order to 'his Service, and to the Indearment of this 'Nation; and punctual Performance of what 'I have, as authoriſed by his *Majeſty*, *obliged* 'myſelf to ſee performed; and, in Default, 'not to permit the Army, intruſted to my 'Charge, to adventure itſelf, or any conſiderable Part thereof, until Conditions from 'his Majeſty, and, by his Majeſty, be performed.

September 3, 1645. *Glamorgan.*

'Copia vera concordans de verbo ad verbum fideliter cum originali.
Tho. Caſhel.

This is a true Copy of the original Copy, found in the Archbiſhop of *Tuam*'s Carriage, compared by us,
Arthur Anneſley,
Robert King.

A Copy of a Letter in Cipher.

Honourable Sir,

THERE are ſome Paſſages, which we omitted in our Letters to the Committee, becauſe we judge it expedient to expreſs them in Cipher; the Rebels grew higher in their Demands, ſince the King's Affairs have been in a declining Condition; which, with their abuſing the King's   and Authority, in the Taking our Gariſons in *Connaught*, and turning the *Engliſh* out of ſome of them, hath ſo incenſed the Marquis of *Ormond*, that he deſires but Power and Opportunity to break off all Treaty, and fall upon them; and, in order thereunto, we have had an Overture, by one that came from him to us, for the *Britiſh* and *Scotiſh* Forces to join with him againſt the Rebels, upon theſe Conditions:

Firſt, That the Treaty, between *England* and *Scotland*, ſhould be obſerved.

Secondly, That the Covenant ſhould not be preſſed upon the Forces, under his Lordſhip's Command; and that it ſhould be left free, for thoſe of them that would, to uſe the Common-Prayer Book, and the eſtabliſhed Government, till the King and Parliament ſettle ſome other.

Thirdly, That the *Britiſh* Army be left to the chief Governor, for the Time being, he appointing them a Governor of their own Chuſing.

Fourthly, That every Party, out of his Eſtate or Charge, be reſtored.

Fifthly, That none be ſent out of the Kingdom, without Conſent on both Parts.

Sixthly, That ſome Ammunition be left to them of *Dublin*.

Seventhly, For our Security, *Drogheda* ſhould be given into our Hands, we giving Aſſurance, that Uſe ſhould not be made of it againſt his Lordſhip.

Eighthly, Both Parties do ſwear to perform. We ſuppoſe ſome good Effect might be produced from theſe Beginnings; but, without the *Scots* Commiſſioners, we have no Power, and, therefore, expect your Directions therein, and deſire, that, in the mean While, they may be kept ſecret; for, if any Notice of a Tranſaction, in this Kind, come to the Rebels, it would hazard the putting *Dublin*, and thoſe Parts, into their Hands; the Propoſition is the more conſiderable, becauſe your Armies here will much want a Port in *Leimſter* for a Magazine; but we ſhall do nothing in it till we hear from you, but what may keep them on. Having nothing more to advertiſe you of at preſent, we remain

Your humble Servants,

Belfaſt, this Nineteenth of *November*, 1645.

Arthur Anneſley.
Robert King.
William Beale.

If you think fit to proceed, we doubt not, but to bring the Buſineſs unto far better Conditions than are propoſed.

SIR,

THE ſame Letter, which we have written to the Committee of both Kingdoms, we have alſo written to the Lords and Commons, and, if either give Redreſs to the Wrongs complained of, it is well; what we wrote to you, of the Nineteenth of this Month, in Character, might as well have been done with leſs Trouble; for Maſter *Galbreth*, that delivered to us the ſame, under an Injunction of great Secreſy, hath ſince communicated it to moſt of the Colonels of the *Britiſh* Army; ſo that it was evidently a Plot, to draw this Army, under the Command of the Marquis. I was jealous of it at firſt, and we took Bonds of him to appear before the Committee, when the *Scots* Commiſſioners ſhall land; but it was not thought fit to commit him till then, becauſe there be divers other Malignants, whom we intend, at that Time, to lay up together, who, perhaps, would not appear then, if there were any very ſtrict Courſe taken now.

We think the Strength of the Army ſtands well affected, but both Armies have known Malignants in them, who being removed, there will be no Danger. Since my former, Sir *Patrick Wemys* is come from *Dublin*, and brought his whole Family with him. I think he hath done his Part exceeding well, and, if it be not effectually proſecuted, you ſhall plainly know where the Fault lies. We want our Money and Meal extremely, without them we are, as it were, wind-bound; we intend to viſit the Major-general ſhortly; he ſaith, he hath no Commiſſion to command the Army, but you may ſee, by his Warrant that we have ſent to the Committee, he wants not a Commiſſion to levy Money: Our Letters lie here, for Want of a Veſſel to waft them over; nor have we heard a Word thence, ſince our Landing; but I will forbear that further Trouble, till there be more Cauſe.

Belfaſt, *Nov.* 26, 1645.

Your moſt humble and moſt affectionate Servant,

Robert King.

POSTSCRIPT.

SIR,

You will receive, herewith, Copies of ſuch Papers as were found in the Archbiſhop of *Tuam*'s Carriage; they are of very high Conſequence, for they ſhew you what his Majeſty grants the Papiſts here, and how far the Peace with the Rebels is advanced, be pleaſed to read them I pray you.

The News from Sligo.

ON the Lord's-day, *October* the Seventeenth, 1645, the Rebels (before the *Ulſter* Forces from the *Laggan* were come to *Sligo*) ſurrounded the Town, with about two-thouſand Foot, and three-hundred Horſe. The Gariſon, ſeeing little Hopes of the *Ulſtermen's* Advance, not knowing they were then at *Bundrous*, conceived it of abſolute Neceſſity to hazard the Fighting with the Rebels with their own Strength, and Sir *William Cole's* Troop, rather than to loſe themſelves, and the Out-gariſons, which were, in a Manner, all blocked up, by the Rebels lying between them and *Sligo*. Captain *Richard Coot*, and Captain *Cole*, commanded the Horſe, being near Two-hundred; and, after ſome Skirmiſhing with the Rebels Horſe, fell, pell-mell, into their ſeveral Diviſions of Foot, routed them, and purſued them; and Lieutenant-colonel *Sanderſon*, ſallying out of the Town with his Foot, and Sir *Francis Hamilton* coming, in the Nick of Time, with his Troop, they had all Execution upon the Rebels for five Miles; and, at the End thereof, left ſlain the Popiſh Archbiſhop of *Tuam*, the Rebels Preſident of *Connaught*, for a memorable Mark. They took one-hundred and fifty Horſe, with their Arms, their Tents, and all other Baggage and Ammunition, and had much Spoil; ſeveral Colours of Horſe and Foot, and many Officers of Note, to the Number of about Twenty-eight, Priſoners; about Two-hundred killed; and our Loſs but of one Man, and Six hurt. Many more of the Rebels might have been killed, but that our Foot left the Chace, and fell to Plunder.

Their whole Army being thus defeated, one-thouſand Foot, and three Troops of Horſe, that were coming to join with them, upon the News thereof, returned. And our Men, with the *Laggan* Army joined with them, have ſince entered the Barony of *Tereragh*, and taken thirteen Caſtles there, well provided of Corn, which was our chief Want, and like to be the Loſs of that whole Province, if God, in this miraculous Manner, had not ſupplied it. The Oxen, which drew the Enemy's Waggons, drew our Ordnance, for the Taking in of the ſaid Caſtles. And now our Men have good Quarters for this Winter, about the ſaid Caſtles, which keep the Country under Contribution.

The Archbiſhop of *Tuam* was a principal Agent in theſe Wars, and one of the ſupreme Council of *Kilkenny*. He attended their Army at this Time, to viſit his Dioceſs, and to put in Execution an Order for the Arrears of his Biſhoprick, granted to him from the Council at *Kilkenny*; which Order, together with the Pope's Bull, and ſeveral other Letters of Correſpondence, between him and his Agents from *Rome*, *Paris*, and ſeveral Parts of this Kingdom, were found about him: The Particulars of which Letters, in order to the *Iriſh* Affairs, are as followeth:

'That the Pope would not, at the firſt, engage himſelf, in the Sending of a *Nuncio* for *Ireland*, till the *Iriſh* Agents had fully ſatisfied him, that the Eſtabliſhment of the Catholick Religion was a Thing feaſible, and attainable in this Kingdom; whereupon, he was content to ſollicit their Cauſe with *Florence*, *Venice*, &c, and alſo to delegate *Farmano*, his *Nuncio*, to attend this Kingdom.' Who, the ſaid *Nuncio*, after ſome Delays in *France*, was, at laſt, expedited thence, by expreſs Order from the Pope; and he arrived at the River of *Kilmare*, in a Frigate of twenty-one Pieces, twenty-ſix *Italians* of his Retinue, Secretary *Belinges*, and divers regular and ſecular Prieſts, *October* the Twenty-ſecond. The *Iriſh* are much encouraged with theſe Supplies which he hath brought; the Liſt whereof, found about the Archbiſhop, is:

Imprimis, Two-thouſand Muſquets, four-thouſand Bandeliers, two-thouſand Swords, five-hundred Petronels, and twenty-thouſand Pounds of Powder (all which arrived in another Barque by itſelf at *Brook-haven*, *October* the Tenth) together with five or ſix Deſks, or ſmall Trunks of *Spaniſh* Gold, the Sum uncertain.

Theſe Letters likewiſe inform us, that the King's Hopes are from the *Iriſh* Nation; and, if they deſert him, he is like to be in a hard Condition very ſpeedily. Several other Things they contain, concerning Prince *Rupert*, Colonel *Legg*, the King's Loſſes at *Briſtol* and

Cheſter. Something there is, alſo, of the Treaty of Peace. *Ormond*, ſays one, is found a *Machiavellian*; *Dillon*, *Muſkerry*, *Talbot*, are for Peace; ‘ Conditionibus quibuſcunque iniquis,’ ſays another; ‘ Our publick Affairs are ‘ in via, non in termino,’ ſays a Third; the Propoſitions high, the Anſwers high and ſly. There are ſome Myſteries of State in this Buſineſs, which I cannot commit to Paper; yet, morally certain it is, there will be Peace, ſaith a Fourth. It ſeems, alſo, there were ſome Differences amongſt the Rebels themſelves, as between *Muſkerry* and *Brown*; inſomuch, that *Brown* is diſpatched from *Dublin* to *Kilkenny*, between *Caſtle-haven*, and *Preſton*; inſomuch, that Father *Scrampe* went from the ſupreme Council to reconcile them. There was alſo a private Letter, of ſuſpicious Informations, againſt *Dominico Spinola*, an Agent in *Ireland*, wherein he is ſaid to hold Correſpondence with the Queen of *England* in *France*, and to be a Lover of their Enemies.

Priſoners at Sligo.

Great *Morah ne Dom. O Flaherty*, Lieutenant-colonel to *Richard Bourk*, Couſin-german to the Earl of *Clanrickard*, and his next Heir.

John Gerdy, Lieutenant-colonel to Sir *Tibbot Bourk*, eldeſt Son to the Lord of *Mayoe*.

Richard Bourk, Major to *Richard Bourk* aforeſaid.

Captain *William O Shaghniſe*, Brother to Sir *Roger O Shaghniſe*.

Captain *Garret Dillon*, Son to Sir *Lucas Dillon*, who ſaith, that his Father was ſhot in the Thigh.

Captain *Coſtologh*, with divers other inferior Officers.

The titular Archbiſhop of *Tuam* was ſlain.

Captain *Brown*, Brother *Jeffery Brown*, the Lawyer, who brought one-hundred Muſquets from *Galloway*, was alſo killed.

A true and fuller Relation from Ireland *of the Service performed by the Men of* Inniſkillin, *of Sir* William Cole’*s Regiment and Troop at* Lowtherſtowne, *upon* Thurſday, November *the Twenty-ſeventh*, 1645, *about One o’Clock in the Night; wherein, they did not only, by the Providence of God, reſcue their Prey, but, having there routed a Party of four or five-hundred Men of the Rebels, did likewiſe put the whole Army of* Owen Mac Arte O Neale *to Flight*, viz.

SIR *William Cole*, upon *Sunday* Morning, *November* the Twenty-third, received a Letter from Sir *Charles Coot*, Lord-preſident of *Connaught*; who, to ſatisfy his Lordſhip’s Deſires, commanded his Troop to march unto him, to be at *Sligo*, on *Thurſday* Night, *November* the Twenty-ſeventh, to join in ſome Expedition, by his Lordſhip’s Orders, againſt the Rebels in that Province.

The greateſt Part of his Troop, with their Horſes, were then in the Iſland of *Baawe*, ſixteen Miles Northward from *Inniſkillin*; who, upon his Notice, did march away, upon *Monday*, *November* the Twenty-fourth, together with almoſt all the Foot-ſoldiers of two Companies of his Regiment, that quartered with their Cattle, and many of the Cows of *Inniſkillin* in that Iſland, unto *Balleſhannon*, which was their Place of Rendezvouz.

The Cornet of that Troop, upon *Tueſday*, *November* the Twenty-fifth, with about twenty Horſemen, marched from *Inniſkillin* to the Weſtward of *Loghern*, with Reſolution to lodge, that Night, by the Way, within fifteen Miles of *Sligo*; but a little Snow falling, altered their Determination, and ſo took their Courſe to *Balleſhannon*, without Appointment, God, in his high Providence, for the Advancement of his own Glory, and our Good, directing them thither; where, as ſoon as they got their Horſes ſhod, they were ſtill haſtening towards *Sligo*, whither ſundry of their Foot Companies aforeſaid, on Horſeback, rid before them: And a great Part of the Troop were advanced as far as *Bundrowis*, where the Alarm overtook them, with Orders to return, to reſiſt the Enemy, to the Number of four or five-hundred Men, of *Owen Mac Arte*’s Army, under the Conduct of ſeveral Captains, led by *Roury Mac Guire* in Chief; who, upon *Wedneſday* Morning, *November* the Twenty-ſixth, being provided with two of our own Boats, by the Treachery of one *Bryan O Harran*, and others of our Boſom-ſnakes, protected *Sinon's*, had entered the ſaid Iſland of *Baawe*, at the South-end of it, and was burning, ſpoiling, and preying their Goods; wherein they prevailed, even to the ſtripping naked of all our Women, plundering and taking theirs, and our then abſent Soldier's Clothes, Victuals, and Arms away.

That Party of our Horſemen ſpeedily returning to *Balleſhannon*, whence, with the Cornet, the reſt of the ſaid Troop, ſome of the Foot Soldiers on Horſeback, and Captain *John Folliot*, accompanied with as many Horſemen as he could make, haſtened towards the North-end of that Iſland, which is diſtant, from the South-end thereof, three *Engliſh* Miles. But, the Enemy having driven the Prey of Cows, Horſes, and Mares, forth at the South-end, our Horſemen, with Captain *Folliot*, followed by *Termon* Caſtle; whence they marched through very inacceſſible Woods and Bogs, in the Night, to the *Caſh* (diſtant ſixteen Miles from *Balleſhannon*) being the firſt Place that they could guide themſelves by the Track of the Enemy and Prey, which they ſtill purſued, with Chearfulneſs, to *Lowtherſtown*; where, overtaking them about One o'Clock in the Morning of *November* the Twenty-ſeventh, 1645, their Trumpet ſounding a Charge, they followed it Home ſo reſolutely, that, after a fierce Confliction, in a ſhort Time, they routed the Enemy, and had the Execution of them for a Mile and a Half; ſlew many of them in the Place, took ſome Priſoners, reſcued moſt Part of their Prey, recovered their own Soldiers, that were then the Enemy's Priſoners, with ſome of the Rebels Knapſacks to Boot: Which ſudden and unexpected Fright did ſo amaze *Owen Mac Arte*, and his Army, conſiſting of about two-thouſand Foot, and two-hundred Horſe (as Priſoners do inform) who, after they had made their Bravado on the Top of an Hill, within a Mile of *Inniſkillin*, in the Evening of *November* the Twenty-ſixth, to keep the Town from iſſuing forth, to reſiſt or ſtay the Prey, incamped, that Night, at *Ballenamallaght*, within four Miles of this Town; that they all, in a moſt fearful and confuſed Manner, ran away to the Mountains, ſo vehemently ſcared and affrighted, that their Van thought their own Rear were my Troops, and their Rear likewiſe imagined, thoſe that eſcaped the Fight, by Flight from *Lowtherſtown*, to have been alſo my Party that purſued them; whereby, their Mantles, Clokes, and all that could be an Impediment to their more ſpeedy Flight, were caſt upon the Ground, and left behind them; and ſo continued, until they paſſed the Mountains of *Slewbagha* into the County of *Monaghan*, where they are quartered upon the County *Creaghts*, which lies from *Arthur Blaney's* Houſe, and from *Monaghan Duffee*, near the Town of *Monaghan*, all along to *Drogheda*, conſiſting of the baniſhed Inhabitants of *Tyrone*, *Armagh*, *Monaghan*, and *Lowth*.

My Troop returned, with Captain *Folliot*, in Safety, praiſed be God, without Hurt of Man or Beaſt, ſave one Horſe of Lieutenant *Edward Graham's*, that was ſhot and killed under him. And having put the ſaid Prey again into the ſaid Iſland, upon *Friday*, *November* the Twenty-eighth, they marched to *Balleſhannon*, whence, again, they came Home to *Inniſkillin*, on the North-ſide of *Loghern*, the Thirtieth of *November*, 1645.

Among thoſe that were ſlain, the Grandſon of Sir *Tirlagh Mac Henry O Neale* was one.

One Captain killed. Two Lieutenants killed.

And, I find, there is ſome Man, of more eminent Note than any of theſe, killed, but, as yet, cannot learn certainly who it is. Lieutenant *Tirlagh O Moylan*, of Captain *Awney O Cahan's* Company, taken Priſoner; who, upon Examination, ſaith, That *Inchiquin* hath given a great Blow, of late, unto *Caſtlehaven* and *Preſton*, in their Quarters near *Yoghel*; and alſo ſaith, That the Intent of this Army was, that, if they could come off with our ſaid Prey, without Check, they purpoſed then to have beſieged this Town, and, according as Fortune favoured them, to have proceeded againſt the *Lagan*, and other Places of *Ulſter*.

And yet I find, by the Anſwer of ſome others of the Priſoners, that, by Direction from the Supreme Council of *Ireland*, this Army of *Owen Mac Arte's* are to ſerve in Nature of a running Party, to weaken our Forces of *Inniſkillin*, *Laggan*, and *Claneby's*, by ſudden Incurſions, to kill, ſpoil, and prey us, upon all Occaſions of Advantage, according as, by their Succeſſes therein, they ſhall aſſume Encouragement

couragement to themſelves to go forwards againſt us, but eſpecially againſt *Inniſkillin*, which they conceive is worſt able to reſiſt their Attempts.

Captain *Folliot* had ſixteen Horſemen, with four of Mannor *Hamilton*'s Men, and four of Caſtle *Termon* Horſemen, that joined very fortunately, in this Service, with my Troop; for which God Almighty be ever glorified and praiſed by

William Cole.

Die Lunæ, 12 Januarii, 1645.

Ordered by the Commons aſſembled in Parliament, That the Committee of Lords and Commons for *Iriſh* Affairs do take Care, that the Relation of the late good Succeſs in *Ireland* be forthwith Printed.

H. Elſynge, Cler. Parl. D. Com.

An humble Remonſtrance of the Batchelors, in and about *London*, to the honourable Houſe, in Anſwer to a late Paper, intitled, *A Petition of the Ladies for Huſbands. London*, printed for, and ſold by the Bookſelling Batchelors, in St. *Paul's* Church-yard. *Quarto*, containing four Pages.

Gentlemen,

YOU are the Sanctuary of the Oppreſſed; and it is natural for the Subject, whenever he finds himſelf unjuſtly treated, to fly to his Repreſentatives for a Redreſs. You that have ſo effectually mortified arbitrary Power, even in a great Monarch, will certainly never cheriſh it in a lower Station; and this inclines us to hope, that the Ladies will not find that Encouragement at your Hands, which their Vanity prompted them to expect. Though their Petition to you ſpeaks in a very ſublime Stile; yet for all that they can aſſume a different Sort of Language in other Places. There they not only diſpute the Superiority with the Men, but even pretend to the Right of Conqueſt over them; for their Grand-mother *Eve*, they ſay, triumphed over the Weakneſs of our great Grandfather *Adam* in Paradiſe; and no Doubt on it had inſiſted upon that Article before you, but that your Houſe, laſt Week, ſo puniſhed the unpalatable Doctrine of Conqueſt; to diſarm them of this illegal Pretence, which is prejudicial to the Liberty and Privilege of our Sex, we have examined all the old Records, but cannot find the leaſt Appearance to colour ſuch a Plea. At preſent, we ſhall diſmiſs this Point to deſcend into the Particulars of their Petition, and leave unto you, at laſt, to decide the Controverſy, now depending between us.

They complain, that the holy State of Matrimony has of late Years been very irreverently ſpoken of; that it has been rhymed to Death, in Sonnet, and murdered *in Effigie*, upon the Stage. Now we would not be guilty of that ill Breeding, to ſay that the Ladies, all along, found the Matter, and the Satyriſt only found the Words. However, we are aſſured from all Hands, that thoſe Perſons, who have taken the greateſt Pains to expoſe that holy State, were all of them married; to prove which, we could name a famous abdicating Poet, if we were minded; and we hope the Ladies do not expect we ſhould either defend or condemn them, till we are married ourſelves, and conſequently in a Capacity to judge on which Side the Truth lies. At preſent we know no more of Matrimony, than a mere Land-man knows of the Sea; every Gazette tells him of Abundance of Wrecks; but for all that, he will venture to Sea, in Hopes of making fifty *per Cent.* by Exchange of his Commodities.

But, to make Amends for this melancholy Scene, they very devoutly thank Heaven, in the next Place, that their Sex found the Benefit of the Clergy, when the Laity had, in a Manner, abandoned them. Pray, Gentlemen, obſerve what Returns of Gratitude the Ladies have made their beſt and ſureſt Cards the Church-men for this their loving Kindneſs. One would have thought they might, at leaſt, have allowed their ancient Friends the firſt Choice of the Vintage; it is no more than what the *French* do to the *Scotch* Merchants at *Bourdeaux*, out of Reſpect to their old Alliance; but we find no ſuch Thing. Old ſuperannuated Houſe-keepers with a Maiden-head defunct, and Farmers Daughters, are the beſt Preſents, they give the poor Church; ſo they, on this Account, ſerve the Chriſtian Parſons, as their Predeceſſors, the Pagan Prieſts, did their Deities, who uſed to compliment *Jupiter* with the Guts and Garbidge, and reſerved the Remainder of the Bullock for themſelves. After all, whether this happens by their own Fault, or no, the *Levites* are made but a civiler Sort of Scavengers to carry off the Duſt and Rubbiſh of the Sex, ſo that the Ladies may ſpare their Thanks to them if they pleaſe; for it is we, of the Laity only, that are in their Debt for this great Civility.

After this, Gentlemen, the Ladies are pleaſed to avouch, that, if it had not been for a certain damned Liquor, called Wine, the Men by the mere Impulſe of Nature had been long ſince reduced to their Duty. Here, by the Word *Duty*, they plainly inſinuate a Conqueſt; and therefore we humbly beg that their Petition may be ſent to the *Palace-Yard*, and there ſerved *Secundum Uſum Sarum.* In the mean Time, it is a Myſtery to us, what makes the Ladies vent their Spleen ſo furiouſly upon poor Wine, which by the Bye never meant the leaſt Harm in its Life to the God of Love's Subjects, unleſs they intend to monopoliſe all the Drinking to themſelves; or elſe, ſince their Sex has been ſo familiar with Brandy, blaſphemed by the Name of cold Tea, a Jury of red-noſed Midwives have pronounced Wine to be a feeble impotent Creature, in Compariſon of that. They wonder, why the Men ſhould ſcruple to marry, out of Fear of Cuckoldom, and yet not ſcruple to drink ſtummed Wine for Fear of a Fever. To which we reply, That the Caſe is extremely different. Not one Man in an Hundred gets a Fever by Drinking; at the ſame Time, ſcarce one in a Hundred, that is married, eſcapes Cuckoldom. And, Gentlemen, is not that great Odds?

They would have you paſs it into a Law, that every Man ſhould be obliged to marry, immediately after Twenty-one; and, in Caſe he refuſes ſo to do, to pay a good round Sum yearly for his Liberty: Though we are all of us agreed that one and twenty is ſomewhat of the ſooneſt to begin at. For why ſhould a Man be forbidden to travel upon the Road, unleſs he ſets out exactly at Sun-riſing? Yet, out of Complaiſance to the Ladies, we are willing to let it paſs, though we are certain that half the Racers will be foundered before thirty, provided always (and to be ſure, they will never miſlike that Word, either in an Act of Parliament, or out of an Act of Parliament) that all Virgins, or reputed Virgins, who are paſſed the Age of one and twenty, and have wherewithal to ſet up ſome honeſt, well-chined younger Brother, but tarry in Expectation of Striking a Country-Squire or Alderman's Son, ſhall be likewiſe amerced the ſame Sum for their Maiden-heads. The Ladies perhaps, will here object, that it is hard to be taxed for an inviſible Eſtate; but we ſay, No. We can name them a hundred Tradeſmen here in the City, that, ſince the Revolution, have paid for what they never had; thoſe, for Inſtance, that have been rated at Four-hundred Pounds, when they were not really worth one; and yet ſo valuable a Thing is Reputation, whether we deſerve it or no, loſt Nothing by the Bargain.

They would have none excuſed from Marriage, but only the impotent and frigid, which, by the Bye, Gentlemen, is full as ſevere, as if you ſhould vote that all muſt troop to the Wars, but the Parſons, and deſire you to erect a Court in every County, conſiſting of half a Score experienced Matrons, who ſhall have full Authority to examine all Perſons, whom they ſuſpect to carry clipped Money about them, for Fear they ſhould put upon their Spouſes; when it is not in their Power to change it. Pray not altogether ſo haſty, fair Ladies. Let your Court have ſome Men in it, and not all Women: Then we may expect to have Juſtice done us; for experienced Matrons are too much a Party concerned to be truſted by themſelves. We demand, whether it be convenient, that only Vintners and Ale-drapers ſhould have the ſole Right of determining Meaſures. Vintners never think the Meaſures ſmall enough; but it may ſo happen, that your experienced Matrons, *Anglice*, your Midwives, may be of a different Opinion, and ſo think no Meaſure large enough. Gentlemen, do but remember the *Tryers* under the late Reign of *Fanaticiſm*; they were a Parcel of Inquiſitor-Divines ſet up by the then-no-Government, to licenſe all ſuch Perſons that were to be diſpatched into the Vineyard. Now theſe conſcientious Judges, if they had a Quarrel to a Man, certainly rejected him, and put him by, though, perhaps, he was Maſter of a more unexceptionable Talent, than ſeveral others that had paſſed the Pulpit-Maſter before him. This needs no Application.

They complain of the exceſſive Multitude of Miſſes and Harlots, in and about the Town, who, as they expreſs it, divert the Courſe of thoſe Streams that would otherwiſe run in the regular Channel of Matrimony. It is a ſad Truth, we confeſs it, the Number of theſe Interlopers is very grievous; and yet it is as ſad a Truth, that the Petitioning Ladies have occaſioned it. Let them but leave Quarrelling about Jointures, and carry a little more Chriſtian Complaiſance about them, and the other Fry would diſappear in a Moment: For Whores in a State are like Copper Farthings in the Way of Trade, only uſed for the Convenience of readier Change. But, though theſe obdurate Females are really acceſſory to the great Increaſe of Miſſes, they would have every Perſon of Quality, who keeps one, in his own Defence, pay a good ſwinging Fine to the Government. Is this reaſonable or fair? Would Governor *Walker*, do ye think, have done like a Gentleman, if he had fined his Heroes of *Londonderry* for Feeding on Horſe-Fleſh, contrary to the Statute, when they had Nothing elſe to help themſelves with? It is the ſame in all Caſes, where there is no Choice but downright Neceſſity.

They would have you enact, ſince they find Wine is ſo potent a Rival, that none but married Men ſhould have the Privilege of entering into a Tavern, that is, modeſtly ſpeaking, of being drunk. With all our Hearts, Gentlemen, provided always, that none but married Women ſhall be licenſed to appear at the Theatre, Chocolate-Houſe, *Whitehall*, or the Park; or, if they do, that any vigorous Cavalier ſhall have full Liberty to carry them off, without incurring the Fate of poor Sir *John Johnſon*.

To preſent you at one View, with the Merits of the Cauſe. The Ladies are weary of lying alone, and ſo are we: They would fain be advantageouſly married, and ſo would your humble Servants. The Quarrel therefore, on their Side is unjuſtly begun. They look upon us to be their Adverſaries, whereas we have the ſame kind Inclinations to their Sex, as any of our Fore-fathers; the ſame Deſires, the ſame Wiſhes, by the ſame Token, we heartily believe they have equal Beauty, and equal, if not ſuperior Charms to any of their Sex before them. But as, in a long Tract of Time, Innovations cannot fail to ſtart up; ſo the Ladies either preſuming on their own Strength, or on the Inadvertency of the Men, have trumped up ſeveral new Doctrines upon us. A Courtſhip, as the Ladies are pleaſed to order it, is now the greateſt Penance, any Man in the World can undergo. We muſt ſwear as many Oaths, as would ſerve one of his Majeſty's largeſt Gariſons for a Twelve-month, till we are believed. We muſt treat them like Goddeſſes, lie proſtrate at their Feet, make Preſents ſo expenſive and numerous, that, perhaps, the Wife's Portion will ſcarce make Amends for what the Miſtreſs extorted from us. Becauſe *Jacob* could ſerve two Apprenticeſhips, for his *Rachel*, they imagine, that we muſt do the ſame; not conſidering, that the Race of the *Methuſelahs* and Patriarchs is quite extinct, and that this old Teſtament-Lover, were he in our Circumſtances, who begin to decay at thirty, would have taken wiſer and better Meaſures.

Gentlemen,

Theſe are our Sentiments upon this Subject: And, as we do not doubt the Juſtice of this honourable Houſe, ſo we little queſtion, but that our Cauſe will prevail. In a Word, let Love be encouraged, and Cruelty and Coyneſs be puniſhed,

And your Petitioners, as in Duty bound, ſhall ever pray.

A true Deſcription, or rather a Parallel between Cardinal *Wolſey*, Archbiſhop of *York*, and *William Laud*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. Printed in the Year 1641. *Quarto*, containing eight Pages.

THERE be two Primates, or Archbiſhops, throughout *England* and *Wales*, *Canterbury* and *York*, both Metropolitans, *York* of *England*, *Canterbury* of All *England*; for ſo their Titles run. To the Primate of *Canterbury* are ſubordinate thirteen Biſhops in *England*, and four in *Wales*; but the Primate of *York* hath at this Time but two Suffragans in *England*, namely, the Biſhops of *Carliſle* and *Durham*; though he had in King *Lucius*'s Days, who was the firſt Chriſtian King of this our Nation, all the Prelacy of *Scotland* within his Juriſdiction; *Canterbury* commanding all from this Side the River *Trent* to the furtheſt Limits of *Wales*, and *York* commanding all from beyond the *Trent* to the utmoſt Bounds of *Scotland*: And hitherto their prime Archiepiſcopal Prerogatives may, not improperly, be paralleled.

In the Time of *Henry the Firſt*, were potent two famous Prelates, *Anſelm* of *Canterbury*, who durſt conteſt againſt the King; and *Girald* of *York*, who denied to give Place, or any Precedence at all to *Anſelm*. *Thomas Becket*, who was firſt Chancellor, and afterwards Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, in the Reign of *Henry the Second*, bore himſelf ſo inſolently againſt the King his Sovereign, that it coſt him his Life, being ſlain in the Church, as he was going to the Altar. But, above all, the Pride, Tyranny, and Oppreſſion of the Biſhop of *Ely*, in the Reign of *Richard the Firſt*, wants Example; who was at once Chancellor of *England* and Regent of the Land, and held in his Hand at once the two Archbiſhopricks of *York* and *Canterbury*; who never rode Abroad without a Thouſand Horſe for his Guard to attend him, whom we may well parallel with the now great Cardinal of *France*; and Need he had of ſuch a Train to keep himſelf from being pulled to Pieces by the oppreſſed Prelates and People, equally extorting from the Clergy and Laity; yet he, in the End, diſguiſing himſelf in the Shape of an old Woman, thinking to paſs the Sea at *Dover*, where he waited on the Strand, a Pinnace being hired for that Purpoſe, he was diſcovered by a Sailor, and brought back to abide a moſt ſevere Sentence. *Stephen Lancthon*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, in the Time of King *John*, would not abſolve the Land, being for ſix Years together indicted by the Pope, till the King had paid unto him, and the reſt of the Biſhops, Eighteen-thouſand Marks in Gold. And thus I could continue the Pride of the Prelacy, and their great Tyranny, through all the Kings Reigns; but I now fall upon the promiſed Parallel betwixt *Thomas Wolſey*, Archbiſhop of *York* and Cardinal, and *William Laud*, Doctor in Divinity, and Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.

They were both the Sons of mean and mechanick Men, *Wolſey* of a Butcher, *Laud* of a Clothworker; the one born in *Ipſwich*, threeſcore Miles, the other in *Reading*, thirty Miles diſtant from the City of *London*; both of them very toward, forward, and pregnant Grammar-ſcholars, and of ſingular Apprehenſions, as ſuddenly riſing to the firſt Form in the School. From thence, being young, they were removed to the Univerſity of *Oxford*, *Wolſey* admitted into *Maudlin* College, *Laud* into St. *John's*; and, as they were of different Times, ſo they were of different Statures, yet either of them well ſhaped, according to their Proportions: *Wolſey* was of a competent Tallneſs, *Laud* of a leſs Size, but might be called a pretty Man, as the other a proper Man; both of ingenious and acute Aſpects, as may appear by this Man's Face, the other's Picture. In their particular Colleges they were alike Proficients, both as active of Body as Brain, ſerious at their private Studies,

dies, and equally frequent in the Schools; eloquent Orators, either to write, ſpeak, or dictate; dainty Diſputants; well verſed in Philoſophy, both Moral, Phyſical, and Metaphyſical, as alſo in the Mathematicks, and neither of them Strangers to the Muſes, both taking their Degrees according to their Time; and, through the whole Academy, Sir *Wolſey* was called the *Boy-batchelor*, and Sir *Laud* the *Little Batchelor*.

The main Study, that either of them fixed upon, was Theology; for, though they were converſant in all the other Arts and Sciences, yet that they ſolely profeſſed, and by that came their future Preferment. *Wolſey*, being Batchelor, was made Schoolmaſter of *Maudlin* School in *Oxford*, but *Laud* came in Time to be Maſter of St. *John*'s College in *Oxford*, therein tranſcending the other, as alſo in his Degrees of Maſter of Arts, Batchelor of Divinity, and Doctor of Divinity; when the other, being ſuddenly called from the Rectorſhip of his School, to be Reſident upon a Country Benefice, took no more Academical Degrees, than the firſt of Batchelor; and, taking a ſtrange Affront by one Sir *Amius Paulet*, a Knight in the Country, who ſet him in the Stocks, he endured likewiſe divers other Diſaſters; but that Diſgrace he made the Knight pay dearly for, after he came to be inveſted in his Dignity. Briefly, they came both to ſtand in the Prince's Eye. But, before I proceed any further, let me give the courteous Reader this modeſt Caveat, That he is to expect from me only a Parallel of their Acts and Fortune, but no Legend of their Lives; it therefore briefly thus followeth:

Both theſe from Academicks coming to turn Courtiers; *Wolſey*, by his diligent Waiting, came to inſinuate himſelf into the Breaſts of the Privy-Counſellors. His firſt Employment was in an Ambaſſy to the Emperor, which was done by ſuch fortunate, and almoſt incredible Expedition, that by that only he grew into firſt Grace with King *Henry the Seventh*, Father to King *Henry the Eighth*. *Laud*, by the Mediation and Means, wrought by Friends, grew firſt into Favour with King *James*, of ſacred Memory, Father to our now Royal Sovereign King *Charles*. They were both at firſt the King's Chaplains; *Wolſey*'s firſt Preferment was to be Dean of *Lincoln*, of which he was after Biſhop. *Laud*'s firſt Eccleſiaſtical Dignity was to be Dean of St. *David*'s, of which he was after Biſhop alſo. And both theſe Prelatical Courtiers came alſo to be Privy-Counſellors. *Wolſey*, in the Beginning of *Henry the Eighth*'s Reign, was made Biſhop of *Tournay* in *France*, ſoon after Biſhop of *Lincoln*, and before his full Conſecration, by the Death of the Incumbent, was ended, tranſlated to the Archbiſhoprick of *York*, and all this within the Compaſs of a Year; *Laud*, though not ſo ſuddenly, yet very ſpeedily, was from St. *David*'s removed to *London*, and from *London* to *Canterbury*, and this in the Beginning of the Reign of King *Charles*. Thus, you ſee, they were both Archbiſhops; and, as *Laud* was never Cardinal, ſo *Wolſey* was never *Canterbury*.

But, in ſome Things, the Cardinal much exceeded *Canterbury*, as in holding all theſe Biſhopricks at once, when the other was never poſſeſſed but of one at one Time. The Cardinal alſo held the Biſhoprick of *Wincheſter*, of *Worceſter*, *Bath* and *Wells*, with a fourth, and two Abbotſhips in *Commendam*: He had beſides an Hat ſent him from *Rome*, and made himſelf Cardinal, that, being before but *York*, he might over-top *Canterbury*. But our *William*, howſoever he might have the Will, yet never attained to that Power, and, howſoever he could not compaſs a Hat from *Rome*, yet made the Means to have a conſecrated Mitre ſent from *Rome*; which was ſo narrowly watched, that it came not to his Wearing. Moreover, the Cardinal extorted the Chancellorſhip from *Canterbury*; but we find not that *Canterbury* ever either intrenched upon the Juriſdiction, or took any Thing away from the Archbiſhoprick of *York*.

Wolſey likewiſe far out-went him in his numerous Train, and the Nobleneſs thereof, being waited on not only by the prime Gentry, but even of Earls, and Earls Sons, who were liſted in his Family, and attended him at his Table; as alſo in his Hoſpitality, his open Houſe being made free for all Comers, with the rare and extraordinary State of his Palace, in which there were daily up-riſing and down-lying a thouſand Perſons, who were his domeſtick Servants. Moreover, in his many Entertainments of the Kings with Maſks, and mighty ſumptuous Banquets, his ſumptuous Buildings, the Prince-like State he carried in his foreign Ambaſſages, into *France*, to the Emperor, &c. in which he ſpent more Coin in the Service of his King, for the Honour of his Country, and to uphold the Credit of his Cardinal's Cap, than would, for the Time, have paid an Army Royal. But I anſwer in Behalf of our *Canterbury*, that he had never that Means or Employment, by which he might make ſo vain-glorious a Shew of his Pontificality, or Archiepiſcopal Dignity: For unbounded Minds may be reſtrained within narrow Limits, and therefore the Parallel may ſomething hold in this too.

They were alſo in their judicial Courts equally tyrannous; the one in the Chancery, the other in the High Commiſſion; both of them at the Council-Board, and in the Star-Chamber, alike draconically ſupercilious. Blood drawn from Dr. *Bonner*'s Head, by the fall of his Croſs, preſaged the Cardinal's Downfall. Blood drawn from the Ears of *Burton*, *Prynne*, and *Baſtwick*, was a Prediction of *Canterbury*'s Ruin; the firſt accidental, the laſt premeditate and of Purpoſe. The Cardinal would have expelled all the *Lutherans* and *Proteſtants* out of the Realm, this our *Canterbury* would have exiled both our *Dutch* and *French* Church out of the Kingdom. The Cardinal took main Delight in his Fool *Patch*, and *Canterbury* took much Delight in his Party-coloured Cats. The Cardinal uſed, for his Agents, *Bonner*, and others; *Canterbury*, for his Miniſters, *Duck*, *Lamb*, and others. They both favoured the See of *Rome*, and reſpected his Holineſs in it. The Cardinal did profeſs it publickly, the Archbiſhop did reverence it privately. The Cardinal's Ambition was to be Pope, the Archbiſhop ſtrove to be Patriarch; they both bid fairly for it, yet loſt their Aim; and far eaſier it is for Men to deſcend, than to aſcend.

The Cardinal, as I have ſaid, was very ambitious; the Archbiſhop was likewiſe of the ſame Mind, though better moulded, and of a more politick Brain, having a cloſe and more reſerved Judgment in all his Obſervations, and more fluent in his Delivery. The Cardinal was very curious in his Attire, and Ornament of his Body, and took great Delight in his Train, and other his Servants, for their rich Apparel; the Archbiſhop's Attire was neat and rich, but not ſo gaudy as the Cardinal's was; yet he took as much Felicity in his Gentlemen's rich Apparel, eſpecially thoſe that waited on his Perſon, as ever the Cardinal did, tho' other Men paid for them; and if all Men had their own, and every Bird her Feather, ſome of them would be as bare as thoſe that profeſs themſelves to be of the Sect of the *Adamites*. To ſpeak Truth, the Archbiſhop's Men were all given to Covetouſneſs and Wantonneſs, that I never heard of were in the Cardinal's Men.

As the Cardinal was ſumptuous in his Buildings, as that of *Whitehall*, *Hampton-Court*, *&c.* as alſo in laying the Foundation of two famous Colleges, the one at *Ipſwich*, where he was born, the other at *Oxford*, where he had his Breeding; ſo *Chriſt-Church*, which he left unfiniſhed, *Canterbury* hath ſince repaired; and wherein he hath come ſhort of him in Building, though he hath beſtowed much on St. *John*'s College, yet he hath outgone him in his Bounty of brave voluminous Books, being fourſcore in Number, late ſent to the *Bodleian* or Univerſity Library: Farther, as the Cardinal was Chancellor of *Oxford*: And as the Cardinal, by plucking down of ſmall Abbies, to prepare Stone for his greater Structures, opened a Gap for the King, by which he took the Advantage utterly to raze and demoliſh the reſt; ſo *Canterbury*, by giving Way for one Biſhop to have a temporal Trial, and to be convicted, not by the Clergy, but the Laity, left the ſame Path open both for himſelf, and the reſt of the Epiſcopacy; of which, there before ſcarce remained a Precedent.

I have paralleled them in their Dignities; I will conclude with a Word or two concerning their Downfalls. The Cardinal fell into the Diſpleaſure of his King, *Canterbury* into an extreme Hatred of the Commons: Both were arreſted of High Treaſon, the Cardinal by Proceſs, *Canterbury* by Parliament. The Cardinal at *Keywood* Caſtle near *York*, *Canterbury* at *Weſtminſter* near *London*; both their Falls were ſpeedy and ſudden: The Cardinal ſat as this Day in the High Court of Chancery, and within two Days after was confined to his Houſe; *Canterbury* as this Day ſat at the Council-Board, and in the Upper Houſe of Parliament, and the ſame Day was committed to the Black Rod, and from thence to the *Tower*. The Cardinal died at *Leiceſter*, ſome ſay of a Flux; *Canterbury* remains ſtill in the *Tower*, only ſick of a Fever. *Vanitas vanitatum omnia vanitas.*

A Letter from the Nobility, Barons, and Commons of *Scotland*, in the Year 1320, yet extant, under all the Seals of the Nobility, directed to Pope *John*: Wherein they declare their firm Reſolutions to adhere to their King, *Robert the Bruce*, as the Reſtorer of the Safety, and Liberties of the People, and as having the true Right of Succeſſion: But, withal, they notwithſtanding declare, That, if the King ſhould offer to ſubvert their Civil Liberties, they will diſown him as an Enemy, and chooſe another to be King for their own Defence. Tranſlated from the Original, in *Latin*, as it is inſerted by Sir *George Mackenzy* of *Roſehaugh*, in his Obſervations on Precedency, *&c.* *Quarto*, containing eight Pages.

SANCTISSIMO Patri in Chriſto, ac Domino, Joanni, Divina Providentia Sacroſanctæ Romanæ & Univerſalis Eccleſiæ ſummo Pontifici, Filii ſui humiles & devoti, Duncanus, Comes de Fyfe, Thomas Ranulphi, Comes Moraviæ, Dominus Manniæ, & Vallis Annandiæ, Patricius de Dumbar, Comes Marchiæ, Maliſius, Comes de Strathern, Malcolmus, Comes de Levenox, Willielmus, Comes de Roſs, Magnus, Comes de Cathaniæ & Orcadiæ, & Willielmus, Comes de Sutherlandiæ, Walterus, Seneſcallus Scotiæ, Willielmus de Soules, Buttellarius Scotiæ, Jacobus, Dominus de Douglas, Rogerus de Moubray, David, Dominus de Brechine, David de Graham, Ingelramus de Umfravile, Joannes de Monteith, Cuſtos Comitatus de Monteith, Alexander Frazier, Gilbertus de Haia, Conſtabularius Scotiæ, Robertus de Keith, Mariſcallus Scotiæ, Henricus de Sanctoclaro, Joannes de Graham, David de Lindſey, Willielmus Oliphant, Patricus de Graham, Joannes de Fenton, Willielmus de Abernethy, David de Weyms, Willielmus de Monteſixo, Ferguſius de Ardroſan, Euſtachius de Maxwel, Willielmus de Ramſay, Willielmus de Montalto,

‘TO our moſt Holy Father in Chriſt, and our Lord, *John*, by the Divine Providence, chief Biſhop of the moſt Holy *Roman* and Univerſal Church, your humble and devoted Sons, *Duncan*, Earl of *Fyfe*, *Thomas Randolph*, Earl of *Murray*, Lord *Mannia*, and *Annandale*, *Patrick de Dumbar*, Earl of *March*, *Maliſius*, Earl of *Strathern*, *Malcolm*, Earl of *Lenox*, *William*, Earl of *Roſs*, *Magnus*, Earl of *Caithneſs* and *Orkney*, *William*, Earl of *Sutherland*, *Walter*, Steward of *Scotland*, *William de Soules*, Buttelarius of *Scotland*, *James*, Lord *Douglas*, *Roger de Mowbray*, *David*, Lord *Brechin*, *David de Grahame*, *Ingelramus de Umfravile*, *John de Monteith*, Warder of the County of *Monteith*, *Alexander Frazer*, *Gilbert de Hay*, Conſtable of *Scotland*, *Robert de Keith*, Marſhal of *Scotland*, *Henry de Sancto Claro*, *John de Graham*, *David de Lindſey*, *William Oliphant*, *Patrick de Graham*, *John de Fenton*, *William de Abernethy*, *David de Weyms*, *William de Monteſixo*, *Fergus de Ardroſan*, *Euſtachius de Maxwel*, *William de Ramſay*, *William de Monte-alto*, *Allan de Murray*,

Montalto, Alanus de Moravia, Dovenaldus Campbel, Joannes Campburn, Reginaldus le Chene, Alexander de Seton, Andreas de Leſceline, & Alexander de Straton, cæterique Barones & Liberetenentes, ac tota Communitas Regni Scotiæ, omnimodam Reverentiam filialem, cum devotis pedum oſculis beatorum. Scimus, ſanctiſſime Pater & Domine, & ex antiquorum Geſtis & Libris colligimus, quod inter cæteras Nationes egregias, noſtra ſcil. Scotorum Natio, multis Præconiis fuerit inſignita: Quæ de majori Scythia per mare Tyrrhenum & Columnas Herculis tranſiens, & in Hiſpania inter ferociſſimos, per multa temporum Curricula, reſidens, a nullis quantumcunque Barbaricis poterat alicubi ſubjugari; Indeque veniens poſt mille & ducentos annos a tranſitu populi Iſraelitici, ſibi ſedes in occidente quas nunc obtinet, expulſis Britonibus, & Pictis omnino deletis, licet per Norwegienſes, Danos, & Anglos ſæpius impugnata fuerit, multis ſibi Victoriis, & Laboribus quamplurimis adquiſivit; ipſaſque ab omni ſervitute liberas, ut priſcorum teſtantur Hiſtoriæ, ſemper tenuit. In quorum Regno, centum & treſdecem Reges de ipſorum Regali proſapia, nulla alienigena interveniente, regnaverunt, quorum Nobilitates & merita, licet ex aliis non clarerent, ſatis tamen patenter effulgent, ex eo quod Rex Regum Dominus Jeſus Chriſtus, poſt Paſſionem & Reſurrectionem ſuam, ipſos in ultimis Terræ finibus conſtitutos, quaſi primos, ad ſuam Fidem Sanctiſſimam, convocavit: Nec eos, per quemlibet in dicta Fide, confirmari voluit, ſed per ſuum primum Apoſtolum, quamvis Ordine ſecundum vel tertium, ſanctum Andream, meritiſſimum beati Petri Germanum, quem ſemper ipſis præeſſe voluit ut Patronum. Hæc autem ſanctiſſimi Patres & Predeceſſores veſtri ſolicita mente penſantes ipſum Regnum & Populum, ut beati Petri Germani peculium, multis favoribus & privilegiis quamplurimis muniverunt. Itaque Gens noſtra, ſub ipſorum protectione, libera hactenus deguit & quieta; donec ille Princeps Magnificus Rex Anglorum Edwardus, Pater iſtius qui nunc eſt, Regnum noſtrum Acephalum, Populumque nullius mali aut doli conſcium, nec bellis aut inſultibus tunc aſſuetum, ſub amici & confœderati ſpecie, innumerabiliter infeſtavit: Cujus Injurias, Cædes & Violentias, Prædationes, Incendia, Prælatorum Incarcerationes, Monaſteri-

'*Donald Campbel*, *John Camburn*, *Reginald le Chene*, *Alexander de Seton*, *Andrew de Leſceline*, and *Alexander Straton*, and the reſt of the Barons and Freeholders; and whole Community, or Commons of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, ſend all Manner of filial Reverence, with devout Kiſſes, of your bleſſed and happy Feet. Moſt Holy Father and Lord, we know, and gather from ancient Acts and Records, that, in every famous Nation, this of *Scotland* hath been celebrated with many Praiſes: This Nation having come from *Scythia the Greater*, through the *Tuſcan* Sea, and by *Hercules*'s Pillars; and having, for many Ages, taken its Reſidence in *Spain*, in the Midſt of a moſt fierce People, could never be brought in Subjection by any People, how barbarous ſoever: And having removed from theſe Parts, above twelve-hundred Years after the Coming of the *Iſraelites* out of *Egypt*, did, by many Victories, and much Toil, obtain theſe Parts in the Weſt, which they ſtill poſſeſs; having expelled the *Britons*, and intirely rooted out the *Picts*, notwithſtanding the frequent Aſſaults and Invaſions they met with from the *Norwegians*, *Danes*, and *Engliſh*: And theſe Parts and Poſſeſſions they have always retained free from all Manner of Servitude and Subjection, as antient Hiſtories do witneſs. This Kingdom hath been governed by an uninterrupted Succeſſion of 113 Kings, all of our own Native and Royal Stock, without the Intervening of any Stranger. The true Nobility and Merits of theſe Princes and People are very remarkable, from this one Conſideration, though there were no other Evidence for it: That the King of Kings, the Lord *Jeſus Chriſt*, after his Paſſion and Reſurrection, honoured them, as it were, the firſt (though living in the outmoſt Ends of the Earth) with a Call to his moſt Holy Faith: Neither would our Saviour have them confirmed in the Chriſtian Faith, by any other Inſtrument, than his own firſt Apoſtle (though, in Order, the Second or Third) St. *Andrew*, the moſt worthy Brother of the Bleſſed *Peter*, whom he would always have to be over us, as our Patron or Protector. Upon the weighty Conſideration of theſe Things, our moſt Holy Fathers, your Predeceſſors, did, with many great

' and

Monaſteriorum Combuſtiones, Religioſorum Spoliationes, & Occiſiones, alia quoque Enormia, quæ indicto populo exercuit, nulli parcens Ætati aut Sexui, Religioni aut Ordini, nullus ſcriberet, nec ad plenum intelligeret, niſi quem Experientia informaret. A quibus malis innumeris, ipſo juvante qui poſt vulnera medetur & ſanat, liberati ſumus per ſereniſſimum Principem, Regem, & Dominum noſtrum, Dominum Robertum, qui pro Populo & Hæreditati ſuis, de Manibus inimicorum liberandis, quaſi alter Maccabæus, aut Joſue Laboris & Tædia, Inedias & Pericula, læto ſuſtinuit animo : Quem etiam Divina Diſpoſitio, & juxta Leges & Conſuetudines noſtras quas, uſque ad mortem ſuſtinere volumus, Juris Succeſſio, & debitus noſtrorum Conſenſus & Aſſenſus, noſtrum fecerunt Principem atque Regem. Cui tanqum illi per quem ſalus in Populo facta eſt pro noſtra Libertate tuenda, tam Jure quam Meritis tenemur, & volumus in omnibus adhærere. Quem, ſi ab inceptis deſiſtet, Regi Anglorum aut Anglicis nos aut Regnum noſtrum volens ſubjicere, tanquam inimicum noſtrum & ſui noſtrique Juris Subverſorem ſtatim expellere niteremur, & alium Regem noſtrum, qui ad defenſionem noſtram ſufficiet, faciemus ; quia, quamdiu Centum vivi remanſerint, nunquam Anglorum Dominio aliquatenus volumus ſubjugari. Non enim propter Gloriam, Divitias, aut Honores pugnamus, ſed propter Libertatem ſolummodo, quam nemo bonus niſi ſimul cum vita amittit. Hinc eſt, Reverende Pater ac Domine, quod Sanctitatem veſtram cum omni Præcum inſtantia, Genu flexis Cordibus exoramus ; quatenus ſincero corde menteque pia recenſentes, quod apud eum cujus vices in terris geritis, non ſic pondus & pondus nec diſtinctio Judæi & Græci, Scoti aut Anglici, tribulationes & anguſtias nobis & Eccleſiæ Dei illatas ab Anglicis paternis oculis intuentes ; Regem Anglorum, cui ſufficere debet quod poſſidet, cum olim Anglia ſeptem aut pluribus ſolebat ſufficere Regibus, monere & exhortari dignemini, ut nos Scotos in exili degentes Scotia ultra quam habitatio non eſt, nihilque niſi noſtrum cupientes in pace dimittat. Cui pro noſtra procuranda quiete quicquid poſſumus, ad ſtatum noſtrum reſpectu habito, hoc facere volumus cum effectu. Veſtra enim intereſt, Sancte Pater, hoc facere qui Paganorum feritatem, Chriſtia-

‘ and ſingular Favours and Privileges fence and ſecure this Kingdom and People, as being the peculiar Charge and Care of the Brother of St. *Peter* ; ſo that our Nation hath hitherto lived in Freedom and Quietneſs, under their Protection, till the Magnificent King *Edward*, Father to the preſent King of *England*, did, under the Colour of Friendſhip, and Alliance, or Confederacy, with innumerable Oppreſſions infeſt us, who minded no Fraud or Deceit, at a Time when we were without a King or Head, and when the People were unacquainted with Wars and Invaſions. It is impoſſible for any, whoſe own Experience hath not informed him, to deſcribe, or fully to underſtand, the Injuries, Blood, and Violence ; the Depredations and Fire, the Impriſonments of Prelates, the Burning, Slaughter, and Robbery, committed upon Holy Perſons, and Religious Houſes, and a vaſt Multitude of other Barbarities, which that King executed on this People, without ſparing of any Sex, or Age, Religion, or Order of Men whatſoever. But, at length, it pleaſed God, who only can heal after Wounds, to reſtore us to Liberty, from theſe innumerable Calamities, by our moſt Serene Prince, King, and Lord, *Robert* ; who, for the Delivering of his People, and his own rightful Inheritance, from the Enemy's Hand, did, like another *Joſhua*, or *Maccabeus*, moſt chearfully undergo all Manner of Toil, Fatigue, Hardſhip, and Hazard. The Divine Providence, the Right of Succeſſion, by the Laws and Cuſtoms of the Kingdom (which we will defend till Death) and the due and lawful Conſent and Aſſent of all the People, made him our King and Prince. To him we are obliged, and reſolved to adhere in all Things, both upon the Account of his Right, and his own Merit, as being the Perſon who hath reſtored the People's Safety, in Defence of their Liberties. But after all, if this Prince ſhall leave theſe Principles, he hath ſo nobly purſued, and conſent, that we or our Kingdom be ſubjected to the King or People of *England*, we will immediately endeavour to expel him, as our Enemy, and as the Subverter, both of his own and our Rights, and will make another King, who will defend our Liberties : For, ſo long as

norum culpis exigentibus, in Chriſtianos ſævientem aſpicitis, & Chriſtianorum terminos arctari indies: Quare ne quid veſtræ Sanctitatis memoriæ deroget &, ſi quod abſit, Eccleſia in aliqua ſui parte veſtris temporibus patiatur Eclipſin aut Scandalum vos videritis, Exhorter igitur Chriſtianos principes, qui, non caſum ut caſum ponentes, ſe fingunt in ſubſidium Terræ Sanctæ, propter guerras quas habent cum proximis, ire non poſſe: Cujus impedimenti cauſa eſt verior, quod, in minoribus proximis debellandis, utilitas proprior & reſiſtentia debilior æſtimantur. Sic quam læto corde dictus Dominus Rex noſter, & nos, ſi Rex Anglorum nos in pace dimittet, illuc iremus; qui nihil ignoret ſatis novit: Quod Chriſti Vicario totique Chriſtianitati oſtendimus & teſtamur. Quibus ſi Sanctitas veſtra Anglorum relatibus nimis credula fidem ſinceram non adhibet, aut ipſis in noſtram confuſionem favere non deſinat; corporum excidia, animarum exitia, & cætera quæ ſequentur incommoda, quæ ipſi in nobis & nos in ipſis fecerimus; vobis ab Altiſſimo credimus imputanda. Ex quo ſumus & erimus in his quæ tenemur tanquam obedientiæ filii vobis tanquam ipſius Vicario in omnibus complacere; ipſique tanquam ſummo Regi & Judici cauſam noſtram tuendam committimus cogitatum noſtrum jactantes in ipſo, ſperanteſque linem; quod in nobis virtutem faciet & ad nihilum rediget hoſtes noſtros. Serenitatem & Sanctitatem veſtram conſervet Altiſſimus Eccleſiæ ſuæ ſanctæ per tempora diuturna. Datum apud Monaſterium de *Aberbrothock* in Scotia, ſexto die Aprilis, Anno Gratiæ mileſimo treceteſimo viceſimo, Anno vero Regni Regis noſtri ſupradicti quintodecimo.

there ſhall but One-hundred of us remain alive, we will never ſubject ourſelves to the Dominion of the *Engliſh*. For it is not Glory, it is not Riches, neither is it Honour, but it is Liberty alone that we fight and contend for, which no honeſt Man will loſe but with his Life. For theſe Reaſons, moſt Reverend Father and Lord, we do, with moſt earneſt Prayers from our bended Knees and Hearts, beg and intreat your Holineſs, that you may be pleaſed, with a ſincere and cordial Piety, to conſider, that with him, whoſe Vicar on Earth you are, there is no Reſpect nor Diſtinction of *Jew* nor *Greek*, *Scots* nor *Engliſh*; and that, with a tender and fatherly Eye, you may look upon the Calamities and Streights brought upon us, and the Church of God, by the *Engliſh*; and that you may admoniſh, and exhort the King of *England* (who may well reſt ſatisfied with his own Poſſeſſions, ſince that Kingdom, of old, uſed to be ſufficient for ſeven or more Kings) to ſuffer us to live at Peace in that narrow Spot of *Scotland*, beyond which we have no Habitation, ſince we deſire nothing but our own; and we, on our Part, as far as we are able, with reſpect to our own Condition, ſhall effectually agree to him in every Thing that may procure our Quiet. It is your Concernment, moſt Holy Father, to interpoſe in this, when you ſee how far the Violence and Barbarity of the Pagans is let looſe againſt *Chriſtendom*, for Puniſhing of the Sins of the Chriſtians, and how much they daily incroach upon the Chriſtian Territories. And it is your Intereſt to notice, that there be no Ground given for reflecting on your Memory, if you ſhould ſuffer any Part of the Church to come under a Scandal, or Eclipſe (which we pray, God may prevent) during your Time. Let it therefore pleaſe your Holineſs, to exhort the Chriſtian Princes, not to make the Wars, betwixt them and their Neighbours, a Pretext for not going to the Relief of the *Holy Land*, ſince that is not the true Cauſe of the Impediment; the truer Ground of it is, That they have a much nearer Proſpect of Advantage, and far leſs Oppoſition, in the Subduing of their weaker Neighbours. And God, who is ignorant of nothing, knows with how much Chearfulneſs, both our King and we would go thither, if the King of *England* would leave us in Peace; and we do hereby teſtify and declare it to the Vicar of Chriſt, and to all *Chriſtendom*. But, if your Holineſs ſhall be too credulous of the *Engliſh* Miſrepreſentations, and not give firm Credit to what we have ſaid, nor deſiſt to favour the *Engliſh*, to our Deſtruction, we muſt believe that the Moſt High will lay to your Charge all the Blood, Loſs of Souls, and other Calamities, that ſhall follow, on either Hand, betwixt them and us. Your Holineſs, in granting our juſt Deſires, will oblige us, in every Caſe where our Duty ſhall require it, to endeavour your Satisfaction, as becomes the obedient Sons of the Vicar of Chriſt. We commit the Defence

‘ of our Cauſe, to him who is the ſovereign King and Judge; we caſt the Burden of our
‘ Cares upon him, and hope for ſuch an Iſſue, as may give Strength and Courage to us, and
‘ bring our Enemies to nothing: The moſt high God long preſerve your Serenity and Holineſs
‘ to his Holy Church. Given at the Monaſtery of *Aberbrothock* in *Scotland*, the ſixth Day of
‘ *April*, in the Year of Grace M, CCC, XX, and of our ſaid King's Reign, the fifteenth
‘ Year.’

A Century of the Names and Scantlings of ſuch Inventions, as at preſent I can call to Mind to have tried and perfected, which, my former Notes being loſt, I have, at the Inſtance of a powerful Friend, endeavoured now, in the Year 1655, to ſet theſe down in ſuch a Way as may ſufficiently inſtruct me to put any of them in Practice.

———*Artis & Naturæ proles.*

London, printed by *J. Griſmond* in 1663. *Twenty-fours*,
containing Ninety-one Pages.

To the King's moſt excellent Majeſty.

SIR,

SCire meum nihil eſt, niſi me ſcire hoc ſciat alter, *ſaith the Poet, and I moſt juſtly in Order to pleaſe your Majeſty, whoſe Satisfaction is my Happineſs, and whom to ſerve is my only Aim, placing therein my* Summum bonum *in this World: Be therefore pleaſed to caſt your gracious Eye over this Summary Collection, and then to pick and chuſe. I confeſs, I made it but for the ſuperficial Satisfaction of a Friend's Curioſity, according as it is ſet down; and if it might now ſerve to give Aim to your Majeſty, how to make Uſe of my poor Endeavours, it would crown my Thoughts, who am neither covetous nor ambitious; but of deſerving your Majeſty's Favour upon my own Coſt and Charges; yet, according to the old* Engliſh *Proverb*, It is a poor Dog that is not worth whiſtling after. *Let but your Majeſty approve, and I will effectually perform, to the Height of my Undertaking: Vouchſafe but to command, and with my Life and Fortune, I ſhall chearfully obey, and* maugre *Envy, Ignorance, and Malice, ever appear*

Your Majeſty's

Paſſionately devoted,

Or otherwiſe diſintereſted

Subject and Servant,

WORCESTER,

To the Right Honourable, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal; and to the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes of the Honourable Houſe of Commons; now aſſembled in Parliament.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

B*E not ſtartled if I addreſs to all, and every of you, this Century of Summary Heads of wonderful Things, even after the Dedication of them to his moſt excellent Majeſty, ſince it is with his moſt gracious and particular Conſent, as well as indeed no Ways derogating from my Duty to his ſacred Self, but rather in further Order unto it, ſince your Lordſhips, who are his great Council, and you Gentlemen, his whole Kingdom's Repreſentative, moſt worthily welcome unto him, may fitly receive into your wiſe and ſerious Conſiderations, what doth, or may publickly concern both his Majeſty, and his tenderly beloved People.*

Pardon me if I ſay, my Lords and Gentlemen, that it is jointly your Parts to digeſt to his Hand theſe enſuing Particulars, fitting them to his Palate, and ordering how to reduce them into Practice in a Way uſeful and beneficial, both to his Majeſty and his Kingdom.

Neither do I eſteem it leſs proper for me to preſent them to you, in Order to his Majeſty's Service, than it is to give into the Hands of a faithful and provident Steward, whatſoever Dainties and Proviſions are intended for the Maſter's Diet; the knowing and faithful Steward, being beſt able to make Uſe thereof to his Maſter's Contentment, and greateſt Profit, keeping for the Morrow, whatever ſhould be overplus, or needleſs for the preſent Day, or at leaſt to ſave ſomething elſe in Lieu thereof. In a Word, my Lords and Gentlemen, I humbly conceive this Simile *not improper, ſince you are his Majeſty's provident Stewards, into whoſe Hands I commit myſelf, with all Properties fit to obey you; that is to ſay, with a Heart harbouring no Ambition, but an endleſs Aim to ſerve my King and Country: And if my Endeavours prove effectual, as I am confident they will, his Majeſty ſhall not only become rich, but his People likewiſe, as Treaſurers unto him; and his peerleſs Majeſty, our King, ſhall become both beloved at Home, and feared Abroad; deeming the Riches of a King to conſiſt in the Plenty enjoyed by his People.*

And the Way, to render him to be feared Abroad, is to content his People at Home, who then, with Heart and Hand, are ready to aſſiſt him; and whatſoever God bleſſeth me with to contribute towards the Increaſe of his Revenues in any conſiderable Way, I deſire it may be employed to the Uſe of his People; that is, for the Taking off ſuch Taxes or Burthens from them, as they chiefly groan under, and by a temporary Neceſſity only impoſed on them; which being thus ſupplied, will certainly beſt content the King, and ſatisfy his People; which, I dare ſay, is the continual Tendency of all your indefatigable Pains, and the perfect Demonſtrations of your Zeal to his Majeſty, and an Evidence that the Kingdoms Truſt is juſtly and deſervedly repoſed in you. And if ever Parliament acquitted themſelves thereof, it is this of yours, compoſed of moſt deſerving and qualified Perſons; qualified, I ſay, with your Affection to your Prince, and with a Tenderneſs to his People; with a bountiful Heart towards him, yet a Frugality in their Behalfs.

Go on therefore chearfully, my Lords and Gentlemen, and not only our gracious King, but the King of Kings, will reward you, the Prayers of the People will attend you, and his Majeſty will with thankful Arms embrace you. And be pleaſed to make Uſe of me and my Endeavours to inrich them, not myſelf; ſuch being my only Requeſt unto you, ſpare me not *in what your Wiſdoms ſhall find me uſeful, who do eſteem myſelf not only by the Act of the Water-commanding Engine, which ſo chearfully you have paſt, ſufficiently rewarded, but likewiſe with Courage enabled to do ten Times more for the future; and my Debts being paid, and a Competency to live according to my Birth and Quality ſettled, the reſt ſhall I dedicate to the Service of our King and Country by your Diſpoſals; and eſteem me not the more, or rather any more, by what is paſt, but by what is to come; profeſſing really from my Heart, that my Intentions are to out-go the ſix or ſeven Hundred-thouſand Pounds already ſacrificed, if countenanced and encouraged by you, ingenuouſly confeſſing that the Melancholy, which hath lately ſeized upon me, the Cauſe whereof none of you but may eaſily gueſs, hath, I dare ſay, retarded more Advantages to the publick Service than Modeſty will permit me to utter: And now revived by your promiſing Favours, I ſhall infallibly be enabled thereunto in the Experiments extant, and compriſed under theſe Heads, practicable with my Directions by the unparalleled Workman both for Truſt and Skill,* Caſper Kaltoff*'s Hand, who hath been theſe Thirty five Years, as in a School under me employed, and ſtill at my Diſpoſal, in a Place by my great Expences made fit for publick Service, yet lately like to be taken from me, and conſequently from the Service of King and Kingdom, without the leaſt Regard of above Ten-thouſand Pounds expended by me, and through my Zeal to the common Good; my Zeal, I ſay, a Field large enough for you, my Lords and Gentlemen, to work upon.*

The Treaſures buried under theſe Heads, both for War, Peace and Pleaſure, being inexhauſtible; I beſeech you, pardon me if I ſay ſo; it ſeems a Vanity, but comprehends a Truth; ſince no good Spring but becomes the more plentiful, by how much more it is drawn; and the Spinner, to weave his Web, is never ſtinted, but further inforced.

The more then that you ſhall be pleaſed to make Uſe of my Inventions, the more Inventive ſhall you ever find me, one Invention begetting ſtill another, and more and more improving my Ability to ſerve my King and you; and as to my Heartineſs therein there needs no Addition, nor to my Readineſs a Spur. And therefore, my Lords and Gentlemen, be pleaſed to begin, and deſiſt not from commanding me till I flag in my Obedience and Endeavours to ſerve my King and Country:

For certainly you'll find me breathleſs firſt t'expire,
Before my Hands grow weary, or my Legs do tire.

Yet abſtracting from any Intereſt of my own, but as a Fellow-ſubject and Compatriot, will I ever labour in the Vineyard, moſt heartily and readily obeying the leaſt Summons from you, by putting faithfully in Execution, what your Judgments ſhall think fit to pitch upon, among this Century of Experiences, perhaps, dearly purchaſed by me, but not frankly and gratis *offered to you. Since my Heart, methinks, cannot be ſatisfied in ſerving my King and Country, if it ſhould coſt them any Thing; as I confeſs when I had the Honour to be near ſo obliging a Maſter as his late Majeſty of happy Memory, who never refuſed me his Ear to any reaſonable Motion: And as for unreaſonable ones, or ſuch as were not fitting for him to grant, I would rather to have died a thouſand Deaths, than ever have made any one unto him.*

Yet whatever I was ſo happy as to obtain for any deſerving Perſon, my Pains, Breath, and Intereſt employed therein ſatisfied me not, unleſs I likewiſe ſatisfied the Fees; but that was in my Golden Age.

And even now, though my Ability and Means are ſhortened, the World knows why my Heart remains ſtill the ſame; and be you pleaſed, my Lords and Gentlemen, to reſt *moſt aſſured, that the very Complacency, that I ſhall take in the executing your Commands, ſhall be unto me a ſufficient and an abundantly ſatisfactory Reward.*

Vouchſafe therefore, to diſpoſe freely of me, and whatever lieth in my Power to perform; Firſt, *in Order to his Majeſty's Service;* Secondly, *for the Good and Advantage of the Kingdom;* Thirdly, *to all your Satisfactions for particular Profit and Pleaſure to your individual Selves, profeſſing, that in all, and each of the three Reſpects, I will ever demean myſelf as it beſt becomes,*

My Lords and Gentlemen,

Your moſt paſſionately bent Fellow ſubject in his Majeſty's Service, Compatriot for the publick Good and Advantage, and a moſt humble Servant to all and every of you,

WORCESTER.

A TABLE *referring to the Figures of this Treatiſe.*

Seals abundantly-ſignificant 1
Private and particular to each Owner 2
An one Line Cypher. 3
Reduced to a Point. 4
Varied ſignificantly to all the Twenty-four Letters 5
A mute and perfect Diſcourſe by Colours 6
To hold the ſame by Night 7
To level Cannons by Night 8
A Ship-deſtroying Engine 9
How to be faſtened from a-loof and under Water 10
How to prevent both 11
An unſinkable Ship 12
Falſe deſtroying Decks 13
Multiplied Strength in little Room 14
A Boat driving againſt Wind and Tide 15
A Sea-ſailing Fort 16
A pleaſant floating Garden 17
An Hour-glaſs Fountain 18
A Coach-ſaving Engine 19
A Balance Water work 20
A Bucket-fountain 21
An ebbing and flowing River 22
An ebbing and flowing Caſtle clock 23
A Strength-increaſing Spring 24
A double drawing Engine for Weights 25
A to and fro Lever 26
A moſt eaſy level Draught 27
A portable Bridge 28
A moveable Fortification 29
A riſing Bulwark 30
An approaching Blind 31
An univerſal Character 32
A Needle-alphabet. 33
A knotted String-alphabet 34
A Fringe-alphabet 35
A Bracelet-alphabet 36
A pinked Glove-alphabet 37
A Sieve-alphabet 38
A Lanthorn-alphabet 39
An Alphabet by the Smell 40
An Alphabet by the Taſte 41
An Alphabet by the Touch 42
A Variation of all and each of theſe 43
A Key-piſtol 44
A moſt conceited Tinder-box 45
An artificial Bird 46
An Hour Water-ball 47
A ſcrued Aſcent of Stairs 48
A Tobacco-tongs Engine 49
A Pocket-ladder 50
A Rule of Gradation 51
A myſtical Jangling of Bells 52
An Hollowing of a Water-ſcrue 53
A tranſparent Water-ſcrue 54
A double Water-ſcrue 55
An advantageous Change of Centers 56
A conſtant Water-flowing and ebbing Motion 57
An often diſcharging Piſtol 58
An eſpecial Way for Carbines 59
A Flaſk-charger 60
A Way for Muſquets 61
A Way for a Harquebus, a Crock 62
For Sakers and Minions 63
For the biggeſt Cannon 64
For a whole Side of Ship-muſquets 65
For guarding ſeveral Avenues to a Town 66
For Muſquettoons on Horſe-back 67
A Fire Water-work 68
A triangle Key 69

A Roſe

A Roſe Key 70
A ſquare Key with a turning Scrue 71
An Eſcutcheon for all Locks 72
A tranſmittible Gallery 73
A conceited Door 74
A Diſcourſe woven in Tape or Ribbon 75
To write in the Dark 76
A flying Man 77
A continually-going Watch 78
A total Locking of Cabinet-boxes 79
Light Piſtol-barrels 80
A Comb-conveyance for Letters 81
A Knife, Spoon, or Fork-conveyance 82
A Raſping-mill 83
An arithmetical Inſtrument 84
An untoothſome Pear 85
An impriſoning Chair 86
A Candle-mould 87
A brazen Head 88
Primero Gloves 89
A Dicing-box 90
An artificial Ring-horſe 91
A Gravel Engine 92
A Ship-raiſing Engine 93
A Pocket Engine to open any Door 94
A double Croſs-bow 95
A Way for Sea-banks 96
A Perſpective Inſtrument 97
A Semi-omnipotent Engine 99
A moſt admirable Way to raiſe Weights 99
A ſtupendious Water-work 100

A Century of the Names and Scantlings of Inventions by me already practiſed.

1. Several Sorts of Seals, ſome ſhewing by Scrues, others by Gages, faſtening or unfaſtening all the Marks at once; others by additional Points and imaginary Places, proportionable to ordinary Eſcutcheons and Seals at Arms, each Way palpably and punctually ſetting down, yet private from all others, but the Owner, and by his Aſſent, the Day of the Month, the Day of the Week, the Month of the Year, the Year of our Lord, the Names of the Witneſſes, and the individual Place where any Thing was ſealed, though in Ten-thouſand ſeveral Places, together with the very Number of Lines contained in a Contract, whereby Falſification may be diſcovered, and manifeſtly proved, being upon good Grounds ſuſpected.

Upon any of theſe Seals a Man may keep Accounts of Receipts and Diſburſements from one Farthing to an Hundred-millions, punctually ſhewing each Pound, Shilling, Penny, or Farthing.

By theſe Seals likewiſe any Letter, though written but in *Engliſh*, may be read and underſtood in eight ſeveral Languages, and in *Engliſh* itſelf to a clean contrary and different Senſe, unknown to any but the Correſpondent, and not to be read or underſtood by him neither, if opened before it arrive unto him; ſo that neither Threats, nor Hopes of Reward, can make him reveal the Secret, the Letter having been intercepted, and firſt opened by the Enemy.

2. How Ten-thouſand Perſons may uſe theſe Seals to all and every of the Purpoſes aforeſaid, and yet keep their Secrets from any but whom they pleaſe.

3. A Cypher and Character ſo contrived, that one Line, without Returns and Circumflexes, ſtands for each and every of the Twenty-four Letters; and as ready to be made for the one Letter as the other.

4. This Invention refined, and ſo abbreviated, that a Point only ſheweth diſtinctly and ſignificantly any of the Twenty-four Letters; and theſe very Points to be made with two Pens, ſo that no Time will be loſt, but as one Finger riſeth the other may make the following Letter, never clogging the Memory with ſeveral Figures for Words, and Combination of Letters; which with Eaſe, and void of Confuſion, are thus ſpeedily and punctually, Letter for Letter, ſet down by naked, and not multiplied Points. And nothing can be leſs than a Point, the mathematical Definition of it being *Cujus pars nulla*. And of a Motion no ſwifter imaginable than Semiquavers or Releſhes, yet applicable to this Manner of Writing.

5. A Way by a circular Motion, either along a Rule or Ring-wiſe, to vary any Alphabet, even this of Points, ſo that the ſelf-ſame Point individually placed, without the leaſt additional Mark or Variation of Place, ſhall ſtand for all the Twenty-four Letters, and not for the ſame Letter twice in ten Sheets Writing; yet as eaſily and certainly read and known, as if it ſtood but for one and the ſelf-ſame Letter conſtantly ſignified.

6. How at a Window, as far as Eye can diſcover Black from White, a Man may hold Diſcourſe with his Correſpondent, without Noiſe made or Notice taken; being, according to Occaſion given or Means afforded, *Ex re natâ*, and no Need of Proviſion beforehand; though much better if foreſeen, and Means prepared for it, and a premeditated Courſe taken by mutual Conſent of Parties.

7. A Way to do it by Night as well as by Day, though as dark as Pitch is black.

8. A Way how to level and ſhoot Cannon by Night as well as by Day, and as directly; without a Platform or Meaſures taken by Day, yet by a plain and infallible Rule.

9. An Engine, portable in one's Pocket, which may be carried and faſtened on the Inſide of the greateſt Ship, *Tanquam aliud agens*, and at any appointed Minute, though a Week after, either of Day or Night, it ſhall irrecoverably ſink that Ship.

10. A Way from a Mile off, to dive and faſten a like Engine to any Ship, ſo as it may punctually work the ſame Effect either for Time or Execution.

11. How to prevent and ſafeguard any Ship from ſuch an Attempt by Day or Night.

12. A Way to make a Ship not poſſible to be ſunk, though ſhot an hundred Times betwixt Wind and Water by Cannon, and ſhould loſe a whole Plank, yet in Half an Hour's Time ſhould be made as fit to ſail as before.

13. How to make ſuch falſe Decks, as in a Moment ſhould kill and take Priſoners as many as ſhould board the Ship, without blowing the Decks up, or deſtroying them from being reducible, and in a Quarter of an Hour's Time, ſhould recover their former Shape, and to be made fit for any Employment without diſcovering the Secret.

14. How to bring a Force to weigh up an Anchor, or to do any forcible Exploit in the narroweſt or loweſt Room in any Ship, where few Hands ſhall do the Work of many; and many Hands applicable to the ſame Force, ſome ſtanding, others ſitting, and by Virtue of their ſeveral Helps, a great Force augmented in little Room, as effectual as if there were ſufficient Space to go about with an Axle-tree, and work far from the Center.

15. A Way how to make a Boat work itſelf againſt Wind and Tide, yea both without the Help of Man or Beaſt; yet ſo that the Wind or Tide, though directly oppoſite, ſhall force the Ship or Boat againſt itſelf; and in no Point of the Compaſs, but it ſhall be as effectual, as if the Wind were in the Poop, or the Stream actually with the Courſe it is to ſteer, according to which the Oars ſhall row, and neceſſary Motions work and move towards the deſired Port or Point of the Compaſs.

16. How to make a Sea-caſtle or Fortification Cannon-proof; and capable of a thouſand Men, yet ſailable at Pleaſure to defend a Paſſage, or in an Hour's Time to divide itſelf into three Ships as fit and trimmed to ſail as before: And even whilſt it is a Fort or Caſtle, they ſhall be unanimouſly ſteered, and effectually driven by an indifferent ſtrong Wind.

17. How to make upon the *Thames* a floating Garden of Pleaſure, with Trees, Flowers, Banqueting-houſes, and Fountains, Stews for all Kind of Fiſhes, a Reſerve for Snow to keep Wine in, delicate Bathing-places, and the like; with Muſick made with Mills; and all in the midſt of the Stream, where it is moſt rapid.

18. An artificial Fountain to be turned like an Hour-glaſs by a Child in the Twinkling of an Eye, it holding a great Quantity of Water, and of Force ſufficient to make Snow, Ice, and Thunder, with a Chirping and Singing of Birds, and Shewing of ſeveral Shapes and Effects uſual to Fountains of Pleaſure.

19. A little Engine within a Coach, whereby a Child may ſtop it, and ſecure all Perſons within it, and the Coachman himſelf, though the Horſes be never ſo unruly in a full Career; a Child being ſufficiently capable to looſen them, in what Poſture ſoever they ſhould have put themſelves, turning never ſo ſhort; for a Child can do it in the Twinkling of an Eye.

20. How to bring up Water Balance-wiſe, ſo that as little Weight or Force as will turn a Balance will be only needful, more than the Weight of the Water within the *Buckets*, which counterpoiſed empty themſelves one into the other, the uppermoſt yielding its Water, how great a Quantity ſoever it holds, at the ſelf-ſame Time the lower-moſt takes it in, though it be an hundred Fathom high.

21. How to raiſe Water conſtantly with two Buckets only Day and Night, without any other Force than its own Motion, uſing not ſo much as any Force, Wheel, or Sucker, *nor* more Pullies than one, on which the Cord or Chain rolleth, with a Bucket faſtened at each End. This, I confeſs, I have ſeen, and

learned of the great Mathematician *Claudius*'s Studies at *Rome*, he having made a Preſent thereof unto a Cardinal; and I deſire not to own any other Men's Inventions, but if I ſet down any, to nominate likewiſe the Inventor.

22. To make a River in a Garden to ebb and flow conſtantly, though twenty Feet over, with a Child's Force, in ſome private Room or Place out of Sight, and a competent Diſtance from it.

23. To ſet a Clock in a Caſtle, the Water filling the Trenches about it; it ſhall ſhew, by ebbing and flowing, the Hours, Minutes, and Seconds, and all the comprehenſible Motions of the Heavens, and Counter-libration of the Earth, according to *Copernicus*.

24. How to increaſe the Strength of a Spring to ſuch an Height, as to ſhoot Bumbaſſes and Bullets of a hundred Pounds Weight, a Steeple Height, and a Quarter of a Mile off, and more, Stone-bow-wiſe, admirable for Fire-works, and Aſtoniſhing of beſieged Cities, when without Warning given by Noiſe, they find themſelves ſo forcibly and dangerouſly ſurpriſed.

25. How to make a Weight that cannot take up an hundred Pounds, and yet ſhall take up Two-hundred Pounds, and at the ſelf-ſame Diſtance from the Center; and ſo proportionably to Millions of Pounds.

26. To raiſe Weight as well and as forcibly with the Drawing-back of the Lever, as with the Thruſting it forwards; and by that Means to loſe no Time in Motion or Strength. This I ſaw in the Arſenal at *Venice*.

27. A Way to remove to and fro huge Weights with a moſt inconſiderable Strength from Place to Place. For Example, ten Ton, with ten Pounds, and leſs; the ſaid ten Pounds not to fall lower than it makes the ten Ton to advance or retreat upon a Level.

28. A Bridge portable in a Cart with ſix Horſes, which in a few Hours Time may be placed over a River Half a Mile broad, whereon with much Expedition may be tranſported Horſe, Foot, and Cannon.

29. A portable Fortification able to contain Five-hundred fighting Men, and yet, in ſix Hour's Time, may be ſet up, and made Cannon-proof, upon the Side of a River or Paſs, with Cannon mounted upon it, and as compleat as a regular Fortification, with Half-moons and Counter-ſcarps.

30. A Way, in one Night's Time, to raiſe a Bulwark twenty or thirty Feet high, Cannon Proof, and Cannon mounted upon it, with Men to overlook, command, and batter a Town; for though it contain but four Pieces, they ſhall be able to diſcharge Two-hundred Bullets each Hour.

31. A Way how ſafely and ſpeedily to make an Approach to a Caſtle or Town-wall, and over the very Ditch at Noon-day.

32. How to compoſe an univerſal Character methodical and eaſy to be written, yet intelligible in any Language; ſo that, if an *Engliſh-man* write it in *Engliſh*, a *French-man*, *Italian*, *Spaniard*, *Iriſh*, *Welſh*, being Scholars; yea, *Grecian* or *Hebritian* ſhall as perfectly underſtand it in their own Tongue, as if they were perfect *Engliſh*, diſtinguiſhing the Verbs from Nouns, the Numbers, Tenſes, and Caſes as properly expreſſed in their own Language as it was written in *Engliſh*.

33. To write with a Needle and Thread, White, or any Colour upon White, or any other Colour, ſo that one Stitch ſhall ſignificantly ſhew any Letter, and as readily and as eaſily ſhew the one Letter as the other, and fit for any Language.

34. To write by a knotted Silk-ſtring, ſo that every Knot ſhall ſignify any Letter with a Comma, Full-point, or Interrogation, and as legible as with Pen and Ink upon white Paper.

35. The like by the Fringe of Gloves.
36. By Stringing of Bracelets.
37. By pinked Gloves.
38. By Holes in the Bottom of a Sieve.
39. By a Lattin or Plate Lanthorn.
40. By the Smell.
41. By the Taſte.
42. By the Touch.

By theſe three Senſes, as perfectly, diſtinctly and unconfuſedly, yea as readily, as by the Sight.

43. How to vary each of theſe, ſo that Ten-thouſand may know them, and yet keep the underſtanding Part from any but their Correſpondent.

44. To make a Key of a Chamber-door, which to your Sight hath its Wards and Roſe-pipe but Paper thick, and yet at Pleaſure in a Minute of an Hour ſhall become a perfect Piſtol, capable to ſhoot through a Breaſt-plate commonly of Carbine Proof, with Prime, Powder, and Fire-lock, undiſcoverable in a Stranger's Hand.

45. How to light a Fire and a Candle at what Hour of the Night one awaketh, without riſing, or putting one's Hand out of the Bed. And the ſame Thing becomes a ſerviceable Piſtol at Pleaſure; yet by a Stranger, not knowing the Secret, ſeemeth but a dexterous Tinder-box.

46. How to make an artificial Bird to fly which Way, and as long as one pleaſeth, by, or againſt the Wind, ſometimes chirping, other Times hovering, ſtill tending the Way it is deſigned for.

47. To make a Ball of any Metal, which thrown into a Pool or Pail of Water ſhall preſently riſe from the Bottom, and conſtantly ſhew, by the Superficies of the Water, the Hour of the Day or Night, never riſing more out of the Water, than juſt to the Minute it ſheweth, of each Quarter of the Hour; and, if by Force kept under Water, yet the Time is not loſt, but recovered as ſoon as it is permitted to riſe to the Superficies of the Water.

48. A ſcrued Aſcent, inſtead of Stairs, with fit Landing-places to the beſt Chambers of each Story, with back Stairs within the Noel of it, convenient for Servants to paſs up and down to the inward Rooms of them unſeen and private.

49. A portable Engine, in Way of a Tobacco-tongs, whereby a Man may get over a Wall, or get up again being come down, finding the Coaſt proving unſecure unto him.

50. A compleat, light, portable Ladder, which taken out of one's Pocket may be by himſelf faſtened an hundred Feet high, to get up by from the Ground.

51. A Rule of Gradation, which with Eaſe and Method reduceth all Things to a private Correſpondence, moſt uſeful for ſecret Intelligence.

52. How to ſignify Words, and a perfect Diſcourſe, by Jangling of Bells of any Pariſh Church, or by any muſical Inſtrument within hearing, in a ſeeming Way of tuning it; or of an unſkilful Beginner.

53. A Way how to make hollow and cover a Water-ſcrue, as big and as long as one pleaſeth, in an eaſy and cheap Way.

54. How to make a Water-ſcrue tight, and yet tranſparent, and free from breaking; but ſo clear, that one may palpably ſee the Water or any heavy Thing, how, and why it is mounted by turning.

55. A double Water-ſcrue, the innermoſt to mount the Water, and the outermoſt for it to deſcend more in Number of Threads, and conſequently in Quantity of Water, though much ſhorter than the innermoſt Scrue, by which the Water aſcendeth, a moſt extraordinary Help for the turning of the Scrue to make the Water riſe.

56. To provide and make that all the Weights of the deſcending Side of a Wheel ſhall be perpetually further from the Center, than thoſe of the mounting Side, and yet equal in Number and Heft to the one Side as the other. A moſt incredible Thing, if not ſeen, but tried before the late King, of bleſſed Memory, in the *Tower*, by my Directions, two extraordinary Ambaſſadors accompanying his Majeſty, and the Dukes of *Richmond* and *Hamilton*, with moſt of the Court, attending him. The Wheel was fourteen Feet over, and forty Weights of fifty Pounds a-piece. Sir *William Balfore*, then Lieutenant of the *Tower*, can juſtify it, with ſeveral others. They all ſaw, that no ſooner theſe great Weights paſſed the Diameter-line of the lower Side, but they hung a Foot further from the Center, nor no ſooner paſſed the Diameter-Line of the Upper Side, but they hung a Foot nearer. Be pleaſed to judge the Conſequence.

57. An Ebbing and Flowing Water-work in two Veſſels, into either of which, the Water ſtanding at a Level, if a Globe be caſt in, inſtead of riſing, it preſently ebbeth, and ſo remains, until a like Globe be caſt into the other Veſſel, which the Water is no ſooner ſenſible of, but that Veſſel preſently ebbeth, and the other floweth, and ſo continueth ebbing and flowing until one or both of the Globes be taken out, working ſome little Effect beſides its own Motion, without the Help of any Man within Sight or Hearing: But if either of the Globes be taken out with ever ſo ſwift or eaſy a Motion, at the very Inſtant the Ebbing and Flowing ceaſeth; for if during the Ebbing you take out the Globe, the Water of that Veſſel preſently returneth to flow, and never ebbeth after, until the Globe be turned into it, and then the Motion beginneth as before.

58. How to make a Piſtol to diſcharge a dozen Times with one Loading, and without ſo much as once new Priming requiſite, or to change it out of one Hand into the other, or ſtop one's Horſe.

59. Another Way as faſt and effectual, but more proper for Carbines.

60. A Way with a Flaſk appropriated unto it, which will furniſh either Piſtol or Carbine with a dozen Charges in three Minutes Time, to do the whole Execution of a dozen Shots, as ſoon as one pleaſeth, proportionably.

61. A *third* Way, and particular for Muſquets, without taking them from their Reſts to charge or prime, to a like Execution, and as faſt as the Flaſk, the Muſquet containing but one Charge at a Time.

62. A Way for a Harquebuſs, a Crock, or Ship-muſquet, ſix upon a Carriage, ſhooting with ſuch Expedition, as without Danger one may charge, level, and diſcharge them ſixty Times in a Minute of an Hour, two or three together.

63. A *ſixth* Way, moſt excellent for Sakers, differing from the other, yet as ſwift.

64. A *Seventh*, tried and approved before the late King, of ever bleſſed Memory, and an hundred Lords and Commons, in a Cannon of eight Inches half Quarter, to ſhoot Bullets of ſixty-four Pounds Weight, and twenty-four Pounds of Powder, twenty Times in ſix Minutes; ſo clear from Danger, that after all were diſcharged, a Pound of Butter did not melt being laid upon the Cannon-breech, nor the green Oil diſcoloured that was firſt anointed and uſed between the Barrel thereof, and the Engine, having never in it, nor within ſix Feet, but one Charge at a Time.

65. A Way that one Man in the Cabbin may govern the whole Side of Ship Muſquets, to the Number, if Need require, of Two or Three-thouſand Shots.

66. A Way that, againſt ſeveral Avenues to a Fort or Caſtle, one Man may charge fifty Cannons playing, and ſtopping when he pleaſeth, though out of Sight of the Cannon.

67. A rare Way likewiſe for Muſquettoons faſtened to the Pummel of the Saddle, ſo that a common Trooper cannot miſs to charge them, with twenty or thirty Bullets at a Time, even in full Career.

When firſt I gave my Thoughts to make Guns ſhoot often, I thought there had been but one only exquiſite Way inventible, yet by veral Trials and much Charge I have perfectly tried all theſe.

68. An admirable and moſt forcible Way to drive up Water by Fire, not by drawing or ſucking it upwards, for that muſt be as the Philoſopher calleth it, *Intra ſphæram activitatis*, which is but at ſuch a Diſtance. But this Way hath no Bounder, if the Veſſels be ſtrong enough; for I have taken a Piece of a whole Cannon, whereof the End was burſt, and filled it three Quarters full of Water, ſtopping and ſcruing up the broken End; as alſo the Touch-hole; and making a conſtant Fire under it, within Twenty-four Hours it burſt and made a great Crack: So that having a Way to make my Veſſels, ſo that they are ſtrengthened by the Force within them, and the one to fill after the other, I have ſeen the Water run like a conſtant Fountain-ſtream forty Feet high; one Veſſel of Water, rarified by Fire, driveth up Forty of cold Water. And a Man that tends the Work is but to turn two Cocks; that one Veſſel of Water being conſumed, another begins to force and re-fill with cold Water, and ſo ſucceſſively, the Fire being tended and kept conſtant, which the ſelf-ſame Perſon may likewiſe abundantly perform in the Interim between the Neceſſity of turning the ſaid Cocks.

69. A Way how a little triangle-ſcrued Key, not weighing a Shilling, ſhall be capable and ſtrong enough to bolt and unbolt round about a great Cheſt and an hundred Bolts through fifty Staples, two in each, with a direct contrary Motion, and as many more from both Sides and Ends, and at the ſelf-ſame Time ſhall faſten it to the Place, beyond a Man's natural Strength to take it away; and in one and the ſame Turn both locks and opens it.

70. A Key with a Roſe-turning Pipe, and two Roſes pierced through endwiſe, the Bit thereof, with ſeveral handſomely contrived Wards, which may likewiſe do the ſame Effects.

71. A Key perfectly ſquare, with a Scrue turning within it, and more conceited than any of the reſt, and no heavier than the triangle-ſcrued Key, and doth the ſame Effects.

72. An Eſcutcheon to be placed before any of theſe Locks with theſe Properties.

1. The Owner, though a Woman, may with her delicate Hand, vary the Ways of coming to open the Lock Ten-millions of Times, beyond the Knowledge of the Smith that made it, or of me who invented it.

2. If a Stranger open it, it ſetteth an Alarm a-going, which the Stranger cannot ſtop from running out; and beſides, though none ſhould be within hearing, yet it catcheth his Hand, as a Trap doth a Fox; and though far from maiming him, yet it leaveth ſuch a Mark behind it, as will diſcover him if ſuſpected; the Eſcutcheon or Lock plainly ſhewing what Monies he hath taken out of the Box to a Farthing, and how many Times opened ſince the Owner had been in it.

73. A tranſmittible Gallery over any Ditch or Breach in a Town-wall, with a Blind and Parapet Cannon-proof.

74. A Door, whereof the Turning of a Key, with the Help and Motion of the Handle, makes the Hinges to be of either Side, and to open either inward or outward, as one is to enter, or to go out, or to open in Half.

75. How a Tape or Ribbon-weaver may ſet down a whole Diſcourſe, without knowing a Letter, or interweaving any Thing ſuſpicious of other Secret than a new-faſhion Ribbon.

76. How to write in the Dark, as ſtraight as by Day or Candle-light.

77. How to make a Man to fly; which I have tried with a little Boy of ten Years old in a Barn, from one End to the other, on an Hay-mow.

78. A Watch to go conſtantly, and yet needs no other Winding from the firſt Setting on the Cord or Chain, unleſs it be broken, requiring no other Care from one than to be now and then conſulted with, concerning the Hour of the Day or Night; and if it be laid by a Week together, it will not err much, but the oftener looked upon, the more exact it ſhews the Time of the Day or Night.

79. A Way to lock all the Boxes of a Cabinet, though never ſo many, at one Time, which were by particular Keys appropriated to each Lock opened ſeverally, and independent the one of the other, as much as concerneth the Opening of them, and by theſe Means cannot be left opened unawares.

80. How to make a Piſtol Barrel no thicker than a Shilling, and yet able to endure a Muſquet Proof of Powder and Bullet.

81. A Comb-conveyance, carrying of Letters without Suſpicion, the Head being opened with a Needle-ſcrue drawing a Spring towards them; the Comb being made but after an uſual Form carried in one's Pocket.

82. A Knife, Spoon, or Fork, in an uſual portable Caſe, may have the like Conveyances in their Handles.

83. A Raſping-mill for Harts-horn, whereby a Child may do the Work of Half a Dozen Men, commonly taken up with that Work.

84. An Inſtrument whereby Perſons, ignorant in Arithmetick, may perfectly obſerve Numerations and Subtractions of all Sums and Fractions.

85. A little Ball made in the Shape of Plum or Pear, being dexterouſly conveighed or forced into a Body's Mouth, ſhall preſently ſhoot forth ſuch, and ſo many Bolts of each Side, and at both Ends, as without the Owner's Key can neither be opened nor filed off, being made of tempered Steel, and as effectually locked as an iron Cheſt.

86. A Chair made *Alamode*, and yet a Stranger, being perſuaded to ſit in it, ſhall have immediately his Arms and Thighs locked up, beyond his own Power to looſen them.

87. A Braſs Mould to caſt Candles, in which a Man may make five-hundred Dozen in a Day, and add an Ingredient to the Tallow which will make it cheaper, and yet ſo that the Candles ſhall look whiter, and laſt longer.

88. How to make a brazen or Stone-head, in the midſt of a great Field or Garden, ſo artificial and natural, that though a Man ſpeak never ſo ſoftly, and even whiſpers into the Ear thereof, it will preſently open its Mouth, and reſolve the Queſtion in *French*, *Latin*, *Welſh*, *Iriſh*, or *Engliſh*, in good Terms uttering it out of its Mouth, and then ſhut it until the next Queſtion be aſked.

89. White Silk knotted in the Fingers of a Pair of white Gloves, and ſo contrived without Suſpicion, that playing at *Primero* at Cards, one may without clogging his Memory keep reckoning of all Sixes, Sevens, and Aces which he hath diſcarded.

90. A moſt dexterous Dicing-Box, with Holes tranſparent, after the uſual Faſhion, with a Device ſo dexterous, that with a Knock of it againſt the Table, the four good Dice are faſtened, and it looſeneth four falſe Dice made fit for his Purpoſe.

91. An artificial Horſe, with Saddle and Capariſons fit for running at the Ring, on which a Man being mounted, with his Lance in his Hand, he can at Pleaſure make him ſtart, and ſwiftly to run his Career, uſing the decent Poſture with *bon Grace*; may take the Ring as handſomely, and running as ſwiftly as if he rode upon a Barb.

92. A Scrue made like a Water-ſcrue, but the Bottom made of Iron-plate Spade-wiſe, which at the Side of a Boat emptieth the Mud of a Pond, or raiſeth Gravel.

93. An Engine whereby one Man may take out of the Water a Ship of five-hundred Tons, ſo that it may be calked, trimmed, and repaired without Need of the uſual Way of Stocks, and as eaſily let it down again.

94. A little Engine portable in one's Pocket, which placed to any Door, without any Noiſe, but one Crack, openeth any Door or Gate.

95. A double Croſs-bow, neat, handſome, and ſtrong, to ſhoot two Arrows, either together, or one after the other, ſo immediately that a Deer cannot run two Steps, but, if he miſs of one Arrow, he may be reached with the other, whether the Deer run forward, ſideway, or ſtart backward.

96. A Way to make a Sea-bank ſo firm and Geometrically-ſtrong, that a Stream can have no Power over it; excellent likewiſe to ſave the Pillar of a Bridge, being far cheaper and ſtronger than Stone-walls.

97. An Inſtrument whereby an ignorant Perſon may take any Thing in Perſpective, as juſtly and more than the ſkilfulleſt Painter can do by his Eye.

98. An Engine ſo contrived, that working the *Primum mobile* forward or backward, upward or downward, circularly or cornerwiſe, to and fro, ſtraight, upright, or downright, yet the pretended Operation continueth, and advanceth, none of the Motions above-mentioned hindering, much leſs ſtopping the other; but unanimouſly, and with Harmony agreeing, they all augment and contribute Strength unto the intended Work and Operation: And therefore I call this *A Semi-omnipotent Engine*, and do intend that a Model thereof be buried with me.

99. How to make one Pound Weight to raiſe an Hundred as high as one Pound falleth, and yet the hundred Pound deſcending doth what nothing leſs than One-hundred Pound can effect.

100. Upon ſo potent a Help as theſe two laſt mentioned Inventions, a Water-work is by many Year's Experience and Labour ſo advantageouſly by me contrived, that a Child's Force bringeth up an hundred Feet high an incredible Quantity of Water, even two Feet Diameter, ſo naturally, that the Work will not be heard even unto the next Room; and with ſo great Eaſe and geometrical Symmetry, that though it works Day and Night from one End of the Year to the other, it will not require forty Shillings Reparation to the whole Engine, nor hinder one Day's-work. And I may boldly call it, *The moſt ſtupendious Work in the whole World*; not only with little Charge to drain all Sorts of Mines, and furniſh Cities with Water, though never ſo high ſeated, as well to keep them ſweet, running through ſeveral Streets, and ſo performing the Work of Scavingers, as well as furniſhing the Inhabitants with ſufficient Water for their private Occaſions; but likewiſe ſupplying Rivers with ſufficient to maintain and make them portable from Town to Town, and for the Bettering of Lands all the Way it runs; with many more advantageous, and yet greater Effects of Profit, Admiration, and Conſequence. So that deſervedly I deem this Invention to crown my Labours, to reward my Expences, and make my Thoughts acquieſce in Way of further Inventions: This making up the whole Century, and preventing any further Trouble to the Reader for the preſent, meaning to leave to Poſterity a Book, wherein under each of theſe Heads the Means to put in Execution and viſible Trial all and every of theſe Inventions, with the Shape and Form of all Things belonging to them, ſhall be printed by Braſs-plates.

In Bonum publicum, & ad majorem Dei Gloriam.

The Bill of Attainder that paſſed againſt *Thomas* Earl of *Strafford*. Printed for *J. A.* 1641. *Quarto*, containing ſix Pages.

WHEREAS the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes of the Houſe of Commons in this preſent Parliament aſſembled, have, in the Name of themſelves, and all the Commons of *England*, impeached *Thomas* Earl of *Strafford* of High Treaſon, for endeavouring to ſubvert the Ancient and Fundamental Laws and Government of his Majeſty's Realms of *England* and *Ireland*, and to introduce an Arbitrary and Tyrannical Government againſt Law in the ſaid Kingdoms; and for exerciſing a tyrannous and exorbitant Power over, and againſt the Laws of the ſaid Kingdoms, over the Liberties, Eſtates, and Lives of his Majeſty's Subjects; and likewiſe for having, by his own Authority, commanded the Laying and Aſſeſſing of Soldiers upon his Majeſty's Subjects in *Ireland*, againſt their Conſents, to compel them to obey his unlawful Commands and Orders, made upon Paper Petitions, in Cauſes between Party and Party, which accordingly was executed upon divers of his Majeſty's Subjects, in a warlike Manner, within the ſaid Realm of *Ireland*; and, in ſo doing, did levy War againſt the King's Majeſty, and his liege People in that Kingdom: And alſo, for that he, upon the unhappy Diſſolution of the laſt Parliament, did ſlander the Houſe of Commons to his Majeſty, and did counſel and adviſe his Majeſty, that he was looſe and abſolved from Rules of Government, and that he had an Army in *Ireland*, which he might employ to reduce this Kingdom; for which he deſerves to undergo the Pains and Forfeitures of High Treaſon.

And the ſaid Earl hath been alſo an Incendiary of the Wars between the two Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*: All which Offences have been ſufficiently proved againſt the ſaid Earl upon his Impeachment.

Be it therefore enacted by the King's moſt Excellent Majeſty, and by the Lords and Commons in this preſent Parliament aſſembled, and by Authority of the ſame, That the ſaid Earl of *Strafford*, for the heinous Crimes and Offences aforeſaid, ſtand and be adjudged and attainted of High Treaſon, and ſhall ſuffer the Pain of Death, and incur the Forfeitures of his Goods and Chattels, Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments, of any Eſtate of Freehold or Inheritance, in the ſaid Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, which the ſaid Earl, or any other to his Uſe, or in Truſt for him, have or had, the Day of the firſt Sitting of this preſent Parliament, or at any Time ſince.

Provided, that no Judge or Judges, Juſtice or Juſtices whatſoever, ſhall adjudge or interpret any Act or Thing to be Treaſon, nor hear or determine any Treaſon, nor in any other Manner than he or they ſhould or ought to have done before the making of this Act, and as if this Act had never been had or made. Saving always unto all and ſingular Perſons and Bodies Politick and Corporal, their Heirs and Succeſſors, others than the ſaid Earl and his Heirs, and ſuch as claim by, from, or under him, all ſuch Right, Title, and Intereſt, of, in, and to all and ſingular ſuch of the ſaid Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments, as he, they, or any of them, had before the firſt Day of this preſent Parliament, any Thing herein contained to the contrary notwithſtanding.

Provided, that the Paſſing of this preſent Act, and his Majeſty's Aſſent thereunto, ſhall not be any Determination of this preſent Seſſions of Parliament, but that this preſent Seſſions of Parliament, and all Bills and Matters whatſoever, depending in Parliament, and not fully enacted and determined, and all Statutes and Acts of Parliament, which have their Continuance until the End of this preſent Seſſion of Parliament, ſhall remain, continue, and be in full Force, as if this Act had not been.

Strange Apparitions, or the Ghoſt of King *James*: With a late Conference between the Ghoſt of that good King, the Marquis of *Hamilton*'s, and *George Egliſham*'s, Doctor of Phyſick; unto which appeared the Ghoſt of the late Duke of *Buckingham*, concerning the Death and Poiſoning of King *James*, and the reſt. Printed at *London* for *J. Aſton*, 1642. *Quarto*, containing eight Pages.

King James.

DOST thou know me, *Buckingham*? If our Spirits or Ghoſts retain any Knowledge of mortal Actions, let us diſcourſe together.

Bucking. Honour hath not now tranſported me to forget your Majeſty; I know you to be the *Umbra* or Shade of my Sovereign King *James*, unto whom *Buckingham* was once ſo great a Favourite: But what Ghoſt of *Ariſtotle* is that which bears you Company? His pale Looks ſhew him to be ſome Scholar.

K. James. It is the changed Shadow of *George Egliſham*, for ten Years together my Doctor of Phyſick, who in the Diſcharge of his Place was ever to me moſt faithful; this other is his and my old Friend, the Marquis of *Hamilton*.

Bucking. My Liege, I cannot diſcourſe as long as they are preſent, they do behold me with ſuch threatening Looks; and your Majeſty hath a diſturbed Brow, as if you were offended with your Servant *Buckingham*.

K. James. I, and the Marquis of *Hamilton*, have juſt Cauſe to frown and be offended; Haſt thou not been our moſt ungrateful Murderer?

Bucking. Who I, my Liege? What Act of mine could make you to ſuſpect that I could do a Deed ſo full of Horror? Produce a Witneſs to my Forehead, before you condemn me upon bare Suſpicion.

K. James. My Doctor *Egliſham* ſhall prove it to thy Face, and, if thou haſt but any Senſe of Goodneſs, ſhall make thy pale Ghoſt bluſh, ungrateful *Buckingham*.

Bucking. I defy all ſuch Votes and falſe Accuſations; if I had been ſo wicked, Why was not I, when living, brought to Trial, and ſacrificed to Juſtice?

K. James. A Petition was drawn by my Doctor *George Egliſham*, wherein he moſt lovingly amplified the Ingratitude of thee, my Favourite *Buckingham*, in poiſoning me his Sovereign, which he then preſented to my Son King *Charles*, and to the Parliament, for he had vowed to revenge our Death; but they, taking no Courſe for the Examination of thy Guiltineſs, by Reaſon of thy Plot, which diſſolved that Parliament, Doctor *Egliſham* was fain to go over into *Holland*, to avoid the Fury of thy Malice.

Marq. of Hamilt. Nay, he diſcovered thee, *George Villiers*, Duke of *Buckingham*, to have committed two eminent Murders, namely, of the King's Majeſty, and of me the Lord Marquis of *Hamilton*; and, for all thy Subtlety in thy poiſoning Art, God hath on Earth manifeſted thee to be the Author of our Deaths.

Bucking. Were we living, thou durſt not uſe this Language; thy Words are falſe: Who dare appear to prove what thou didſt ſpeak?

Dr. Egliſh. I Doctor *Egliſham*, as I did once accuſe thee unto the King and Parliament, and the whole World, ſo I affirm again, that thou didſt poiſon King *James* and the Marquis of *Hamilton*; and firſt I will prove the Murder of the Marquis of *Hamilton*, who died firſt.

Bucking. I ſtand without all Fear; and durſt thou, baſe Doctor, to ſpeak even all thy Malice can invent againſt me?

Dr. Egliſh. Then know, *Buckingham*, that, being raiſed from mean Blood to Honour, and therefore extreme proud, thou hadſt an Ambition to match thy Niece with the Marquis's eldeſt Son, and the Bride ſhould have had Fifty-thouſand Pound Sterling for her Portion.

Bucking. But, what is this to the Matter of poiſoning the Marquis?

Egliſh. Yes, thy Niece being unequal in Degree to the Marquis's Son, the Marquis thrice refuſed the Offer of ſuch a Marriage, but, at laſt, hoping ſome Way might be found to annul it before it ſhould be confirmed, he yielded unto the King's Deſire of the Match, and at *Greenwich*, before the King, it was concluded ; and you, *Buckingham*, cauſed your Niece to be laid in Bed with the Marquis's Son in the King's Chamber, the Bride being unfit and not marriageable. Afterwards the Marquis having ſent his Son into *France* to prevent the Confirmation of the Marriage, and your Niece growing marriageable, and the Confirmation of the Marriage by you deſired, the Marquis anſwered her ſince the Motion, which cauſed a deadly Quarrel between you and the Marquis, often reconciled, and often breaking forth again.

Bucking. It may be I was offended, but I ſought no baſe Revenge.

Egliſh. That ſhall appear hereafter. The Marquis of *Hamilton*, after this Quarrel happening between you, fell ſick, and you, whom King *James* knew to be vindictive, had occaſioned this his Sickneſs, and afterwards his Death by Poiſon.

Marq. I could not endure that thou ſhouldſt come near me, *Buckingham*, in my Sickneſs.

Bucking. But I was ſtill deſirous to viſit you in your Sickneſs, though this Urinal Obſerver, Dr. *Egliſham*, kept me away.

Egliſh. I knew your Viſitation proceeded from Diſſimulation ; but, to haſten to the End of my Accuſation, you *Buckingham*, and my Lord *Denbigh*, would not, all the Time of his Sickneſs, ſuffer his Son to come near him, leſt my Lord Marquis ſhould adviſe him not to marry *Buckingham*'s Niece. Matters being thus ſuſpiciouſly carried, my Lord Marquis deceaſed, and you, *Buckingham*, would have him buried that Night in *Weſtminſter* Church : When he was dead, his Body was ſwelled to a ſtrange and monſtrous Proportion ; I deſired his Body might be viewed by Phyſicians, but you, *Buckingham*, being guilty, endeavoured to hinder it ; but view him they did, and all the Phyſicians acknowledged that he was poiſoned ; and, after his Death, you, *Buckingham*, ſent my Lord Marquis, his Son, out of Town, made a diſſembling Shew of Mourning for his Death, and a Bruit was ſpread of poiſoning *Buckingham*'s Adverſaries, and the Poiſon-monger or Mountebank, was graced by *Buckingham* ; all which are ſufficient Grounds to prove you guilty of the Marquis of *Hamilton*'s Death : Now I will alſo declare thee to be a Traitor, in poiſoning thy Sovereign King *James*.

Bucking. Speak what thou can'ſt, and add more Lyes to this Relation, I will not anſwer thee until the End.

K. James. Was *Buckingham* the Author of my Death, I would have thought thoſe heavenly Eſſences, called Angels, might have been ſooner corrupted than *Buckingham* ; Was he my Poiſoner?

Egliſh. He was, my Liege, for *Buckingham* being advertiſed that your Majeſty had, by Letters, Intelligence of his bad Behaviour in *Spain*, and that your Affection towards him was thereby grown ſomewhat colder; *Buckingham*, after his Coming from *Spain*, ſaid, that, the King being grown old, it was fit he ſhould reſign all Government, and let the Prince be crowned.

K. James. Didſt thou deſire the Death of thy aged Prince? I could not long have lived by Nature's Courſe, Muſt Poiſon needs diſpatch me? But proceed, *Egliſham*, give us the Circumſtances briefly, how and in what Manner I was poiſoned by *Buckingham.*

Egliſh. Then thus, my Liege, your Highneſs being ſick of an Ague, and in the Spring, which is no deadly Diſeaſe, *Buckingham*, when your Doctors of Phyſick were at Dinner, on the *Monday* before your Death, offered you a white Powder to take ; you refuſed it, but, after his much Importunity, took it, and thereupon you grew extreme ſick, crying out againſt that white Powder, and the Counteſs of *Buckingham. Buckingham*'s Mother applied a Plaiſter to the King's Heart and Breaſt, whereby all the Phyſicians ſaid that he was poiſoned ; but *Buckingham* threatened the Phyſicians, and quarrelled with them, and *Buckingham*'s Mother fell down on her Knees, and deſired Juſtice againſt thoſe that had ſaid that her Son and ſhe had poiſoned your Majeſty. Poiſoned me, ſaid you, and with that, King *James*, you turned yourſelf, ſwooned and died. *Buckingham*, as before, made a diſſembling Shew that he was ſorry for the King's Death, which was nothing ſo; for he was nothing moved at all, during his Sickneſs, nor after his Death. To conclude, the dead Body of King *James*, like as Marquis *Hamilton*'s Corps, ſwelled above all Meaſure, their Hair came off, and their Nails became looſe: Now thereupon, upon theſe Proofs, in Preſence of the King and Marquis, confeſs thyſelf guilty, for, *Buckingham*, thou wert both a Murderer and a Traitor.

K. James. *Buckingham*, what canſt thou alledge for thyſelf? Did not I end many Differences and Jealouſies between my Son *Charles* and thee, and compoſe many Fractions? Did not I, when ill Language iſſued from thee, inſomuch that Blows were ſtruck, and Swords drawn in my Preſence, to the Jeopardy of thy Life, cry, Save my *George*, ſave my *George*? Did I not love thee, *Buckingham*, as if thou hadſt been my deareſt Son? Made thee from a low Beginning riſe ſo faſt, that thy ſudden Growth in Honour was envied at the Court? Hadſt thou poiſoned ſome other Man, thy Soul had not been half ſo black or foul; thou mighteſt have been compelled to it by Envy, or elſe tranſported by ſome cruel Paſſion, or urged thereunto by jealous Fears, to make away thy Enemy; but to kill him that was thy gracious Prince, whoſe Favour had created thee Duke, and gave thee Honours far above Deſert; it was the higheſt Step of baſe Ingratitude. O *Buckingham*, go and lament thy Sins, and here, to eaſe thy troubled Mind, confeſs unto me, didſt thou poiſon thy Maſter King *James*, ſhew me why, and for what Reaſon thou didſt it.

Bucking. *Firſt*, your Majeſty began to decline your wonted Affection to me, and likewiſe to be very jealous of all my Actions and Sayings. *Secondly*, your Majeſty was ſtricken in Years, and grew intemperate, and a Burden to yourſelf and to your People, and they ſick of an old Government, and deſiring a new Change. *Thirdly*, Had I not undertaken it, I could not have ſtood a Favourite to a ſucceeding King, nor been ſo eminent in the Court.

K. James. Who were Actors beſides thyſelf in this helliſh Plot?

Bucking. Many more beſides myſelf, whom I dare not reveal as yet; but Time ſhall produce them, and their foul Actions. Sir, I deſire your Pardon; I did contrive your Death by Poiſon, but I have paid full Juſtice for it, ſince my Conſcience hath been my Judge and Executioner.

K. James. Let Princes learn from thee, never to truſt a Favourite: But what doſt thou anſwer to the Accuſation of poiſoning the Marquis of *Hamilton*?

Bucking. This Dr. *Egliſham* hath ſpoke all Truth, and proved, by many Circumſtances, that I procured his Death by Poiſon; I know that I am guilty, but cannot more be puniſhed; Furies of Conſcience do torment my Soul, and I have no Hope of Eaſe until you ſeal my Pardon, and ſay you can forgive me, for I, *George* Duke of *Buckingham*, poiſoned King *James*, and the Marquis of *Hamilton*.

Egliſh. And, *laſtly*, for Fear that I *George Egliſham* ſhould diſcover you, as I have now done, to be the Poiſoner, I was ſought to be murdered, but I fled into *Holland*; and there, by your Appointment, I was ſtabbed and killed.

Bucking. I do acknowledge that my mortal Hatred unto thee was great; and I acknowledge myſelf guilty too of thy Death, Dr. *Egliſham*.

K. James. Then, *Buckingham*, thou waſt to me a moſt ungrateful Traitor.

Marq. of Hamilton. To me a cunning and diſſembling Poiſoner.

Bucking. I ſuffer for it now, for Heaven is juſt: Farewell, I'll go and weep for Grief.

MURDER will out, and juſt Revenge, though ſlow,
Doth overtake the Murderer, this I know,
Whoſe Paſſages of Life, and ſhining Glory,
Might be compil'd into a tragick Story.
For, before *Felton* did my Life conclude,
I added Murder to Ingratitude;
Never did weeping Penitent confeſs
With greater Sorrow: Oh I did tranſgreſs
Againſt the Laws of Nature, that would have
Subjects defend good Kings, not dig their Graves.
The Voice of Murder ſhe doth upward fly,
And unto Heaven doth for Vengeance cry;

And you, good King, were gracious to that Man,
Whoſe Ghoſt you ſee, the Duke of *Buckingham*.
But I was moſt ungrateful to my King,
And Marquis *Hamilton*, whom I did bring
Both to untimely Deaths, forgive my Sin.
Great King, great Marquis, Doctor *Egliſham*,
All murder'd by the Duke of *Buckingham*.
Forgive me all, and pardon me, I pray;
This being ſaid, the Duke's Ghoſt ſhrunk away.

A lamentable and piteous Treatiſe*, verye neceſſarye for euerie Chriſten Manne to reade, wherin is contayned, not onely the high Entrepriſe and Valeauntnes of Themperour *Charles* the. v. and his Army (in his Voyage made to the Towne of *Argier* in *Affrique*, agaynſt the *Turckes*, the Enemyes of the Chriſten Fayth, Thinhabitoures of the ſame) but alſo the myſerable Chaunces of Wynde and Wether, with dyuerſe other Aduerſites, hable to moue euen a ſtonye Hearte to bewayle the ſame, and to pray to God for his Ayde and Succoure. Whiche was written and ſent vnto the Lorde of *Langeſt*. Truly and dylygently tranſlated out of *Latyn* into *Frenche*, and out of *Frenche* into *Engliſh*. 1542. *Ricardus Grafton excudebat, cum Priuilegio ad imprimendum ſolum.* *Octavo*, containing twenty-ſeven Pages.

To the ryght hygh and myghtye Lorde, Syr *Wyllyam* of *Bellay*, Vyceroy of *Pyment*, and Knyght of the Ordre of the mooſte Chriſten Kynge. Syr *Nycolas Uyllagon*, Gretynge.

I Haue geuen you to wytte (ryght honorable Lorde) by my laſte Letters, that, in makyng Haſt towarde you, I was retarded and conſtrayned to tarye at Rome, *becauſe of the Renewyng and Grefe of the Woundes, that I was hurt of; the which, by the Dyffyculte and Length of the Way, recreaſed and waxed worſſe dayly. For the Truthe is, that the daylye Procedynge of my Soreneſſe hath holly taken from me Hope to depart from hens, and from my Departyng hath hyndred me much more then I wold. Howbeit, beyng contynually incyted by great Deſyre to ſe you agayne, and ſeyng the Let of my Departyng out of this Towne, as yet vnredy, I haue aduyſed me to put in Wryting the Ordre and Eſtate of my Voyage, and ſend it to you, becauſe that, in ſuche wyſe, ye ſhould the ſooner knowe it; which I my ſelfe wold ſooner haue done, yf my Dyſeaſe would haue ſuffred it. And, by the ſame Meanes, the Delay of my Commyng towarde you to be excuſed. Your good Frende* Franceys Guyche, *a worthy Man and lyberall, by greate Amyte hath receyued me into his Houſe, and kyndly entreated me. And hath doone ſo muche by his great Dylygence, that, by the Helpe of Medycyns, I hope ryght ſoone to come into the Way of*

---

* This is the 71ſt Number in the Catalogue of Pamphlets in the *Harleian* Library.

of Amendement, wherby I am greatly beholden to hym. It hath been he, that, whan I would haue enforced me to haue gone on my Waye, hath letted me tyll I were ſomewhat more at Eaſe, and ſtronger to endure the Trauayle of the Waye, and the Diſpoſycion of Wynter; which yf he had not done, I was in Daunger to haue fallen in another greuous Malady, for with the Payne and Smert of my Woundes, all my Body was ſwollen, ſo that almoſte I was fallen into an Hydropſy. Howbeit, as nowe I purpoſe, as ſone as my Dyſeaſe is paſte, to put me in Waye with all Dylygence to ſe you ryght ſoone. At Thuryn.

And fare ye well.

AS, in the Sommer paſte, my pryuate, neceſſary, and domeſtiqual Buſynes moued me to retourne into *Fraunce*, I was aduertiſed by my Frendes of Themperours Iorney into *Italy*, and of the purpoſed Paſſage of his Army into *Affrique*: Who, knowynge the Councell and Purpoſe of Themperour, dyd moue and perſuade me to thire good and honeſte Entrepriſe. Then I, vnderſtandyng well my Fayth and Duetye accordyng to my Profeſſion, knewe that I was bound, with all my Powre, to employe my ſelfe to fight againſt Thenemys of the Faith; and lykewyſe fearynge greately, that my Body, longe accuſtomed with the Peynes of Warre, ſhuld by the Meanes of muche Eaſe become to tendre for Lacke of Vſe and Exerciſe, if I ſhuld haue taryed longe lyngerynge with my Frendes; wherfore, I purpoſed with my ſelfe, to deferre and ſet aſyde my former Buſynes tyll another Tyme, rather then to leaue ſuche a preſent and oportune Occaſyon of Honour in ſo neceſſary a Matter. Nowe then, the Mynd and Purpoſe of Themperour (as I perceaued by my Frendes Letters) was thus, as foloeth.

Themperour beyng in *Allmeigney*, to Thentent to appeaſe and ſet a Staye in the Controuerſyes and Dyſſencyons, whiche are amonge the *Allmeignes* in Matters of Religion, dyd there fynde *Ferdinand* his Brother, and the Sonne of the ſame *Ihon*, which laſt of all obteyned the Realme of *Hungarye*, and had Knowledge that they wer inflamed with great and pernycious Dyſcordes, and in Mynde to fyght together violentlye for the Right of the ſaide Realme. The whiche Sonne of *Ihon*, for the Feare that he had of the Powre of *Ferdinand*, called and ſought Ayde of the *Turckes*; whiche when *Ferdinand* ſawe commyng, in preuentynge theim, with all his Powre, beſeged the Towne of *Buda*, enforcynge him ſelfe mooſt dylygently to haue taken the ſaide Towne before the *Turckes* cam. The which, when Themperour knew and conſyderynge howe neceſſary it was to ſtoppe the *Turckes* from entryng within our Lymites and Boundes, dyd dyſpatche a Porcion of his Armye to go and ayde his Brother, to Thentent that the ſoner and the eaſyer he myght attayne to Thend of his Entrepriſe, and to take the ſaide Towne of *Buda*; notwithſtandyng he beeynge allwayes troubled with the Feare of their purpoſed Commynge, aſwell of the Strength of the Place, as alſo of the Dylygence of the Enemyes which reſiſted and withſtode him, was conſtreigned to tarye the Commynge of the ſayde *Turckes*. And therfore Themperour, leauynge his former Entrepryſe of the Controuerſyes of the Faithe, thought yt muche better to ſet a Staye and Ordre in this aforeſaide Warre. And for that he knewe wel, that it was a verey daungerous and ieoperdous Thinge, ſo ſone and vnaduyſedly to goo againſt the Might and Force of the *Turckes* beinge ſo freſhly arryued, inleſſe they had been, in ſome Parte, weryed by longe Soiournynge and Taryenge after theyr Commyng: Wherfore he was mynded to ſet forwarde his Hooſt into another Place, more farther back from the Partes of Chriſtendome, and therfore, leauynge with his Brother *Ferdinand*, for his Ayde and Helpe, the Hooſt before ſent, ſuppoſyng theim ynough, becauſe the Tyme was not conuenient for Warre, ſeinge that Wyntre was at Hande; and the ſaide *Ferdinand* receauyng the whole Charge and Guydynge of the ſaide Hooſt to the Parties aforeſaide, Themperour, with great Trauayle and Dylygence retorned to *Italye*, at which Place beinge arryued, he cauſed with al Spede newe Menne of Warre to be taken vp, and in a lytle Tyme had readye a perfite Hooſt of Men; and lykewiſe ther was made aſwell at *Gene*, as alſo at *Naples*, diuerſe Shippes and Galyes imediatlye, to conducte and brynge the ſaide Armye into *Affrique*. For it was now more neceſſarye for hym to aſſayle *Affrique*, then enye other Contrey of *Turcky*, for Feare that, if he had made his Armye into *Turcky*, he had leaſt his Enemyes in *Affrique* without Warre, whiche ſhuld haue turned to the great Feare of the *Spanyardes*, whom he purpoſely kept, to be ayded by theim, bothe of Money and Menne, at his Inuadynge of *Turcky*.

In the meane Ceaſon, that all Thynges were makynge readye, and that the Gallyes were furnyſhed with Vytayles and Artillarye, receauyng the Menne of Warre, Themperour had Communicacion with the B. of *Rome*, in the Towne of *Luke*, to Thentent to aduertiſe him of his Entrepriſe, Counſell and Purpoſe of the ſaide Warre. The B. of *Rome*, becauſe *Affrique* hathe fewe good Hauens to lande in, aduyſed him not to take the Sea, neither to abyde thereon, and toke muche Pein to perſuade Themperour from hys Purpoſe. Howbeyt, that the Reaſon of the ſayde Biſſhop was alwayes very good, yet notwythſtandyng, for other greater Conſideracions, Themperour dyd remayn in his fyrſt Purpoſe; for he knewe how great a Nombre of People wer oppreſſed in *Hongrie*, and how nedeful it was, that the Warre in that Place ſhuld not be long continued; and therfore chaunged his Purpoſe, to arryue in another Place, to Thentent, that our Enemyes ſhuld be compelled to kepe Warre, wythin theyr owne Countre; he ſawe well that it was a Woorke that requyred greate Dylygence, and ſo much the rather, becauſe he had conceaued wyth him ſelfe, that the *Turckyſhe* Warre requyred a greater Prouiſion. In ſuch Sorte, that, before the Sommer next foloynge, he coulde not prepare ſo great an Army; wherfore in the meane Tyme, he thought it more conuenient to make Warre in *Affrique*, to Thentent to deliuer the *Spaniardes*, from the Feare of the *Affricans*, and that afterwarde he myghte the more eaſely preſerue the ſayd *Spaniardes* for his *Turckyſhe* Warres: For the *Spaniardes* are accuſtomed, when Themperour doth aſke eny Moneye of theim, to excuſe theim ſelues by the Neyghbourhed of the ſaide *Affricanes* their Enemyes. So that, by this Meanes, and ſuche lyke Reaſons, the B. of *Rome* was perſuaded, and allowed the Wyl and Mynde of Themperour, and, prayſynge his Wiſdome, did departe.

All theſe Thinges then beyng readye, as is aforeſayde, Themperour commaunded that the Gallyes, whiche were laden with Vytayles and Inſtrumentes of Warre, ſhulde departe from *Naples* and *Gene*, and go to the Yſles of *Baleares*, the whiche nowe is called the Yſle of *Maiorque* and *Minorque*, and that there they ſhulde tary; and he him ſelfe within ſhort Tyme after departed from the Hauen of *Veneri*, beynge accompaignyed with xxxvi. great Shippes, takynge his Courſe to the Yſle of *Corphou*; and after he had ſayled a lytle While, without any Trouble, there dyd ſodaynlye aryſe a meruelous greate Tempeſte, whiche deuyded the whole Nauye, in ſuche wiſe, that with great Pein and Strength of Owers, the Barque, that Themperour was in, with vii. other Shippes onlye, myght ſkace recouer the Land of the ſayd Yſle of *Corphou*; ſo that all the other were dryued by the great Violence and Vehemency of the Tempeſte vnto dyuerſe Places ferre aſonder, in ſuche wiſe, that they arryued not with the other vii. Shippes, before two Dayes were expired, duryng whiche Tyme Themperour was conſtreigned to remayne at the foreſayde Hauen to abide the ſayde Shippes. And, after the Arryuynge of the ſayde Shippes, he paſſed with all his Nauye vntyl he came to a Towne of *Boniface*, the which Towne is ſo ſituate vpon a Rocke, that iii. Quarters therof no Man maye come nygh, hauynge but onelye one Place to entre at, which is thorough the Caue and holowe Parte of the Foote of a Mountayne ſtandyng in the ſtead of a Dytche, for the ſame Towne, ſo that the ſayde Towne is not prayſed for eny other Thynge, but for the Hauen beyng ſo verye nere vnto it; in the whiche Towne, after Themperour had a lytle Tyme reſted him ſelfe, and ſeyng the Wether well dyſpoſed, he departed from thence, with all his Armye, and without any Trouble he arryued in the Yſle of *Sardague* nere to the See of *Affrique*, and in the ſame Place, he refreſhed hym ſelfe in the Towne of *Lahorgera*; in whiche Place, the ſame Daye, that they arryued, there chaunced a woondrefull, ſtraunge, and meruelous Thynge, for, in the Nyght folowyng, ther was a Kowe that calfed a Calfe with two Heades, the which was brought to Themperour to behold. Two Days after, Themperour parted from that Place, and, for the Space of two Dayes folowyng, had a meruelous good Wynde, and approched nere the *Baleare* of *Minorque*, into the whiche, thinkynge to entre, they were dryuen backe with a wondrefull, ſodayne, and ſore Tempeſte, ſo ſharpely, that ſkaſe, with verye greate Pein, was it poſſible for them euer to haue recouered the Hauen; which neuertheleſſe came to paſſe, and that throughe Force and Strengthe of Oers in Spight of bothe Wynde and Wether; and the Tempeſt was ſo great, that for the Space of viii. Dayes contynuallye, dooyng our vttermooſt, we had not ben hable to haue made iiii. Legges. So that for the Contynuaunce of the great Storme and Wynde we were dryuen to abyde at Ancres, without the Hauen, the reſte of the Nyghte, and the Morowe after; ſeinge the Porte of *Mahon* to be harde by vs, we arriued into the ſame, not without greate and excedynge Peine and Labour. This Hauen (of al that I haue ſeen) is the fayreſt and beſt, were it not that it is very harde Entreinge into the ſame, whiche commeth of the Nature of the Place; for al the Border of this Yſle is compaſſed about, with veraye high Mountaignes and Hilles; and the Place, by which, they enter into the ſame Porte, is ſo ſtreyght and narrowe, that it is vereye ieoperdious and daungerous to auenture to entre into the ſame, without a ſmal and ſofte Wynde; but to the reſt, it is veray propre and handſome to herbour and kepe ſafe a great Nombre of Shyppes, aſwell for the Length, whiche is ii. Legges, as alſo for the Corners, Wholes, and turnyng Places, whiche let that no Tempeſte of the See maye once vexe, greue, or trouble enye Ship that is therin. And harde by are manye Mountaignes, couered with Foreſtes and great Woodes, whiche is a neceſſarye Thinge, and profitable for theim, that ſhall arryue there. And, at the Ende of the ſaide Hauen, is ſituate and buylded a veraye fayre Towne, vppon the Toppe of the Mountaignes; the whiche, if yt were buylded and furnyſſhed with Menne, as it is ſtronge by Nature of the Place, it ſhulde be more hard for the Barbarouſſe to wynne and take, then to aſſayle it, as he hathe done.

Nowe then Themperour reſted in this Place the Space of two Dayes, ſo longe as the Storme and Rage of the Tempeſt of the Sea continued, the whiche as ſone as it was alayed, we departed thence, and we bordred vpon *Maiorque*; and, when Themperour was come, he founde ther arryued *Ferrande Gonzaga*, Viceroy of *Naples*, and an hundred and fyftie Shyppes of the *Italyans*, and with theim beynge accompanyed with ſeuen Galleyes ſtronge and well trymmed; which, with them that Themperour brought, made the Nombre of fyftye Galleyes, ouer and aboue all the Nombre of the forſayde Shyppes; and yet Themperour loked for *fyſtene* great Shyppes to be ſent hym out of *Spayne*, with a great Nombre of other Shyppes, all laden, which then were arryued vpon the Border of *Affrique*, and ſhortly after was ſhewed vnto Themperour; who, hearynge the ſayde Newes, commaunded euery Man to go Aborde, and to hoyſe vp the Sayles, and to take theyr Courſe unto *Affrique*; and ſo we lefte behynde vs the Yſle of *Maiorque*, the whiche to deſcrybe vnto you: The Nature and Kynde therof is farre otherwyſe then of *Minorque*; for the See Coſtes of the ſame be flat and lowe, without any fruytfull Mountaignes, or Haboundynge with any good Thyng; but the Myddle therof is hyllye and ſtony Grounde, vnfruytefull and baren, and that, becauſe it lyeth more nere to the South, then doth *Spayne*, by Reaſon wherof the Wyntre is more temperate, without any ſharpe Colde, beyng plentyfull of all ſuche Fruyte, as cuſtomably doth growe in *Affrique*. The Inhabitauntes therof dooe vſe the Lawes, Cuſtomes, and Language of the *Traconytes*, greatly reſemblynge them in all Thynges. They vſe, in the Makynge of theyr Morter to buylde with all, to put ſofte Earthe, Grauel, ſmall Stones, and Sande, which is the Subſtance and princypall Thynge, wherwith the Walles of theyr chefe Towne is buylded.

Nowe to retourne to Themperour: When all the Gallyes and Shyppes were departed frome the foreſayde Yſle of *Maiorque* in good Ordre, he toke hys Waye vnto *Affrique*, towarde the Towne of *Argiere*, and dyd arryue nere vnto the ſame, within ii. Dayes after his Departyng from the foreſayde Yſle of *Maiorque*; and there founde his foreſayde Gallyes, whiche were harboured fyue Legges longe frome the ſayde Towne of *Argiere*, that bordereth harde vpon the See Coſte; who, ſpyyng vs a farre of, made towardes vs; but ymmediatly they were commaunded by Themperour to retourne agayne to the ſame Place, where they laye before, to ſtoppe or let, that no Succoure ſhulde come vnto the Towne from that Parte. Themperour then, approchynge ſomwhat nere vnto it, commaunded that, with all Dilygence, twelue Shyppes, trauerſyng before the Towne, ſhulde go on the other Parte, to ſpye and ſee yf they coulde fynde a more commodyous Place to harboure his ſayde Gallyes in, where they myght lye in leſſe Daunger of Tempeſtes and Stormes of

Wynde and Wether. Which was quickely done; and, perceauing that he had a more ſure abyding and commodyous Place, Themperour, with the Strength of his Nauye, paſſed before the ſayde Towne, and went to the Place aforeſayde, where they caſt Ancres, waytinge in the ſame Place for the Shyppes that were laden with Vytayles and other Baggages of Warre; and, from the ſayde Place, one myghte eaſely ſe all the Proporcyon and Sytuacion of the ſayde Towne, and a great Parte of the Countrey nygh vnto it. The Daye folowynge (perceauyng the See to aryſe and ſwell a lytle and lytle) we wayed oure Ancres, and remoued, choſynge another Place, where the Wynde myght doo vs leſſe Harme and Dammage, the whiche Place is called *Mataſus*. And, this Thyng done, behold, there came forth two Shyppes of the *Turcke* to ſpye, the whiche incircumſpectly fell into our Handes; and, quyckly perceauing they Folyſhnes and Ignorance, caſte about theyr Sayles, and recouered the Depth in ſuch Wiſe, that it was not poſſyble to take one of them; for the one was ſonke in the See by oure People, and the other, with ſwyfte Sayling, and Strength of Ores, ſaued her ſelfe: Neuertheleſſe, it was knowen by them whiche were taken, that they were Eſpyes ſent to knowe the State and Prouiſyon of our Army. The reſt of the Daye was ſpent in aſſemblyng together to the ſayde Place all the Gallyes, in the meane Tyme, and whyle the See dyd aſſwage. Whyle this was doynge, Themperour commaunded the Lorde *Ferrande Gonzaga* and *James Boſſus*, Menne of great Wytte, and practized in Warres, that with a lytel Fyſher Bote they ſhulde ronne alongeſt the Wynde, eſpying or ſearchyng out a mete and conuenyent Place where to land his Armye. And theſe, obeyinge the Commaundement of Themperour, dyd theyr Dilygence, and, when they retorned, ſhewed the Place choſen by theim for this Purpoſe. The Daye foloyng, the See was woondreous ſtill and calme. Afterwarde, Themperour, drawyng more nere to the Towne, landed all his Army without anye Maner of Reſiſtence of the Enemyes; and the Ordre and Araye of the ſame Armye was as foloeth: The Nombre of the Foote Menne were xxii. M. wherof vii. M. were *Spanyardes*, whiche came aſwell from *Naples*, as alſo from *Sicile*. Ther was alſo vi. M. *Allmeignes*, vi. M. *Italyans*, and iii. M. of diuerſe other Nacyons, whiche, of theyr owne good Willes, foloyinge Themperour, ſought theyr Honoures and Aduentures, beſide the Houſholde Seruauntes of Themperour, and beſide iii. C. of diuerſe other Nacyons, whiche were ſent from *Malta* by the Knyghtes of the *Rhodes*, the whiche alſo were of diuerſe Countryes. The Nombre of the Horſemen were xi. C. that came oute of *Spayne*, of the whiche, iiii. C. ordinarily weyted vpon Themperour. Then, aſſone as our Menne were landed (for this Daye there wer but fewe Menne of Armes that came alande) couragiouſly they aſſembled theim ſelues together, euery Manne accordynge to his owne Nacion, purpoſing euery Man with him ſelfe wiſely to ſet vpon, and aſſayle our Enemies, whiche by diuerſe Courſes and Skyrmiſhes ſought to hurt vs; but, aſſone as they approched and came nere to vs, they were dryuen backe by our People, with the Artillarye and Harquebusſhes, that they wer compelled to ronne diſperſed and oute of Araye, in ſuche Sorte and Maner, that we had none hurte by them. Our Enemyes then, beinge driuen backe, wer conſtreigned to kepe theim ſelfes in the Mountaignes.

Our Armye then began to drawe nere the Towne; the *Spanyardes* had the Forwarde, or Vantgard, vnder the Gouernaunce of the Lorde *Ferrand Gonzaga*. Themperour ſet forwarde in the Battayll, accompaignyed with his *Allmaignes*; in the Arriergarde or hinder Warde was the *Italyans* and the *Rhodyans*, beyng vnder the Gouernaunce of the Lorde *Camillus Columna*. And in this Ordre we wente forwarde the ſame Day, almoſte Halfe a Legge, where we paſſed awaye the Night with lytle Slepe. For the *Numydyans*, whiche were creapte vp into the Mountaignes, came downe often tymes, and noyed vs euyl with Bowe Shott, mooſt chefely that Parte which was neareſt to Themperour's Tentes; againſt whom there were by Themperour ſent iii. Compaignyes of *Spanyardes*, to refreyne and ſtoppe them, or at the leaſte to ſtaye theyr Fearcenes and Boldnes: But oure Enemye, knowynge the Places and Conueighaunces of the Countrees, at the Commynge and Sight of the foreſaide Menne, they gate them backe into the Woodes and Mountaignes, Places mooſt ſure and ſafe, lettyng our People from commyng vp; whiche they coulde not always do any long Tyme, for our People, with great Courage and Hardynes, went vp and made them flye; but at the laſt, perceauyng the Nombre of our Enemyes to encreace dayly more and more, and they beynge wery with ſo often Skyrmyſſhynge, or Fightynge with theyr Enemyes, were conſtreigned to come backe agayne to the Armye; whiche they dyd not without great Loſſe, ſeing they contynued in Battayle, from the firſte Settynge of the Watche, tyll the Dawnynge of the Daye, and ſpeciallye for becauſe they were euell prouyded of Gonne Powder. Then it is to be vnderſtande, that the Waye of the halfe Legge, whiche we went, is a flat and euen Grounde, and that ther is none other Let therin, but certen wild Buſhes and Shrubbes; and ſuch is the Place, tyll ye come to the Foote of dyverſe lytle Hylles, or Mottes, whiche contynue from the ſayde Playne to the Towne of *Argiers*, and are in Length almoſte halfe a Legge. And vnder the ſame Playne the See floweth, begynnynge at the Rocke, from whence we firſte came to ſearche a more ſure Place (as is aforeſayde) and it is of Length, from the ſayde Towne to the Rocke, about v. or vi. Legges, meaſured with a ſtrayte Lyne: Howbeit, they, that ſhall iorney it, ſhall fynde nere x. Legges; becauſe the Mounteignes continue, and come from the ſayde Rocke to the foreſayde lytle Hylles, whiche in Maner do compaſſe the Towne, ſo that ther is none other Playne, ſauynge the Valyes of the ſayde Mounteignes, betwene theim; for the ſayde lytle Hylles are ſet in ſuch Sort, that they ſhewe as though they were an Hauen: For lyke wiſe as, wher the See beateth vpon the Lande, it maketh it eyther ſtreyte, or compaſſe lyke a Bowe; ſo, in lyke Maner, the Mounteignes beyng farther in the Lande, or nearer to the Hauen, that is to ſaye, ſemeth to be nye, wher they lye flat, and, when they be croked, or compaſſed Hauenlyke, ſhewe much larger then the Playne, In this Place then (lyke as ye haue hearde) the iii. Enſeignes or Banners beyng returned, Themperour cauſed the Armye to approche neere the Towne; whiche to bring to paſſe, it was conuenient to wynne and obtayne the vpper Partes of the ſayde lytle Mottes, or Hylles, that ioyne vnto the Playne, and encloſe the ſayde Towne, receauynge all that came from the Mounteignes, which we haue declared to come from the former Rocke: the whiche Mounteignes alſo were neceſſarye to be had, to let oure Enemyes from ſtoppinge oure Entrepriſe, for by theim oure Aduerſaries ceaſed not to prouoke and aſſayle vs; and ſo ſore troubled vs, that oure People coulde not get vp eaſelye; for they, poſſeſſing the Top of the Hylles, might lyghtly wythdrawe theim ſelfes, when we woulde do oure Endeuours to purſue theim. And it was farther thought, that, yf it were poſſible to obteyne the Heigth of the ſayde Mounteignes, it ſhoulde be then muche more eaſye to ſtoppe and let, that they ſhoulde haue no Succour of Vitayles, whych myght haue come to theim of the Towne by Lande; and therfore it was deuyſed, that they ſhoulde driue awaye, oute of the ſayde Mounteignes, the *Numidoys*, that ſo muche had moleſted vs; and in the very ſelfe ſame Place he ſet his Vauntgarde, or Forward. And, for ſo muche as it was very harde to brynge to paſſe, becauſe of the Heigth and Vprightnes of the Mounteignes, that not wythſtandinge, by the Wiſdome and good Gouernment of the Lorde *Fernande Gonzaga*, the *Spanyardes* had the Honour of the Gettyng vp. The Mounteignes then beyng occupied with the Vauntgarde, the Campe, or Battayle, remained amonge the lytle Hylles, of the whyche is ſpoken before, and a lytle farther, by the Hauen of the See, was ſet the Riergarde; and, the Army beynge thus ordred, the Towne of *Argiers* ſemed to be ſhut in a Triangle; for of the one Syde it had the See, and on the other two Partes laye oure Army, in ſuche Wiſe, that they were encloſed from Ayde aad Succour of anye Parte, foraſmuche as the Townes and Countrees there aboute, beyng oure Enemyes, myght haue come and done us Diſpleaſoure. Neuertheleſſe, we, beynge holpen by the Commodite and Heigth of the ſayde Mounteignes, wher we wer, feared very lytle their Comminge; conſidering alſo, that, in the ſame Campe or Felde, were many Dyches, or Caues, and Wholes, of the Nature of the Place, which alſo ſerued vs wel in ſteede of Dytches and Trenches: So that then, all our Enemyes beynge dryuen into the ſayde Towne, and all Thynges beynge in good Ordre and Staye, beholde, in the Euenynge Tyde, ther came a ſodeyne and piteous Calamyte or Miſerye, vneuitable or vneſchuable; for there fell ſo greate and vehemente Haboundaunce of

Rayne, commynge downe with ſuche Vyolence and Force, and contynuyng ſo longe, that it was not poſſible eny longer to endure it without preſent Death; and the ſame Tempeſt ceaſed not, from the fyrſt Houre of the Nyght, tyll the nexte Daye after: And yet, that was mor greueous and painful to the poore Souldyers, there came ſuche a Wynde, that blewe ſo colde and ſharpe, and with ſuche Vyolence, that neuer was there ſene a more piteous Nyght; for the poore Souldyers, commyng out of theyr Shyppes, not takynge eny Stuffe with them, had not a Cloth to couer them ſelfes, neither Cappe, Cloke, nor Tentes to lye in. By the whiche intollerable Tempeſt there were ſo many beaten and febled, that both Strength and Courage feyled them together, by the Reaſon of the greate Peine and Griefe, that they had endured. Durynge the whiche Tyme, the See roaſe more then euer it had beene ſene before, and in ſuche a Rage, that many of our Shyppes, loſyng theyr Ancres and theyr Gables, were broken and beaten in Peces againſt the See Bankes; the other, beynge fylled with Water, were drouned and ſonke into the Depe, where was greate Loſſe and Dammage, aſwel of Apparel, Artillary, and other Prouiſion, as alſo of the Vytayles, wherwyth they were laden. And this euell Chaunce, happenyng in the Nyght, was piteouſlye augmented by the Fortune of the Daye folowynge; for a freſhe the Rayne and Wynde cam agayn wyth ſuche Vehemency and Vyolence, that it was impoſſible for eny Manne lyuynge to ſtande on his Fete; the whiche Thinge knowynge oure Enemyes, they perceaued well it was no Tyme to let vs be in Reſt; ſo that a greate Nombre of theim, commyng very ſecretly out of their Towne, came vnto oure Watche, and deſtroyed theim, and afterward drewe toward vs, tyll they came to oure Trenches or Bullwarkes, ſettynge vpon vs with Bowe Shotte. Notwithſtandynge that we wer then wondrefully aſtonnyed, yet with all Dilygence we ſtoode to oure Defence, and, ſpedely armyng vs, we aſſailed theim in ſuche Wiſe, that, at oure fyrſt Settynge on, they drewe backe, for none other Purpoſe, then to haue drawen vs to theyr Diſpleaſoure into ſome Streyght or Deſtruction, in fallynge amonge theyr Embuſhmentes, by purſuynge theim incircumſpectly. We were, in this Metynge, more in Nombre then oure Enemyes, but they had the Vauntage of vs, aſwel for the Commodyte of the Place beyng aboue vs, as alſo of the Diuerſite of Weapons and Artillary, whiche they vſed; for they, kepynge the higher Parte of the Mounteigne, ſo troubled vs with the Shotte of theyr Croſsbowes, longe Bowes, and greate Stones, and other Kindes of Artillary, that by no Meanes we coulde get vp to theim; for, by the Reaſon of the Contynuaunce of the Rayne, and Greatenes therof, we had altogether laide aſide the Vſe and Occupienge of oure Harquebuſhes, ſo that it was impoſſible to finde enye Meane howe to reſiſte theim, beyng farre of; and therfore we drewe nere vnto theim, euen tyl we came to their Holebardes, and fought Hande to Hande and Manne with Manne: But to bring this Thinge to paſſe was veraye peinfull to vs, aſwell for the greate Strengthe of oure Enemyes, as alſo for the Situacion of the Place, beynge ſo difficile and harde to clyme vp vnto, and the greate Nombre of Bowe Shotte, that on vs they diſcharged, when we enforced our ſelues thervnto.

This Maner of Warre was veraye ſtraunge to our People which had not bene accuſtomed with the Maners and Courſes that oure Enemyes vſed with vs, which neuer woold ioyne together, ner ieoparde all their Strength to the Auenture of one Battayle; but, beinge diſperſed and ſcattered, they prouoked vs with their Shotte, to Thentent to drawe vs out of Araye, and to haue broken our Ordre. And, if it happened vs to purſue theim, they wer alwayes in a Redynes to flye, to Thentent to drawe vs ferther of, and to ſeperate vs one from another, and then, perceauyng vs a litle Nombre, they ſhulde retorne with greater Compaignye vpon vs, and eaſely defeate vs beyng their Purſuers, and the leſſer Nombre; and the ſame Day the Horſſe-menne (whiche turned to our great Hurte) cauſed to come forth with theim oute of the Towne a Sorte of Footemenne of lyke Nombre, which being ſo well trymmed and broken in the Feactes of their Warre, that they could promptely and readely applye theim ſelfes to al Poyntes and Feactes therof, and ranne, when Nede was, as ſwyftlye as the Horſes theim ſelfes. Oure People (as is aforeſaide) being deceaued with this ſtraunge Maner of Warre, purſued our Enemyes (which ſo ſtrayed Abroade) euen till they came almooſt at the Walles of the Towne of

Argier, into the whiche our Enemyes haſted to entre, and incontynentlye they of the Toune with all Spede ſhot of their Artillary, with all other their Ordinaunce vpon the Purſuers; wherypon foloed a greate Murther and Deſtruccion of our People, in ſuch Maner, that many of the *Italyans* (not exercized in Warre) tooke their Flyght, and by that Meanes there was none lefte to kepe the Felde, but the Knyghtes of the *Rhodes*, with a certen Nombre of *Italyans*, beinge honeſt Menne, whiche regardinge their Honour dyd not flye. We then, conſyderyng all Thinges, dyd aduyſe with our ſelfes, that our Enemyes, ſeyng the Flyght of our People, woolde not fayle to iſſue forth to purſue vs, lyke as it came to paſſe; and we tooke Councell to withdrawe vs betwene. ii. lytle Hilles in ſuche a ſecrete Place, where a fewe might eaſelye withſtande a great Nombre. Now then, as I haue writen vnto you, all the Place rounde aboute the Toune was full of lytle Hilles, the which are the Cauſe, that the Waye is altogether in a Maner noyſome, croked ouertwhart, and in many Places narowe, according as the Hilles ſtand, ſome nere, and ſome ferther of, one from another,

We thus purpoſyng, and incontinently after our Remouyng, behold, our Enemyes cam forth of the Toune, in great Nombre, earneſtly intending to haue purſued vs ſharply; but aſſone as they perceaued vs, they began to put in Uſe their accuſtomed Trade, to Thentent to drawe vs out of Strength, who ſeing that we wold not come forth, dyd ſend ther People afore up the Mounteignes, to Thentent that being aboue vs, they might with Stones, and other theyr Artyllary, dryue vs oute; the which cauſed that manye of our People, not being prepared againſt ſuch Sorte of Warre, left their Place and fled from their Strength and Holde, not withſtanding we enforced vs allwayes to dooe nothinge, that myght redounde to our Reproche, and to take as lytle Harme as we could; whiche Thinge ſeing, our Enemyes, and hauinge great Spyght that ſo ſmall a Compaignie ſhulde withſtand ſo great a Nombre of People, they agreed to drawe nerer, and ſettinge fiercely forward came vpon vs, with a Bonde of Horſſemenne, againſt whoſe Commynge, our Armoures ſtood us in good Stede. Nowe then, we ſeinge that all Hope of our Lyues dyd lye in Wyſdome, and Boldnes of Courage, we purpoſed rather honeſtly to dye in Battayle, than in flyenge to be myſerably deſtroyed by theim; and this to dooe we wer greatlye incited and ſturred withe the Hope that we had in the nere Commynge and readye Succour, which we looked to haue quickly of Themperour. And, being thus purpoſed and confyrmed, we withſtode our Enemyes by great Force of Speares. So that when yt chaunced enye of theim to come among vs and to medle with vs; we ſhortened their Paſſage and ſlewe theim among vs, which was not hard to dooe, foraſmuch as they are not muche accuſtomed to weare Herneyſſe. And perceauynge this, they drawynge backe, beganne agayne the Uſe of their Shotte as they had done before, wher withall they dyd vs much Harme, becauſe we were very nygh one to another; and that ſo greatly, that we were dryuen to breake our Ordre, and to ſaye the Trouthe, we were ſore troubled; at which Tyme, beholde, Themperour came polytikly with a Compeignye of *Allmaignes*, whiche when our Enemyes perceaued, they left of noyeng and greuyng vs, and gaue vs a lytle Leaſour and Space to breathe our ſelfes. When Themperour had ſet his Armye in the largeſt Places that he could fynde amonge the lytle Hilles (of the which, often Tymes we haue made Mencyon) and our Enemyes coulde not well perceaue what was the Nombre, becauſe of the Hilles which were betwene theim; wherfore, to knowe this, they approched more nearer, but ſeinge that it auayled nothing, fearynge that if they ſhuld haue ſtayd to long viewyng of vs, the Themperours Men, beyng nere, woolde haue medled with theim; and therfore, they drewe back, and ſtrayte way entred the Toune, blowyng the Retraicte, and ſo ſaued them ſelfes in the Toune in good Ceaſon, laſhinge oute, and ſhotynge of, in all the Haſte, theyr greate Gonnes and Harquebusſhes; then was Themperour himſelfe in great Daunger, for in the meane While that he was with the vaunt Garde, geuyng Courage unto theim, that were in the formoſt Brunt. The great Gonnes caryed away v. or vi. of theim to whome he ſpake, and tooke Councel of; howbeit, he him ſelfe neuer chaunged Colour, nether ſhewed eny Token of Feare in goyng forth with his Purpoſe, as though nothinge had chanced. Theſe Thinges thus dooen, and our Enemyes gone backe and we deliuered, Themperour, with a ſmall Loſſe of his *Allmeignes*, brought back the Armye to the Campe. As concernyng the Knyghtes of the *Rhodes* which were in all, ſkaſe the Nombre of an Hundred, there was viii. of theim that remayned ſlaine with the Gonnes, and xxx. that ſkaped being ſore wounded. As for the *Italyans*, whiche remayned among vs, I knowe not for a Truthe, howe great the Nombre was, nether of theim that wer ſlaine, ner yet of thoſe that wer hurt and wounded, for becauſe that I my ſelfe was ſore wounded, and for that the great Grefe and Peine of my Woundes cauſed in me a great Maladye and Diſeaſe, that yt was not poſſible for me to go vnto one that coulde tell me the Nombre. In this meane While that we were thus tormented wyth the Wynde, Rayne, and Enemyes, our Shippes of Warre, rydyng alongeſt the Coſte, were woondrefully turmoyled; and ſuche was the Rage and Crueltye of the Storme, that there was nether Ancre ner Gable, the whiche coulde holde theim from breakynge and daſhynge againſt the Earthe, or from beatynge one againſt another, ſo that the Water entreynge, ſanke theim in the Depe. And our Enemyes much more augmentynge this Fortune (whiche ſeinge aſwell our Loſſes as alſo our other Miſeryes, bothe of our People and Shippes in great Nombre) went downe to our Arryuage, to Thentent to kyll theim, whom the Tempeſt had ſpared; the which Thing ſeinge, Themperour diſpatched. ii. M. *Spanyardes* that brought backe our Enemyes, and delyuered the Maryners from that Perill and Danger, whiche was to our ſmal Aduauntage; for the Maryners, ſeing the great Daunger of the See, and Thaſſuraunce of the Lande, regarded none other Thyng but the Sauynge of theym ſelfes, and therfor conueighed theim ſelfes oute of the Daunger of the Water, whiche was the Cauſe that the oftener our Shippes dyd beate againſt the Bankes, and ſo were drouned in great Nombre. Suche was this Tempeſt, that. xxx. Shippes wer loſt, which Chaunce was ſo greueous when it was tolde the Army, that in Maner they wer vtterly put in Deſpayre; for at their Comminge foorth of the Shippes, to Thentent they woolde be the more lyght and hable to iourneye, they peſtred not theim ſelfes with enye neceſſarye Prouiſyon, neyther tooke they with theim Vytayles, but for. ii. Dayes onlye, thewhich wer gone and ſpent. ii. Jorneyes before; therfore, conſydering a great Part of the Shippes periſhed, they feared that the reſt ſhuld peryſhe in lyke Maner, ſo that, when Nede ſhuld come, there ſhuld remayne none to cary theim awaye, in ſuch Sort that they looked for nothinge more ſure then preſente Death. And ſeinge that we lacked Artillary, and that, on theother Side, it boted not, either to ſeke or hope for Vytayles, ſo that they vtterlye dyſpayred of the Wynninge of the Towne, and this Confuſyon and Deſpayre endured all that Daye and Nyght foloynge.

Thre Dayes after, the See ſomewhat aſſuaged, but yet not ſo, that it was poſſible to haue entrepriſed the goynge for enye Vytayles; and Themperour, in this Neceſſite, coulde none otherwyſe prouyde for his Armye, but commaunded that the Horſes whyche he had cauſed to be brought with hym in the Barques, to be kylled for the Suſtentacion of the poore Souldyers, the which by the Space of. iii. Dayes dyd eate none other Meat; for the Tempeſt, in bruſynge and noyenge of the Shyppes, had loſte and drouned a great Quantyte of Meale, Corn, and Byſket, and other Vytayles, as Peaſon, Beanes, Wyne, Oyle, and poudered Fleſhe, with thewhiche they were wel laden at their Commyng foorth. And ſo, by this Meanes, there was loſte many Horſes, and a great Nombre of Artillarye, aſwell of that which ſerued for the Safegarde and Defence of Shippes, as alſo of that whiche we tooke out for the Beſegynge and Aſſautynge of the Toune, the greateſt Parte wherof our Enemyes might haue fyſſhed for; and the Some of the Grayne that we loſte was ſo muche, that ſkacely ther remayned ynough to ſerue vs in our Journeye Homeward, although we made great Haſt.

The Emperour then, conſyderyng all his Fortunes and Loſſes, determyned to differre this Aſſaute tyll the next Sommer foloynge, or ſoner, yf he could bryng hys Armye; and, therfore, commaunded that euery Man ſhould get him to the See-ſyde; which Thynge was much more eaſyer to be done, then was their Landynge. And then was ſene there a pyteous and lamentable Syght; for the poore Souldyers, beyng ſo feynt, as is aforeſayde, wette, and waſhed with Water, from Toppe to Too, beyng feble, by ſufferynge ſo longe the great Famyne; fynding the Way, by which they ſhuld go, ſo ſlabby and ſlyppery, that many of them, lackyng Strength, fell downe pyteouſly ſtarke ded, or very nigh ded, without hauyng Helpe or Succour of eny Man in the Worlde; for the Earth, by the Reaſon of the former Rayne, was ſo wette and ſlyppery, that it was not poſſible to fynde any Plac[illegible]ce to reſt in; ſo that, yf any wold haue reſted, or ſtande ſtyll, he was conſtreigned to ſtaye him ſelfe vpon his Staffe. Neuertheles God alwayes ayded vs, for in Thende (except it were a veray ſmall Nombre) we with good Courage acheued wiſely this our Retraicte, in ſuch Sorte, that, for to come vnto the Place where we ſhuld go Aboorde, we paſſed luſtely thorowe thre Dytches of ronnynge Water, wherin we went vp to the harde Gyrdelles; and this Retraicte, or Fleying Backe, endured the Space of three Dayes.

Nowe then, aſſone as we were all arryued harde by the Shyppes, the Emperour commaunded, that, while the *Allmeignes* and *Italyans* wente Aborde, the *Spanyardes* (in whome he had a bettre Opinion) ſhuld tary Alande, for the Reſyſtence of the Enemyes, yf any chaunced to folowe them, and to do aſmuch as they myght, that euery Man were ſet Aborde: Howbeit, the former Tempeſt had broken and deſtroyed ſo many of the lytle Botes, by which our People ſhuld haue bene caryed, one after another, vnto the greate Shippes, that it was not poſſible to boorde in ſo lytle Time as ii. Dayes; nether might the *Spanyardes* come awaye before all was done; and, the third Day, then a great Nombre of the *Spanyardes* beyng caryed and borded, the Winde beganne to blowe, and the See to ſwell, in ſuch Wiſe, that they had much adoe to brynge the reſt Aborde, but yet, at the laſt, it was dooen. The Maryners foreſeyng, or perceauyng the Tempeſt, beganne to departe, and they that fyrſt were laden, and gone, were moſte happy, for the Tempeſt, ſo encreaſynge, would not ſuffre the other to come of the Coſte, but of force kept them in, to the great Daunger of breakyng theyr Shippes agaynſte the Rockes; ſo that a *Rhodyan*, hauynge his Gables and Ancres broken, was in great Daunger to be dryuen in Peces agaynſte the Stones of the Bankes; but, by the great Laboure of the Slaues, at the laſte they gate more into the See, and then the Maſters counceled, rather to put them ſelfes to the Chaunce of the Wether, then to remayne there in Daunger; the other three, foloynge the Purpoſe of this, dyd, in lyke Maner, put them ſelfes to the Fortune of the Wether, and, by this Meane, at the laſt arryued al foure at the Toune of *Buge*; which Thyng was not done without great Laboure and Perill, for the one of theim, loſynge his Rudder, eſcaped Peryſhynge very narowlye.

The Emperour, lookyng for the Aſſuagynge of the Tempeſt, dyd remayne, this mean Tyme, harde by the Shore, thynkynge that, if the Rage dyd ſtill contynue, that he woulde, with Strength of Men, tolle forth his Shippes, with lytle Botes, into the Depth of the See; but foraſmuche as he had proued often Tymes, and myght not bryng it to paſſe, and alſo ſeynge the Tempeſt contynue, he commaunded to ſet forward with the Shippes, and to folowe the *Rhodyans*, leauynge behynde him, for the Succoure of them that remayned, foure great Gallyes; that afterwarde, as we were informed, wer, by the Rygoure and Force of the Tempeſt, broſed and beaten agaynſt the Rockes of the Seebankes, and a great Nombre of oure People caſte vpon the ſame Bankes, which, beyng deſtytute of all Hope and Comforte, commended them ſelfes to God, purpoſyng to go towarde the Towne of *Argiers*, to ask Mercy of our Enemyes, and to put theim ſelfes vndre Raunſome; but the *Numidoys*, oure Enemyes, without any Pitie or Compaſſion, ſlewe them, and deſtroyed them, before they came nere the Toune. Such was Thende of the *Affricane* Warre, that what, for the Troubleſomenes of the Tymes, and the great Laboure which we had endured, we were deſyrous of Reſte; notwithſtandynge we obteyned not, for the Place would not ſuffre it; foraſmuche as the Hauen of *Buges* had before it no Maner of Defence to kepe of the Wynde and Wether commyng from *Europe*, the which cauſed that we could not longe remayne there; for the See, beynge vexed and troubled with Wynde, brake and broſed our Shyppes, in ſuch Sorte, that we were in no leſſe Perill then when we eſcaped at *Argiers*. Afterwarde, by good Chaunce, ther was arryued a Ship, laden with Corne and other Vytayles; the whiche, ſone after ſhe was come into the Hauen, by the ſore Tempeſts and Furye of the Winde, euen before our

Eyes, was drouned and ſonke ; by the which Tempeſte, although we ſuſteyned no Hurte, yet I thought it mete to be ſpoken of, that ye may knowe what Feare we were in. And, after that the See had thus tormented vs a great Parte of the Daye, at the laſte came a myſerable and cruel Nyght, that vexed us in ſuch Sorte, that we vtterly deſpayred ; but, the Day foloynge, the great Rage and Furye beinge a lytle aſſuaged and appeaſed, it beganne to be ſomewhat calme. And yet ferther, I had forgotten to tell you, that, durynge this greate Tempeſt, by a wondrefull Vyolence of the Winde, the Captaynes Shyppe of the Gallyes was caryed, whiche, in commyng to the Hauen, had caſt ouer Boorde both Maſtes and Sayles ; whiche Tempeſt vſed no leſſe Rygorouſnes with the Shippes of the *Rhodyans* ; for, by a wondrefull Violence, it toke vp a Bote oute of the Shippes, lyftynge it ſo high, that it had lyke, in the Commynge downe, to haue fallen into one of the Gallyes ; ſo that it was none other lyke, but the ſaide Tempeſt woolde haue executed his Furye euen vpon all the reſt of the Shippes, as that dyd vpon theim that ſkaped from *Argier*.

And, after this great Tempeſt, the See beyng ſome what appeaſed ; on the which, becauſe we durſt not ſayle, we were in Daunger to haue periſhed for Hungre ; for, although *Buges* was oures, yet we hed muche adoe to get enye Succour of theim ; for the *Mores* (agaynſt whome our People, dwellynge in the ſaide Toune, haue alwayes Warre) doe occupye, and holde all the Countre and Regions therabout ; ſo that we coulde haue no Maner of Succoure ner Aide of them, for Lacke of Corne and Greyne, whiche alwayes was brought to theim out of *Spayne*. And for becauſe that, a longe Tyme before, ther cam no Shippe out of *Spayne* that had brought theim enye Grayne ; and alſo, for that we arryued there, being many in Nombre, therefore we coulde not be much ayded by theim.

And, after that Themperour had conſydered all theſe Parylles and Daungers, both he and all his People gaue them ſelues to Prayer vnto God, and receaved the Holye Sacrament, to paceſye the Yre and Wrath of Almighty God ; and, after the Chaungyng of the Mone, the Rage and Fury of the Wynde ceaſed, and the See waxed calme. In the whiche Tyme of Feare, and that the good Occaſion and conuenyent Tyme of our Departure ſhoulde not be loſte, the Captayne of the Knightes of the *Rhodes*, hauyng Communicacyon with Themperour, obteyned to haue a certayne Companye with him, with whome *Fernand Gonzaga* goyng, I my ſelfe alſo departed from the ſayde Place, and we arryued at the Towne of *Tunes* ; but Themperour, by the Councell of *Andridore*, Captayne of hys Nauye, dyd remayne tyll the Tempeſt was more allayed. And, partyng from *Tunes*, we came to *Dextran*, which is in *Sicyle* ; and anone after, we had made certayne Oblacyons and Offerynges to the Bleſſed Vyrgyne, we went to *Pauoram* ; in the whiche Place I bethought my ſelf of certen Buſineſs of myne owne, which I had put of tyll my Retourne from *Affrique* ; and yet, for all that, I made towarde *Rome* as faſt as I coulde, where I was conſtreyned to tarye, for that my Sores and Woundes ſo ſore vexed and tormented me ; and to the Entent that, in the meane Tyme, I woolde not be founde ydle, I was wyllynge to compile and gather this little Treatyſe of the Iorneye made into *Affrique* ; in the whiche, I make no Mencion of the noble Actes of the valyant Capteynes, for that woolde conteygne to long a Matre.

Cum priuilegio ad imprimendum ſolum.

The Leveller: Or, the Principles and Maxims concerning Government and Religion, which are aſſerted by thoſe that are commonly called, *Levellers*. *London*, printed, for *Thomas Brewſter*, at the three *Bibles*, at the Weſt End of St. *Paul's*, 1659. *Quarto*, containing ſixteen Pages.

WHEN the Sect of the Chriſtians firſt aroſe, the Tyrants wrapped them in Beaſts Skins, to provoke the wild Beaſts to rend them in Pieces; and, when Chriſt their Lord deſcended to Earth, the Prieſts and Phariſees, finding his Doctrine and Holineſs againſt their Intereſt, caſt upon him all the Dirt of Blaſphemy, Drunkenneſs, and Confederacy, with the worſt of Sinners; and, to make ſure of his Life, they rendered him an Enemy to Government, and told *Pilate*, that he was no Friend to *Cæſar*, if he let him go. It hath been the common Practice of all Tyrants, to cover the Face of Honeſty with the Maſk of Scandal and Reproach, leſt the People ſhould be enamoured with its Beauty; it is a Maſter-piece in their Politicks, to perſuade the People that their beſt Friends are their worſt Enemies, and that whoſoever aſſerts their Rights and Liberties, is factious and ſeditious, and a Diſturber of their Peace: Did not the *Gracchi*, in *Rome*, by ſuch Policy, periſh by the People's Hands, whoſe Liberties they ſought to vindicate? And do not ſome *Engliſhmen* now ſuffer deeply upon the ſame Account, from the People's Hands for whoſe Sakes they have prodigally hazarded their Eſtates and Lives? Are not ſome Lovers of their Country defamed, and eſteemed prodigious Monſters, being branded with the Name of *Levellers*, whilſt thoſe, that reproach and hate them, neither know their Principles or Opinions concerning Government, nor the Good they intend to their very Enemies? Thoſe, that have deſigned to prey upon the People's Eſtates and Liberties, have put the frightful Vizard of Levelling, upon thoſe Men's Faces; and moſt People are aghaſt at them, like Children at Raw-head and Bloody-bones, and dare not aſk who they are, or peep under their Vizard, to ſee their true Faces, Principles and Deſigns: Doubtleſs, if the People durſt but look behind them upon the Bugbear from which they fly, they would be aſhamed of their own childiſh Fear of the Levellers Deſigns, to make all Men's Eſtates to be equal, and to divide the Land by telling Noſes; they would eaſily diſcern (if they durſt conſider it) that no Number of Men out of *Bedlam* could reſolve upon a Thing ſo impoſſible, that every Hour would alter by the Birth of ſome Child, if it were poſſible once to make out equal Shares; nor upon a Thing ſo brutiſh and deſtructive to all Ingenuity and Induſtry, as to put the idle uſeleſs Drone into as good Condition as the laborious uſeful Bee: Neither could the People think that any Number of Men, fit to be feared, rather than ſcorned and pitied, could gain by Levelling Eſtates, for they can never have Power and Intereſt enough to diſquiet the Nation, unleſs their Eſtates be much greater, than they can be poſſible upon an equal Diviſion; and, ſurely, it is a Bugbear fit for none but Children, to fear any Man's Deſigns, to reduce their own Eſtates to little better than nothing; for ſo it would be, if all the Land were diſtributed like a Three-penny Dole.

But to ſatisfy ſuch as deſire to know, what they are, who are now, for Diſtinction-ſake, tho' formerly, by their Enemies, ſcandalouſly called *Levellers*, and what their Deſigns are: I ſhall tell you their fundamental Doctrines or Maxims, concerning our Government; and from thence you may make a true Judgment of all their Plots, and either fear them, or favour them accordingly.

I. *Firſt*, They aſſert it as Fundamental, that the Government of *England* ought to be by Laws, and not by Men; they ſay, the Laws ought to be the Protectors and Preſervers, under God, of all our Perſons and Eſtates, and that every Man may challenge that Protection as his Right, without a Ticket from a Major-General, and live under that Protection, and ſafely, without Fear of a Red-Coat, or a Purſuivant from *Whitehall.* They ſay, that *Engliſhmen* ought to fear nothing but God, and the Breach of the Laws, not to depend upon the Will of a Court and their Council, for the Security of themſelves and their Eſtates: They ſay, the Laws ought to judge of all Offences and Offenders, and all Penalties and Puniſhments to be inflicted upon Criminals; and that the Pleaſure of his Highneſs, or his Council, ought not to make whom they pleaſe Offenders, and puniſh and impriſon whom they pleaſe, and during their Pleaſure.

They ſay alſo, that the Laws ought to decide all Controverſies, and repair every Man's Injuries, and that the Rod of the People's ſupreme Judicature ought to be over the Magiſtrates, to prevent their Corruption, or Turning aſide from the Laws; but that the Magiſtrates for executing the Laws ſhould not hold their Offices at the Pleaſure of a King, or Protector, leſt the Fear of diſpleaſing him perverts Juſtice. In their Opinions, it is highly criminal, that a King, or Protector, or Court, ſhould preſume to interpoſe by Letters, Threats, or Promiſes, to obſtruct the due Courſe of the Laws, or countenance and abet, or diſcountenance and browbeat any Man's Cauſe whatſoever. In Fine, they ſay the Laws, that are incapable of Partiality, Intereſt, or Paſſion, ought ſo to govern, as no Man ſhould be ſubject to the crooked Will, or corrupt Affections, of any Man.

II. The Levellers ſecond Maxim or Principle about Government, is, that all the Laws, Levies of Monies, War, and Peace, ought to be made by the People's Deputies in Parliament, to be choſen by them ſucceſſively at certain Periods of Time, and that no Council-Table, Orders, or Ordinances, or Court-Proclamations, to bind the People's Perſons or Eſtates; it is the firſt Principle of a People's Liberty, that they ſhall not be bound but by their own Conſent; and this our Anceſtors left to *England* as its undoubted Right, that no Laws to bind our Perſons, or Eſtates, could be impoſed upon us againſt our Wills; and they challenged it as their native Right, not to be controuled in making ſuch Laws as concerned their common Right and Intereſts, as may appear by the Parliaments Records in the Time of *Edward the Second*, and *Richard the Second.* The Levellers ſay, that thoſe, whoſe Intereſts are in all Things one with the whole People's, are the only proper unintereſted Judges of what Laws are moſt fit to preſerve and provide for that common Intereſt; ſuch are the People in Parliament rightly conſtituted and methodiſed, and they may be depended upon, to provide Remedies for the People's Grievances, becauſe they themſelves are Sharers in every common Grievance, and they will be naturally led to ſtudy the common Good, becauſe they ſhall ſhare in it; but, if a Monarch's Pleaſure ſhould controul the People's Deputies in their Parliaments, the Laws muſt be fitted for the Intereſt of the Monarch and his Family, to keep him in a Condition to overtop the People, not for the common and equal Good of the whole Nation; and then the Monarch's Fears on the one Hand, leſt the People ſhould be able to diminiſh his Greatneſs, or that he ſhould hold his Greatneſs at their Mercy; and the People's Fears on the other Hand, leſt the Monarch ſhould be able to make them Slaves, and they come to hold their Eſtates and Lives at his Mercy: Theſe, I ſay, would ſet two oppoſite Intereſts always at Contention, in the compoſing of Laws; and the Wiſdom and Induſtry of the People's Deputies, that ſhould be ſpent in contriving the Advancement of the People's common Good in the Laws, would be taken up, endeavouring to defend and preſerve the People's Intereſts, againſt the Monarchs: Therefore, ſay the Levellers, it is equal, neceſſary, and of natural Right, that the People by their Deputies ſhould chuſe their own Laws; yet they conceive it would be of much greater Good to our Country, if our Parliaments were moulded into a better Form, and ſome Deputies were choſen by the People, only to give their Conſent or Diſſent unto Laws propoſed; and other Deputies were choſen for Senators, that ſhould conſult and debate of the Neceſſity and Conveniency of all Laws, Levies of Monies, War, and Peace, and then propoſe all to the great Aſſembly of the People's Deputies, to reſolve; that ſo the propoſing, and reſolving Power, not being in the ſame Aſſembly, all Faction and private Intereſts may be avoided, which may poſſibly ariſe in a ſingle Council, veſted with the ſole ſovereign Law-making Power. This ſecond Doctrine of the Levellers had been fit for all *England* to have aſſerted ſome Years ſince, and then ſo many Fatherleſs and Widows had not now been weeping for their loſt Huſbands,

bands, and Fathers in *Jamaica*, and other foreign Countries, nor had ſo many Families been ruined, nor *England* impoveriſhed by the Loſs of Trade occaſioned by the *Spaniſh* War, begun and proſecuted upon private Intereſts or Fancies, without Advice or Conſent of the People in Parliament.

III. The Levellers aſſert it, as another Principle, that every Man, of what Quality or Condition, Place or Office whatſoever, ought to be equally ſubject to the Laws; every Man, ſay they, high and low, rich and poor, muſt be accountable to the Laws, and either obey them, or ſuffer the Penalties ordained for the Tranſgreſſors; there ought to be no more Reſpect of Perſons, in the Execution of the Laws, than is with God himſelf, if the Law be tranſgreſſed; no Regard ſhould be had who is the Offender, but of what Kind, Nature, and Degree, is the Offence; it is deſtructive to the End of a Government by Law, that any Magiſtrate, or other, ſhould be exempt from the Obedience or Juſtice of the Laws; it diſſolves the Government, *Ipſo facto*, and expoſeth all the People to Rapine and Oppreſſion, without Security of their Perſons and Eſtates, for which the Laws are intended; therefore, ſay they, great Thieves, and little, muſt alike to the Gallows; and the meaneſt Man as readily and eaſily obtain Juſtice and Relief, of any Injury and Oppreſſion, againſt the greateſt, as he ſhall do againſt the Loweſt of the People; and therefore, ſay they, it ought not to be in the Power of any ſingle Perſon, to defend himſelf from the impartial Stroke of the Laws, or to pervert Juſtice by Force; and that brings in their fourth Principle, *viz.*

IV. That the People ought to be formed into ſuch a conſtant military Poſture, by, and under the Commands of their Parliament, that, by their own Strength, they may be able to compel every Man to be ſubject to the Laws, and to defend their Country from Foreigners, and inforce Right and Juſtice from them, upon all emergent Occaſions. No Government can ſtand without Force of Arms, to ſubdue ſuch as ſhall rebel againſt the Laws, and to defend their Territories from the Rapine and Violence of Strangers; and the People muſt either hire mercenary Soldiers, to be the Guardians of their Laws, and their Country, or take the Care upon themſelves, by diſpoſing themſelves into a Poſture of Arms, that may make them ready and able to be their own Guard: Now, ſay the Levellers, it is neither prudent nor ſafe, that the People's Arms ſhould be put into mercenary Soldiers Hands; What Reaſon can induce any People to believe, that their Laws, Eſtates, Liberties and Lives, ſhall be more ſecure in the Hands of Mercenaries, than in their own? Who can think his Eſtate, his Liberty, or his Life, in Safety, when he knows they are all at the Mercy and Will of Hirelings, that are led by no other Motive, than that of Profit or Pay, to ſerve them; and may be led by any Propoſal, or Temptation of greater Profit or Pay, to deſert them.

All Ages have afforded ſad Experiments of truſting their Strength in the Hands of mercenary Armies; moſt Nations who have kept them, at leaſt in their own Bowels, having been devoured by them. Did not the *Egyptian* King, by truſting the Arms in Hirelings Hands, loſe both his Crown and Life, and brought the People to be Slaves to the *Mamulakes* for near two-hundred Years? Was not the famous Commonwealth of *Rome* ruined and inſlaved, by their negligent Permiſſion of *Julius Cæſar* (upon his Advantage of long continuing General) to form a mercenary Army? Did not the Inhabitants of *Rhegium* periſh, by the Hands of the *Roman* Legion left to be their mercenary Defenders? And were not our Neighbours of *Amſterdam* lately very near the Loſs of their Eſtates and Liberties, by their own mercenary Army? And, ſay the Levellers, the People have leſs Reaſon to truſt to Mercenaries, to defend their Country from Foreigners, than they have to preſerve their Eſtates and Liberties from domeſtick Oppreſſion. How can their Valour or Fidelity be depended upon, when a ſmall Stipend only obligeth them to either; and, if they be conquered one Day, they are ready to ſerve the Conqueror next Day, it being their profeſſed Principle to ſerve where they can have beſt and moſt certain Pay. But, ſay the Levellers, when the People, who are Owners of a Country, are diſpoſed into a military Form, they fight *Pro aris & focis*; they are ſenſible that they have more at Stake than a daily Stipend, and are in no Hopes to better their Conditions, by Diviſion amongſt themſelves, or by betraying their Country to

Foreigners. Thus, ſay they, is it prudent and ſafe for the People to be Maſters of their own Arms, and to be commanded, in the Uſe of them, by a Part of themſelves (that is their Parliaments) whoſe Intereſt is the ſame with theirs.

Theſe four foregoing Maxims contain the Sum of all the Levellers Doctrine about our Government in Externals; (whoſe Principles, without naming one of them, have been rendered ſo prodigious, and of ſuch dangerous Conſequence) but let the Reader judge, whether the Liberty, Happineſs, and Security of every *Engliſhman* be not ſought in the Endeavours to eſtabliſh thoſe Foundations of equal Juſtice and Safety; neither can they be charged herein with Novelty or Inconſtancy, the ſame Fundamentals of Government having been claimed by our Anceſtors, as their Right, for many hundred Years.

And the late Long Parliament propoſing the ſame to the People, as the Things to be defended by the late War; alledging, that the King had ſet up Courtiers to govern, inſtead of Laws, by impriſoning at Pleaſure, and during Pleaſure; and that he had attempted to make Proclamations, and Council-table Orders, to be as binding as the Laws that the People made by their Parliaments; and that the King had exempted himſelf, and others, from Subjection to the Laws, and pretended a Right to the Militia, to command the People's Arms, without their Conſent; and, in Confidence of the Parliament's real Intentions and Fidelity in what they propoſed, the People ſpared neither Treaſure nor Blood to preſerve themſelves, and their declared native Rights. And, therefore thoſe, called *Levellers*, do now challenge their Principles of Juſtice and Freedom, as the Price of their Blood; and, however many of the Parliament's Friends, and Adherents, have ſince deſerted their firſt Pretences, yet, the Levellers ſay, they can give no Account to the righteous God of the Blood they have ſhed in the Quarrel, nor to their own Conſciences, of their Duty to themſelves, their Families, and Country, to preſerve their Laws, Rights, and Liberties; if they ſhould not perſiſt in their Demands and Endeavours, to eſtabliſh the Government in what Form ſoever, upon the Foundation of the Principles herein declared; and therein they would acquieſce, humbly praying the Father of all Wiſdom, ſo to direct their Law-makers and Magiſtrates, that all God's People might enjoy their ſpiritual Chriſtian Liberties, in worſhiping God according to their Conſciences; and they heartily wiſh, that ſuch a Liberty may be ſettled, as another Fundamental or Corner-ſtone in the Government.

But the Deſigners of Oppreſſion having alſo thrown Dirt in the Faces of thoſe, whom they have named *Levellers*, in the Matters of Religion, and aſperſed them ſometimes as Jeſuits, ſometimes as notorious Hereticks, and ſometimes as licentious Atheiſts, Men of no Religion; it is neceſſary that I ſhould acquaint the Reader with their Principles that relate unto Religion; I do not mean to give an Account of their Faith; for the Men, branded with the Name of *Levellers*, are, and may be under ſeveral Diſpenſations of Light and Knowledge in ſpiritual Things, in which they do not one judge the other; yet they are all Profeſſors of the Chriſtian Reformed Religion, and do all agree in theſe general Opinions about Religion, and the Power of Men over it.

Firſt, They ſay, that all true Religion in Men is founded upon the inward Conſent of their Underſtandings and Hearts, to the Truths revealed; and that the Underſtanding is ſo free, that it is not in the Power of Men to compel it to, or reſtrain it from a Conſent; nothing but the irreſiſtible Evidence of a Truth can gain a Conſent, and, when the Evidence is clear to any Man's Underſtanding, he himſelf, much leſs another howſoever potent, cannot ſo much as ſuſpend an Aſſent. Therefore, no Man can compel another to be religious, or by Force or Terror conſtrain the People to be of the true Religion.

Secondly, They ſay, that the laſt Dictate of every Man's Underſtanding, in Matters of Faith and God's Worſhip, is the laſt Voice of God to him, and obligeth him to practiſe accordingly; if a Man be erroneouſly informed, yet the Miſconceptions, he hath of Truth, bind him to practiſe erroneouſly, and, ſhould he reſiſt that ſeeming Light, though it ſhould be in Truth Darkneſs, his Sin would be much greater, and of worſe Conſequence, than if he follows by his Actions his erroneous Conceptions: Therefore the only Means to promote the true Religion, under any Government,

ment, is to endeavour rightly to inform the People's Conſciences, by whoſe Dictates God commands them to be guided; and therefore Chriſt ordained the Preaching of the Goſpel, as the outward Means for converting Souls: Faith coming by Hearing; and he alſo ordained ſpiritual Ordinances for the Conviction, Inſtruction, and Puniſhment of erroneous and heretical Perſons; the Scripture commanding the Erroneous to be inſtructed with the Spirit of Meekneſs, and admoniſhed privately, publickly, &c. And Chriſt never mentioned any Penalties to be inflicted on the Bodies or Purſes of Unbelievers, becauſe of their Unbelief.

Thirdly, Levellers ſay, That there are two Parts of true Religion, the *firſt* conſiſts in the right Conceptions, and Receptions of God, as he is revealed by Chriſt, and ſincere Adorations of him in the Heart or Spirit, and the Expreſſions or Declarations of that Worſhip outwardly, in and by the Uſe of thoſe Ordinances that are appointed by Chriſt, for that Purpoſe. The *ſecond* Part of it conſiſts in Works of Righteouſneſs, and Mercy, towards all Men, done in Obedience to the Will of God, and in Imitation of his Juſtice and Goodneſs to the whole World.

The *firſt* Part, being wholly built upon the Foundation of revealed Truths, doth in its own Nature abſolutely exclude all Poſſibility of Man's being Lord of his Brother's Faith, unleſs the Underſtanding or Faith of a Magiſtrate could conſtrain the Faith or Underſtanding of others, to be obedient to his, or rather to be transformed into the Likeneſs of his: And therefore therein every Man muſt ſtand or fall to his own Maſter, and having done his Duty, rightly to inform his Neighbour, muſt give an Account to God, of himſelf only.

But the *ſecond* Part of Religion falls both under the Cogniſance or Judgment of Man, and the Law-makers, or Magiſtrates Power. Chriſt hath taught his Followers to judge of Men's Religion by their Works: *By their Fruits*, ſaith he, *ye ſhall know them, for Men do not gather Grapes of Thorns.* Whoſoever, be it a Court, or an Army, or a ſingle Perſon, pretend to Religion, and yet remain treacherous wherein they are truſted, and continue in the Breach of their Promiſes, and are not conſcientious to do to others, as they would that they ſhould do to them, but can, without Regard to Juſtice, ſeize by Force of Arms upon the People's Rights, due to them by God's Law of Nature, and their Anceſtors Agreement; and ſubject their Perſons, and Eſtates, to their Wills, or their Ambition and Covetouſneſs, and make themſelves great by Oppreſſions out of the People's Purſes; thoſe Men's Religion, Men may clearly judge, being vain by the Scriptures Judgment, yea their Prayers, and their Preaching, as abominable in God's Eyes, as were the Faſts, new Moons, and Sabbaths of the *Jews*, which were then alſo God's Ordinances, whilſt their Hands were defiled with Blood, and Oppreſſion, and the Works of Righteouſneſs and Mercy neglected.

It properly belongs to the governing Powers, to reſtrain Men from Irreligion in this *ſecond* Part of Religion; that is, from Injuſtice, Faith-breaking, Cruelty, Oppreſſion, and all other evil Works, that are plainly evil, without the Divine Light of Truths that are only revealed; and it is the Duty of Governing Powers, to compel Men to this Part of Religion, that is, to the outward Acts of Juſtice and Mercy; for the inward Truth of Men's Religion, even in theſe, is beyond the Magiſtrates Power or Judgment.

Fourthly, They ſay, that nothing is more deſtructive to true Religion, nor of worſe Conſequence to human Society, than the Quarrels of Nations or Perſons, about their Difference of Faith and Worſhip, and the Uſe of Force and Puniſhments, each to compel the other to be of his Belief. It cannot be denied, that God, in his infinite ſecret Wiſdom, is pleaſed to cauſe his Spirit to enlighten Men's Minds, with ſeveral Degrees of Light, and to ſuffer many to remain in Darkneſs, which be afterwards alſo enlightened; and, therefore, their Faith and Worſhip, if it be ſincere, muſt neceſſarily and unavoidably differ, according to the different Root of Light upon which it grows. Surely Babes in Chriſt, and ſtrong Men, differ much in their Apprehenſions and Comprehenſions of the Objects of Faith, and much more thoſe that are not yet born in Chriſt, though appointed unto Regeneration, and it may be, inſtructed like *Cornelius*, in ſome Things.

And, as to Opinions about Worſhip, the Thoughts of Men muſt naturally be different, as the Mind of one exceeds another in Clearneſs of Light, and Capacity of Judging; now when the moſt powerful Party ſeeks, by Force and Puniſhments, to conſtrain the Governed or Conquered, to ſubſcribe to their Faith and Opinions, without Regard to their own Light or Underſtandings; Doth it not, as much as is in Man's Power, baniſh all Dependence upon the Spirit of God for Light, out of Men's Minds, and conſtrain them to put out the Candle of God within them, that is, the Light of their own Underſtandings, and induce them, for their worldly Reſpects and Safety, to profeſs a Faith, and practiſe a Worſhip, which they neither do, nor dare underſtand? And by Continuance to contract a Blindneſs of Mind, and Hardneſs of Heart; and is it poſſible to practiſe a Deſign more oppoſite to true Religion, and the Propagation of it? And it is evident that thoſe of falſe Religions, under a Pretence of honouring God, by forcing Men to be religious, have blinded Millions of Thouſands with falſe Worſhips. And alſo, that ſuch as have profeſſed the true Religion, in Subſtance, have wickedly oppoſed the further inlightening Work of the Spirit of God, and cauſed Thouſands, for Fear of Puniſhment, to reſt ſatisfied in the Profeſſion of a Faith and Worſhip, which they underſtand not, and therefore can have no true Religion in them. And Hiſtories will tell plentifully, how pernicious the Quarrels, grounded only upon Difference in Matters of Faith, have been to Mankind; an honeſt Pen would tremble to relate the Murders, and Maſſacres, the dreadful Wars, and Confuſions, and the Ruins, and Deſolations of Countries, that have been upon this Account; and the ſame muſt be to the World's End, if Difference in Opinions about religious Worſhip, and Matters of Faith, ſhould be admitted to be a ſufficient Ground of Quarrels; Errors and Differences in Men's Underſtandings are from natural, unavoidable Infirmity, which ought not to be the Objects of Puniſhments, or Men's Angers; it is not more likely, that God ſhould make all Men's Underſtandings equal in their Capacity of Judging, or give to all an equal Means or Meaſure of Knowledge, than that he ſhould make all Mens Faces alike. Why then, ſay the Levellers, ſhould any Man quarrel at another, whoſe Opinion or Faith is not like to his; more than at him, whoſe Noſe is not like to his; therefore ſay they, let us be unanimous in ſeeking an Eſtabliſhment of equal Freedom and Security to the whole People, of the beſt Proviſions for commutative and diſtributive Juſtice, without Partiality; and of the beſt Means of inſtructing the whole People in the Spirit of Love and Meekneſs; and then true Religion will increaſe and flouriſh.

I have now faithfully related the Sum of their Principles about Government and Religion, who have been uſually called *Levellers*; and ſcandaliſed with Deſigns againſt Government and Religion, and Plots, to bring the Nation into Anarchy and Confuſion: Let the Reader judge, what Colour there is to ſuſpect thoſe, that are thus principled, of ſuch ill Deſigns; or rather, whether Freedom, Juſtice, Peace, and Happineſs can be expected in our Nation, if theſe Fundamentals of Government be not aſſerted, vindicated, and practiſed, and made as known and familiar to the People, as our Anceſtors intended the great Charter of the Liberties of *England* ſhould have been, when they provided, that it ſhould be ſent to every City, and every Cathedral Church, and that it ſhould be read and publiſhed in every County, four Times in the Year, in full County.

I have only mentioned the Fundamentals, becauſe they claim theſe as their Right, and humbly ſubmit the Circumſtantials, as to the Number whereof Parliaments ſhould conſiſt; and the Manner of their Elections, and the Order of their Debating and Reſolving of Laws, &c. to the Wiſdom of the Parliaments. But the Reader may well enquire, how thoſe, that have aſſerted theſe Principles, came to be called *Levellers*, the People believing generally otherwiſe of them, than theſe Principles deſerve. Truly the Story is too tedious to relate at large; but the Sum of it is, that, in the Year 1648, &c. the Army having been in Conteſt with ſome Members of the long Parliament, they conſtituted a general Council of Officers, and Agitators for the Soldiers, and then fell into Debate of Propoſals to be made to the Parliament, for a Settlement, and then ſome of that Council aſſerted theſe Principles; and the Reaſon of them quickly gained the Aſſent of the Major Part; but being contrary to the Deſigns of ſome that were then Grandees, in the Parliament and Army (but moſt of them ſince dead) and had reſolved of other Things, at that Time, even with the King, who was then at *Hampton Court*, it fell into Debate in a private Cabinet Council, how to ſuppreſs or avoid thoſe, that maintained theſe Principles, and it was reſolved, that ſome ill Name was fit to be given to the Aſſerters of them, as Perſons of ſome dangerous Deſign; and that, their Reputations being blaſted, they would come to Nothing, eſpecially if that general Council were diſſolved; then was that Council diſſolved, and an Occaſion taken from that Maxim, that every Man ought to be equally ſubject to the Laws, to invent the Name of *Levellers*; and the King, who was to be frighted into the *Iſle of Wight* from *Hampton Court*, with Pretences, that the Men of theſe Principles in the Army would ſuddenly ſeize upon his Perſon, if he ſtaid there, he was acquainted with thoſe Men, by the Name of *Levellers*, and was the firſt that ever ſo called them in Print, in his Declaration left on the Table at *Hampton Court*, when he ſecretly (as was thought) ſtole away from thence; and thence it was ſuddenly blown Abroad, with as much Confidence, as if they had believed it, that firſt reported it, that a Party of Levellers deſigned to level all Men's Eſtates; and, ſince then, the late Lord Protector, knowing theſe Foundations of Freedom to be inconſiſtent with his Deſigns, hath often mentioned the Levellers Plots, with Malice, Scorn, and Scandal; and now of late generally, whoſoever aſſerts the People's Liberties, and Right of Government by Law, and not by Will, is branded as a Leveller, by the Flatterers.

Now I heartily wiſh, that my Countrymen may not be miſtaken in my candid Intentions, in giving them this Account; I mean not to court them as *Abſalom* did his Father's Subjects, to make them believe, that thoſe, called *Levellers*, would uſe them better than others, if Power was truſted in their Hands; for our Age hath given me Experience, that Power to inſlave the People ought not to be intruſted in any Men's Hands, upon the faireſt Pretences, and moſt ſolemn Oaths, that that Power ſhall be uſed to eſtabliſh their Freedom. And it is the Levellers Doctrine, that the Government ought to be ſettled upon ſuch equal Foundations of common Right and Freedom, that no Man, or Number of Men, in the Nation, ſhould have the Power to invade or diſturb the common Freedom, or the common Courſe of impartial Juſtice; and therefore, that every Authority ought to be of ſmall Continuance, and the ſeveral Authorities, to be ſo balanced each by other, that, without ſuch an Agreement of Men, againſt their own Intereſt, as human Prudence cannot think poſſible, the People cannot ſuffer any common Injury; but my Meaning in this, is, only to prevent the Diviſion of my Countrymen into Parties, with Animoſities each againſt others, by the Couzenage of Names or Scandals, when it may be, they would otherwiſe join Hands and Hearts, for their common Rights and Liberties, if they underſtood each others Minds, and could converſe each with other without Prejudice, becauſe of the Names, whereby each hath uſually called the others. It is a threadbare Plot of Tyrants, to divide the People into Parties, that they may the more eaſily maſter them; but I wiſh, that my Countrymen would unite in the equal Principles of common Right, and hearken to Reaſon, with Clearneſs of Mind, whoſoever offers it, not regarding whether he that ſpeaks it is called a *Leveller*, or a *Sectary*, or an *Anabaptiſt*, or a *Preſbyter*, or a *Cavalier*, but conſidering what he ſays; and then the Number of Hands, to defend our Liberties, and Properties, would be ſo numerous, that the Ambition of one, or a few, could not hope for Succeſs in Attempting a Tyranny over us. And if this poor Paper may have ſuch an Effect, that my Countrymen be not deluded with the idle Scandal of Levelling, caſt upon honeſt Men, into an Oppoſition of their own Welfare, I and many that agree in the Publication of this, ſhall have our Ends.

Conſider therefore, what you here read, and the Lord make you underſtand the Things, that conduce to your Peace and Freedom, and the Glorifying his Name in Righteouſneſs, in this Nation.

Admiral *Ruſſel's* Letter to the Earl of *Nottingham*: Containing an exact and particular Relation of the late happy Victory and Succeſs againſt the *French* Fleet. Publiſhed by Authority. In the *Savoy*, printed by *Edward Jones*, 1692. *Folio*, containing eight Pages.

Portſmouth, *June* 2, 1692.

My LORD,

SINCE your Lordſhip ſeems to think, that an Account in general of the Fleet's good Succeſs is not ſo ſatisfactory, as one ſetting forth the Particulars; I here ſend it, with as much Brevity as the Matter will admit of. I muſt confeſs I was not much inclined to trouble you in this Nature, not being ambitious to ſee my Name in Print on any Occaſion; but, ſince it is your Lordſhip's Commands, I am the more inclined to give you the beſt Information, I am able, of the Action, having ſeen ſeveral printed Relations not very ſincere.

Wedneſday, in the Evening, being the Eigthteenth of *May*, ſtanding over for *Cape de Hogue*, I ordered Captain *Gillam*, in the *Cheſter*, and the *Charles* Galley, to lie at ſuch a Diſtance to the Weſtward of the Fleet, that they might diſcover any Signals made from me.

Thurſday the Nineteenth, ſtanding with a ſmall Gale S. S. W. the Wind at W. and W. and by S. hazy Weather, *Cape Barfleur* bearing then S. W. and by S. from me diſtant about ſeven Leagues, between Three and Four in the Morning, we heard ſeveral Guns to the Weſtward, and, in a ſhort Time, I ſaw the two Frigates making the Signal of ſeeing the Enemy, with their Heads lying to the Northward; which gave me Reaſon to think the Enemy lay with their Heads that Way; upon which, I ordered the Signal to be made for the Fleet's drawing into a Line of Battle; after which, I made the Signal for the Rear of the Fleet to tack, that, if the Enemy ſtood to the Northward, we might the ſooner come to engage; but, ſoon after Four o'Clock, the Sun had a little cleared the Weather, and I ſaw the *French* Fleet ſtanding to the Southward, forming their Line on the ſame Tack that I was upon; I then ordered that Signal for the Rear to Tack to be taken in, and, at the ſame Time, bore away with my own Ship ſo far to Leeward, as I judged each Ship in the Fleet might fetch my Wake or Grain; then brought to again, lying by with my Fore-top-ſail to the Maſt, to give the Ships, in the Fleet, the better Opportunity of placing themſelves, as they had been before directed. By Eight o'Clock, we had formed an indifferent Line, ſtretching from the S. S. W. to the N. N. E. the *Dutch* in the Van, the Red in the Center, *and the Blue in the Rear. By* Nine o'Clock, *the Enemy's Van-guard had* ſtretched almoſt as far to the Southward as ours, their Admiral and Rear-admiral of *the* Blue, that were in the Rear, cloſing *the* Line, and their Vice-admiral of the ſame Diviſion ſtretching to the Rear of our Fleet, but never coming within Gun-ſhot of them. About Ten, they bore down upon us, I ſtill lying with my Fore-top-ſail to the Maſt. I then obſerved Monſieur *Tourville*, the *French* Admiral, put out his Signal for Battle; I gave Order that mine ſhould not be hoiſted, till the Fleets began to engage, that he might have the fairer Opportunity of coming as near me, as he thought convenient; and, at the ſame Time, I ſent Orders to Admiral *Almonde*, that, as ſoon as any of his Squadron could weather the Enemy's Fleet, they ſhould tack, and get to the Weſtward of them; as alſo to the Blue, to make Sail and cloſe the Line, they being at ſome Diſtance a-ſtern; but, as ſoon as the Fleet began to engage, it fell calm, which prevented their ſo doing. About Half an Hour after Eleven, Monſieur *Tourville*, in the *Royal Sun* (being within three Quarters Muſquet-ſhot) brought to, lying by me, at that Diſtance, about an Hour and a Half, plying his Guns very warmly; though I muſt obſerve to you, that our Men fired their Guns faſter; after which Time, I did not find his Guns were fired with that Vigour as before, and I could ſee him in great Diſorder, his Rigging, Sails, and Top-ſail Yards being ſhot, and no Body endeavouring to make them ſerviceable, and his Boats towing of him to Windward, gave me Reaſon to think he was much gauled. About Two, the Wind ſhifted to the N. W. and by W. and, ſome little Time after that, five freſh Ships of the Enemy's Blue Squadron came and poſted themſelves, three a-head of Monſieur *Tourville*, and two a-ſtern of him, and fired with great Fury, which continued till after Three. About Four in the Evening, there came ſo thick a Fog, that we could not ſee a Ship of the Enemy's, which occaſioned our leaving off Firing for a little Time, and then it cleared up, and we could ſee Monſieur *Tourville* towing away with his Boats to the

Northward from us; upon which I did the ſame, and ordered all my Diviſion to do the like; and about Half an Hour after Five, we had a ſmall Breeze of Wind Eaſterly. I then made the Signal for the Fleet to chace, ſending Notice to all the Ships about me, that the Enemy were running. About this Time I heard ſeveral Broad-ſides to the Weſtward; and, though I could not ſee the Ships that fired, I concluded them to be our Blue, that, by the Shift of Wind, had weathered the Enemy; but it proved to be the Rear-admiral of the Red, who had weathered *Tourville*'s Squadron, and got between them and their Admiral of the Blue, where they lay firing ſome Time, and then *Tourville* anchored with ſome Ships of his own Diviſion, as alſo the Rear-admiral of the Red with ſome of his: This was the Time that Captain *Haſtings*, in the *Sandwich*, was killed, he driving through thoſe Ships, by Reaſon of his Anchors not being clear. I could not ſee this Part, becauſe of the great Smoke and Fog, but have received this Information from Sir *Cloudſley Shovel* ſince. I ſent to all the Ships that I could think were near me, to chace to the Weſtward all Night; telling them, I deſigned to follow the Enemy to *Breſt*; and ſometimes we could ſee a *French* Ship, two, or three, ſtanding away with all the Sail they could make to the Weſtward. About Eight, I heard Firing to the Weſtward, which laſted about Half an Hour, it being ſome of our Blue fallen in with ſome of the Ships of the Enemy in the Fog. It was foggy, and very little Wind all Night.

Friday the Twentieth, it was ſo thick in the Morning, that I could ſee none of the Enemy's Ships, and but very few of our own. About Eight it began to clear up; the *Dutch*, who were to the Southward of me, made the Signal of ſeeing the Enemy; and, as it cleared, I ſaw about thirty-two or thirty-four Sail, diſtant from us between two and three Leagues, the Wind at E. N. E. and they bearing from us W. S. W. our Fleet chacing with all the Sail they could make, having taken in the Signal for the Line of Battle, that each Ship might make the beſt of her Way after the Enemy. Between Eleven and Twelve, the Wind came to the S. W. The *French* plied to the Weſtward with all the Sail they could, and we after them. About Four, the Tide of Ebb being done, the *French* anchored, as alſo we in forty-three Fathom Water, Cape *Barfleur* bearing S. and by W. About Ten in the Evening, we weighed with the Tide of Ebb, the Wind at S. W. and plied to the Weſtward. About Twelve, my Fore-top-maſt came by the Board, having received ſeveral Shot.

Saturday the Twenty-firſt, we continued ſtill plying after the Enemy, till Four in the Morning. The Tide of Ebb being done, I anchored in forty-ſix Fathom Water, Cape *de Hogue* bearing S. and by W. and the Iſland of *Alderney* S. S. W. By my Topmaſt's Going away, the *Dutch* Squadron, and the Admiral of the Blue, with ſeveral of his Squadron, had got a great Way to Windward of me. About Seven in the Morning, ſeveral of the Enemy's Ships, being far advanced towards the *Race*, I perceived driving to the Eaſtward with the Tide of Flood. Between Eight and Nine, when they were driven ſo far to the Eaſtward that I could fetch them, I made the Signal for the Fleet to cut and follow the Enemy; which they all did, except the aforementioned weathermoſt Ships, which rid faſt, to obſerve the Motion of the reſt of the Enemy's Ships that continued in the Race of *Alderney*. About Eleven, I ſaw three great Ships fair under the Shore tack and ſtand to the Weſtward; but, after making two or three ſhort Boards, the biggeſt of them run a-ſhore, who preſently cut his Maſts away; the other two, being to leeward of him, plied up to him: The Reaſon, as I judge, of their doing this was, that they could not weather our ſternmoſt Ships to the Weſtward, nor get out a-head of us to the Eaſtward. I obſerving that many of our Ships hovered about thoſe, I ſent to Sir *Ralph Delaval*, Vice-Admiral of the Red, who was in the Rear of our Fleet, to keep ſuch a Number of Ships and Fireſhips with him, as might be ſufficient to deſtroy thoſe of the Enemy; and, to order the others to follow me, I being then in Purſuit of the reſt of the Enemy: An Account of the performing that Service I do not trouble your Lordſhip with, he having given it you already. About Four in the Afternoon, eighteen Sail of the Enemy's Ships got to the Eaſtward of Cape *Barfleur*; after which, I obſerved they hauled in for *le Hogue*: The Rear-Admiral of the Red, Vice-Admiral of the Blue, and ſome other Ships, were a head of me. About Ten at Night, I anchored in the Bay of *le Hogue*, and lay till Four the next Morning, being

Sunday the Twenty-ſecond; and then I weighed, and ſtood in near the Land of *le*

Hogue; but, when we found the Flood came, we anchored in good ſandy Ground. At Two in the Afternoon we weighed again, and plied cloſe in with *le Hogue*, where we ſaw thirteen Sail of the Enemy's Men of War hauled cloſe in with the Shore: The Rear-Admiral of the Red tells me, that the Night before he ſaw the other five, which made up the eighteen I firſt chaced, ſtand to the Eaſtward.

Monday the Twenty-third, I ſent in Vice-Admiral *Rooke*, with ſeveral Men of War and Fireſhips, as alſo the Boats of the Fleet, to deſtroy thoſe Ships; but the Enemy had gotten them ſo near the Shore, that not any of our Men of War, except the ſmall Frigates, could do any Service; but that Night Vice-Admiral *Rooke*, with the Boats, burnt ſix of them.

Tueſday the Twenty-fourth, about Eight in the Morning, he went in again with the Boats, and burnt the other ſeven, together with ſeveral Tranſport Ships, and ſome Veſſels with Ammunition, the Names of which Ships I am not yet able to give your Lordſhip any other Account of, than what I formerly ſent you, which are as follow:

		Guns.
Soleil Royal,	Count *de Tourville*,	104
L'Ambitieux,	Chev. de *la Villette*, Vice-Admiral of the Blue.	104
L'Admirable,	Monſieur *Beaujeau*,	90
La Magnifique,	Monſ. *Cottologon*, Rere-Admiral of the Blue.	76
Le St. Philipp,	Monſieur *Infreville*,	76
Le Conquerant,	Du *Magnon*,	76
Le Triumphant,	Monſieur *Bellemont*,	74
L'Etonant,	Monſieur *de Septime*,	80
Le Terrible,	Monſieur *Septvilla*,	80
L'Amiable,	Monſieur de *Raal*,	68
Le Fier,	Monſieur *Larſethoir*,	68
Le Glorieux,	Le Ch. de *Chateaumoorant*,	60
Le Serieux,	Monſieur *Bernier*,	60
Le Trident,	Monſieur *Monteaud*,	56

As the Priſoners report, a Three Deck Ship burnt by Accident, and the following, ſunk; how true I do not know.

Le Prince,	Monſieur *Bagneux*,	60
Le St. Paril,	Monſieur *Ferille*.	60

Tho' theſe be all the Names that I have been able to learn, yet I am ſure there are ſixteen Ships of Conſequence burnt.

Wedneſday the Twenty-fifth, I ſailed from *le Hogue*, ordering the Admiral of the *Blue*, with a Squadron of *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Ships under his Command, to run along the Enemy's Coaſt as far as *Havre de Grace*, in Hopes that ſome of the before-mentioned five Ships, that ſtood to the Eaſtward, might have been got thither; but he informs me, that, upon his Appearing before that Place, he could perceive but one or two ſmall Veſſels. The Number of the Enemy's Ships did not exceed fifty Men of War, by the beſt Information, from Fifty-ſix to One-hundred and four Guns; and though it muſt be confeſſed, that our Number was ſuperior to theirs, which probably at firſt might ſtartle them, yet, by their Coming down with that Reſolution, I cannot think it had any great Effect upon them: And this I may affirm for a Truth, not with any Intention to value our own Action, or to leſſen the Bravery of the Enemy, That they were beaten by a Number conſiderably leſs than theirs; the Calmneſs and Thickneſs of the Weather giving very few of the *Dutch*, or the *Blue*, the Opportunity of Engaging; which, I am ſure, they look upon as a great Misfortune; and, had the Weather proved otherwiſe, I do not ſee how it was poſſible for any of them to have eſcaped us.

This is the exacteſt Account that I am able to give you, which, I hope, will prove to your Lordſhip's Satisfaction. Vice-Admiral *Rooke* has given me a very good Character of ſeveral Men employed in the Boats, and I have ordered him to give me a Liſt of the Names of ſuch Perſons whoſe Behaviour was remarkable, in order to their Reward. I am,

My Lord,

Your Lordſhip's moſt Faithful

Humble Servant,

E. Ruſſell.

The Power of the Laws of a Kingdom over the Will of a miſled King. *Leyden*, printed by *William Chriſtienne.* 1643. *Quarto*, containing eight Pages.

A Kingdom is above a Tyrant, or a King, when he breaks the Laws. I muſt here wonder, with *Buchanan*, 'That Law which concerns the Kings themſelves, what is it, and by whom enacted, neither can the Lawyers themſelves reſolve; the *Roman* Kings never had that Power, from them there was an Appeal to the People. *Seneca, Epiſt.* 19. Scribit ſe ex *Cicerone* de Repub. Libris didiciſſe, provocationem ad populum & etiam à Regibus fuiſſe.' We will examine what the *French* Story can afford us, ſince that Government is ſo much affected; I conceive it is *Lex Talionis*, to be judged by their Examples, which hath been but of late Times within this One-hundred, Two-hundred, or Three-hundred Years; for, ſince theſe Times, I am perſuaded their Parliaments are ſo far ſhort of their ancient Authority, that they are not equal with thoſe Liberties they have had, by reaſon of the Incroachment of their Kings; for, by the *French* Story, it will eaſily appear, that they are inferior unto their Parliaments. *John de Rubra*, in thoſe Times, 1371, a famous Lawyer, 'Sub finem Tractatus, ſcribit his verbis, Si alicui regi ſuperiorem non recognoſcendi dandus eſſet coadjutor, illius adſumtio & inſtitutio, pertinent ad tres Status, regni quod ſuperiorem non habet, ut eſt regnum *Franciæ*. Did not the Nobility riſe againſt *Lewis the Eleventh* of *France*, for the publick Good, that they might demonſtrate perforce unto the King the miſerable Eſtate of the Commonwealth? The Sum of their Requeſt was, that the three Eſtates might meet; and, when they did meet, there were choſen Twelve out of every State by the Parliament, ſo that there were Thirty-ſix choſen in all to reform the Grievances of that Kingdom; and the King promiſed his Faith, that he would ratify whatſoever thoſe Thirty-ſix ſhould preſent to him; but *Lewis the Eleventh* broke his Faith, which was the Cauſe of the War that continued thirteen Years afterwards; and ſo the Perjury of the King, with his own Infamy, and the Deſtruction of the People, was expiated.' The Hiſtorians, that this Hiſtory are gathered out of, are *Philip de Com. Lib. Cap.* ii. *N. Gillius, Lib. Fol.* 152. *Guagninus in vita ejuſdem Ludov. Monſtrolettus Oliverius Lamarcius Belga. Hiſt. cap.* 35. I muſt tell you, this King was neither weak in Body or Mind, for he was about Forty, and, for his natural Parts, ſurpaſſed all the Kings of *France*. To make the Controverſy more plain, 'There was a Difference between this *Lewis* and *Charles* his Brother, in 1468, upon which the Parliament did decree the King ſhould give ſome Duchy which did not belong to the Crown; beſides, they did decree that the King ſhould pay him yearly, out of his own Treaſure, a great Sum of Money.' *Britan. Amor commemorat.* Lib. iv. Fol. 200.

Gaſco de Beirna, in 1275, was beſieged by *Edward* King of *England*; *Gaſco* appeals to the Parliament, and *Edward* would not detract it, but did commit it to his Officers, leſt he ſhould, if he had detracted it, make the *French* King, to whom he had lately done Homage for ſome Land he held there, a Party againſt him; but that which makes this Caſe moſt perſpicuous, is that of *Edward the Third*, and *Philip* of *France*, in 1328: The Contention ariſing betwixt them two for the Kingdom of *France*, they both of them ſubmitted to the Cenſure of the Parliament of that Kingdom; the Parliament judged the Kingdom to *Philip*, neither did King *Edward* detract that Judgment, he paying of him Homage for *Aquitain* a few Years after. *Thomas Walſingham.* In this all the *French* Hiſtorians agree as well as *England. Polydor. Virgil. Lib.* xix. *Thomas Walſingham ſub Edwardo tertio.*

But, of all the Inſtitutions of Countries, there is none ſo memorable as that of the *Spaniards*, who, when they create Kings in the Council of *Arragon*, and that it may be the better remembered, they preſent a Man upon whom they place this Inſcription, *Jus Arragonicum*, whom they do publickly decree to be greater and more powerful than the King; when that is done, they ſpeak to their King, being created upon certain Laws and Conditions, in theſe Words, which we will produce, becauſe they will ſhew a notable and ſingular Stoutneſs of that Nation, in curbing their Kings, *Nos quæ valemos tanto come vos y podemos mas que vos elegimos Rei, con eſt as y eſtas conditiones, intra vos y nos un que mandamas que vos*; ‘We that are as great as you are, and are of more Power than you, have choſen you our King, upon theſe and theſe Conditions, betwixt you and us, there is one that is of more Power than you.’ The Examples are infinite that the *French* have made of their Kings, and their Kings Children, ſo that I will inſtance no more than I have done; for theſe Teſtimonies are the more to be noted and obſerved, becauſe they do clearly demonſtrate, that the chief Right and Arbitrement hath been of the People, not only of chuſing Kings, but alſo of refuſing, and repulſing the Sons of their dead King, and chuſing others in their Rooms.

The Lawyers now expecting the Day, there ſtarts up one, and puts into the Court a *Quare impedit*; for which his Reaſon was, that, though theſe Things have been done thus and thus, yet the Fact doth not prove the Conſequence, that they ought to be done. The Lawyer preſently replied, that this Caveat of his might not be approved of, being moſt ridiculous; which conceives, that a whole Kingdom ſhould not judge better of that which they have made ſo often Trial of, than this Man or that Man. If the Reaſon of many might be brought into Queſtion by this or that Man's Opinion, I would put this Queſtion to any Man to prove by Reaſon, being no more indemonſtrable than the other Queſtion, *that Man is reaſonable*: If he would give me an Anſwer, I think that he could have no other Proof that *this is*, or that is to be Reaſon, than the general Conſent and Approvement of this and that Society: But, ſince the Beginning of the World, there hath nothing been ſo abſurd, but it hath found one Patron. I do wonder what Government the Objector would have in the World, if moſt Voices might not prevail. Doth not the Divine think his Controverſy the ſtrongeſt, when he hath moſt Fathers with him; or the Civil Lawyer when he pleads doth not he carry it when he quotes the moſt Authors? All that can be ſaid by them, is, the King will not admit of it for Reaſon; and perhaps they will ſay, the Kingdom is a Party as well as the King, and therefore a By-ſtander may ſee more: If a By-ſtander may ſee more, I will bring him in, and he ſhall be no other than a King (miſtake me not, I mean a King of Reaſon) it is *Ariſtotle*, who was greateſt with the greateſt Monarch. ‘The King muſt neither kill nor baniſh, no not for a Time, nor in any one Part muſt he domineer. [For it is not fit the Part ſhould be above the Whole.’] Neither hath wiſe *Ariſtotle, who dipped his Pen in Reaſon*, left the King without a commanding Strength over his diſobedient Subjects, nor the Kingdom unfortified from incroaching Kings; he writes thus: ‘There remains one Queſtion concerning his Strength, whether a King ought to have any, whereby he may compel his diſobedient Subjects to him, ruling according to the Law, or after what Manner he ſhall execute his Office, altho' he be a juſt Prince, and doth not prefer his Will above the Law, yet it is neceſſary that he have Power whereby he may protect the Laws; it is quickly reſolved of, and not difficult to determine what Power ſuch a King ſhould have; his Power ought to be more than any one private Man's, or more, yet leſs than the Kingdom's.’ So that, if *Ariſtotle* ſpeak Truth, upon whom all human Knowledge is built on, no Man can deny this Concluſion, That the King out of his Courts hath a Superior, which is the Law, the King in the Court: So that I wonder more and more, that any Man can maintain there can be long any Government ſo long as this Tenet is maintained, that a King is not anſwerable for his Miſgovernment, and that we muſt wait God's Juſtice and Providence; and we muſt, in the mean Time, ſtand like the Man in *Æſop*, who, when his Cart ſtuck faſt in the Dart, did nothing but pray to *Jupiter*, that he would pull his Cart out of the Dirt for him: But he had Anſwer made, *Jupiter* would not help him, unleſs he would help himſelf; and, after he had put to his helping Hand, then he had his Prayer granted. Nor muſt we think ſo of Providence, that we muſt think ourſelves nothing. *Plotinus in*

Theod. de Providentia Dei, Fol. 98. O that Men would ſeriouſly conſider, that a more pernicious Tenet to the Kings themſelves cannot be hatch'd; for the Subjects will continually be ſuſpicious of their Princes, and ſo will never love them truly, ſo long as Kings nouriſh their Baſiliſks. *Ariſt. Rhet. Lib.* vii. For what more Hopes can we have of Kings than of Popes, unleſs God would by his extraorpinary Means enlighten them? We have read into what Exorbitances Popes, (tho' grave and learned Men, have run into, by Reaſon they bolſtered up themſelves by this Tenet, of being anſwerable to none but God, till at laſt they were reduced to Cenſure by the Council of *Baſil.* All that can be pretended in Reaſon, why we ſhould not reſiſt evil Princes, is, becauſe that Civil Wars will follow, and ſo there will be greater Bloodſhed: I anſwer, we do uſually remember Evils better than Benefits, for the one is written in Marble, the other in Sand. It happens ſo ſometimes; but ſure I am, that, after their Removals, the next three or four Succeſſors will be more cautelous, and ſo will their Friends be that ſhall take their Parts. *Caligula* and *Nero* died without Revenge, and in good Time, or elſe, I think, they would not have left a Senator. Obſerve but the Princes that ſucceeded *Nero,* until you come to *Domitian,* and you ſhall find the *Romans* were not weary of them, and likewiſe after *Domitian* again. But here my Pen ſhall ſtop, and we will leave the Lawyer in good Hopes, to get the Cauſe againſt the Tyrant, for, if the Council will not judge, yet the Tyrant will judge himſelf; for, when he judged by the Law, he is judged by his own Word; for, by his Word and Will, it was made when he was King; but, if this will not ſerve, his Law Books the Lawyer will burn, and he will never ſtudy more, unleſs in the Court. *Tyrannicarum Crudelitatum Exempla. Aſtulphus in Officina. Hiſt. Lib.* iii. *Cap.* 6.

Belvoir: Being a *Pindarick* Ode upon *Belvoir* Caſtle the Seat of the Earls of *Rutland,* made in the Year 1679. *MS.*

SACRED Muſe, the Queen of Wit,
Born and belov'd of mighty *Jove,*
Take thy Harp, and touch the Strings,
While melting Airs and Numbers move;
Sing Godlike Words for Godlike Things.
Call thy Siſters all, that ſit
By flow'ry Banks of *Helicon;*
All their Stores and Treaſures get,
And their artful Garbs put on;
All from Extaſies do flow,
Or Slumbers on *Parnaſſus'* Hill;
All that Raptures can beſtow,
All lofty Fancy and deep Judgment know.
Learned Rage, Poetick Fire,
Such as the Sibyl doth inſpire,
And her diſtorted Limbs doth fill,
When the furious God doth come:
Make ready the *Pindarick* Steed,
The fiery headſtrong Horſe:
Hot and fiery tho' he be,
And, in his unbridled Courſe,
Over Rocks and Mounts doth roam,
And th' unſkilful Rider throws,
That cannot ſit his headlong Steed;
Belvoir's Height will tame his Rage;
Belvoir's Hill his Pace aſſwage;
Belvoir! Neighbour to the Sky,
That with Light doth deck its Brows,
All his proudeſt Force will need,
Tho' he be with Ambroſia fed,
And of *Helicon* drinks high.
Belvoir's a Subject high and great;
Not ſuch as mighty *Pindar* choſe,
An *Iſthmian,* or a *Pythian* Game,
A Charioteer, or Wreſtler's Fame.
Bolder Flights and fiercer Heat
Are requir'd to reach that Seat,
Than his *Olympian* Victors could beget;
'Twill taſk ev'n *Pindar's* rapid Soul to match the lofty Head.
Haſte, *Belvoir* calls; my Muſe, away,
If Fear doth not thy Footſteps ſtay,
And, conſcious of th' amazing Height, thou, trembling, doſt delay.

2.

Th' invoked Muſe with comely State drew nigh;
And, with a raviſhing Look,
Half-anger'd, and half-pleas'd, thus ſpoke:
No more, fond Youth, ſuch needleſs Helps invoke;
For barren Subjects only fit,
Where Fiction muſt the Room of Truth ſupply,
And, what it wants in Worth, make out in Wit.
Belvoir hath Glory of its own,

A genuine Worth, not borrow'd from
The Daub of Rhetorick, or Scum
Of heated Brain and laviſh Tongue;
But his own Glory from's own Worth hath ſprung,
And, like the Sun, he's his own Praiſe alone.
And, ſince moſt other Places owe their Name,
Not to their own, but to the Poet's Fame;
From them, while other Seats their Glory take,
This ſhall the Poet make:
The very Sight ſhall thee inſpire
With generous Thoughts and active Fire,
Till thy deep Admiration break
Into the Rage of a divine and reſiſtleſs Flame.
Truth is thy Guide; the Subject needs not Art,
Nor the weak Helps, that Learning can impart.
This ſaid, there fell upon my Soul a Dew,
Like that Prophetick Slumbers doth compile;
And my extatick Soul in Raptures flew
In Regions far remov'd, and took a View
Of all the Glories of the wond'rous Iſle.
Thrice walk'd my Guide and I the Fairy Round,
Which from th' exalted Height did ſhow,
Curiouſly drawn in Miniature below,
The ſacred Graces of the famous Land;
Till, near *Trent*'s Chryſtal Stream on hallow'd Ground,
The airy Gueſt did make her Stand.

3.

See there, cries out my beauteous Guide
(And then new Joy did o'er her Viſage glide)
Belvoir, Art's Maſter-piece, and Nature's Pride,
High in the Regions of ethereal Air,
Above the troubled Atmoſphere,
Above the Magazines of Hail and Snow;
Above the Place that Meteors breeds,
Above the Seat where lie the Seeds,
Whence raging Storms and Tempeſts grow,
That do infeſt the troubled World below.
See with what comely State
It, unconcern'd, o'erlooks the humble Plains,
And, from its Eminence, commands
The fruitful Vale, and far out-ſtretched Lands:
As bleſſed Souls, from a bright Star, do deign
To take a View of mortal Woe,
The Scene of Miſeries below,
And ſee Men hurl'd
By ſportive Fate about the buſy World.
See with what Beauty 'tis o'erſpread;
How the exalted Head
Looks down with Scorn on Hills below,
So high and fair, that it a Piece of Heav'n doth ſhow.
So looks the Sun, when from his Eaſtern Bed
New ris'n from *Tethys* bluſhing red,
Attired in his beſt Array,
Such as he dances with on *Eaſter*-day;
He peeps above a diſtant Hill,
And doth the waking World with Glory fill;
Such bleſſed Place art thou, but fairer ſtill.

4.

Nor art thou alone for Pleaſure fit;
Soft Eaſe and melting Charms.
Th' Enjoyments o' th' luxuriant Land;
Thy ſtately Head was deſtin'd to command.
Mars oft from hence hath ſounded his Alarms;
Safety and Joy together meet,
Soft Peace and rougher War do greet;
Thou'rt charming to thy Friends, and awful to thy Foes.
'Twas here the *Roman* Eagle choſe to reſt;
'Twas on this Rock ſhe built her Neſt;
Hence could her conquer'd Realm ſurvey,
Here ruled with unbounded Sway,
And, when ſhe pleas'd, flew down, and took her Prey.
Here *Margidunum*'s ſtately Caſtle ſtood:
The ſinking *Romans* laſting Stay,
Glutted ſo oft with *Britiſh* Blood.
Oft they attempted it in vain,
As oft they back again were driven:
Unhappy People! that not only fought
With *Romans*, that the World did gain,
But with a Rock more ſtrong than they:
And juſtly vain th'Attempt was thought,
As was the Giants, that deſign'd at Heaven.

5.

The early Seeds of War, thus ſown,
Mixed ev'n with its firſt Foundation,
Up into glorious Deeds have grown;
Deeds not unworthy the great Founder's Name;
Deeds writ in bloody Characters i'th' Book of Fame.
Not all the Sweets that there conſpire,
Not the unbounded Floods of Joy,
Streams of Delight and Luxury,
Which all the fruitful ſubject Lands ſupply,
Could ever damp the Fire
Of martial Rage and generous Gallantry.
When this ſad Land did ſwarm with Monſters more,
Than ever *Libyan* Deſerts bore,
Or ſprung from *Africk*'s parched Shore,
By' unnatural Conjunctions, like them, bred;
When Rage and black Rebellion
Had, like a fatal Inundation,
The miſerable Land o'erflown;
When th' many-headed *Hydra* did command,
And Majeſty profaned was by every common Hand,
How did this, fenc'd with generous Rage and ſacred Loyalty,
Exalt th' illuſtrious Head
Above the foaming Sea!
Unmov'd it dar'd the raging Flood,
Bore the impetuous Shock,
Like an eternal Rock it ſtood,
And all the Waves on its unmoved Baſis broke.

6.

With ſuch Diſcourſe ſhe did beguile the Way;
Words, that I ever could have liſten'd to;
Words, that, like refreſhing Dew,
O'er all my thirſty Soul were ſpread,
Till ſhe beneath the Caſtle's ſtately Head
Our pleaſing Courſe did ſtay.
When, lifting up my Eyes to take a View,
A ſud-

A ſudden Dread upon my Soul did fall,
My ſtartled Senſes did enthrall;
Such as within the Soul doth riſe,
When the Immortal Beings do ſurpriſe,
With their unlook'd-for Preſence, human Eyes.
Amaz'd, aloud I cry'd:
Tell me, O tell me, lovely, beauteous Guide,
To what bleſs'd Soul is giv'n
That neareſt Place of all the World to Heav'n?
Do bleſſed Spirits there reſide?
Do there inferior Deities abide,
When they with heav'nly Joys are cloy'd?
Or is't the Court of the Almighty Powers,
Where they can ſee, from the exalted Towers,
A mixed Scene of human Miſery?
Where they debate
The Fall of Realms, and Kingdoms Fate;
And whence are order'd all
The various Accidents, that Men befall.
Smiling, the Muſe reply'd:
A mighty Prince here makes Abode,
Born of illuſtrious Blood,
So great, ſo generous, ſo good,
All but a God.
Happy, cry'd I, *thoſe bleſſed Men*, that do
To thoſe celeſtial Manſions riſe!
Where, like the Birds of Paradiſe,
They feed on heavenly Dew.

8.

Exalted Place! How muſt quick Wit,
With nimble Courſe, thro' all thy Members run,
That under th' Influence doſt ſit
Of Brother Angel, and of Neighbour Sun!
What benign Aſpect, and what gentle Ray,
Each Conſtellation will diſplay?
What Influence will each Planet give
To thoſe that on their Confines live?
While the ſame Beams, on others caſt, do grow
Languid and weak i' th' Journey down below.
On ſuch ſtupendous Heights 'tis Prophets ſleep,
When they a Commerce with kind Angels keep:
Throw, *Galilæo*, throw thy Tubes away:
Here, as we paſs,
The naked Eye can all the Heaven ſurvey,
Without the Help of thy imperfect Glaſs.
See the Satellites that circle *Jove*,
Red *Mars*'s Belt, and *Vulcan*'s horned Love;
See Meteors, while they breeding are,
And ſullen Stars, e're they to th' World appear.
And cannot only read,
But ſee the very Influence the Stars do ſhed.

9.

Bleſs'd Place! that on the Confines ſtands
Of the two Kingdoms, Earth, and Heaven,
In Doubt to whom the juſt Right ſhould be given.
So, 'twixt two potent Lands,
Some ſtately Fort, in former Ages built,
Equally beautiful and ſtrong,
Claimed by both, by both deny'd,
Unknown to whom it doth belong,
The even Balance ſlides to neither Side,
But ſtands the fatal Cauſe why Floods of Blood are ſpilt.
Doubtful to which thou ow'ſt thy Birth,
Doubtful of which thou art a Part,
This, we are ſure, thou art
The loweſt Place of Heaven, or higheſt Place of Earth.
Would thoſe bleſs'd Times return again,
When Gods deſcended to converſe with Men;
When humble Swains could entertain
The Deities on every flow'ry Plain;
This for their Intercourſe a Place was fit,
Where Men half Way the Gods might meet;
The Pleaſures of both Regions gain,
Taſte of Heaven, yet be on Earth;
And, joining, t' a mix'd Nature give a Birth,
A Race of Men like Gods, or Gods like Men.

10.

Go on then, ſmiling, cry'd my Guide;
'Tis a juſt Heat that doth thy Breaſt inſpire;
And, while it warms with active Fire,
Up to the Hill's proud Top aſpire,
And bleſs thy Sight with the World's chiefeſt Pride.
My Bleſſing with thee go.
This ſaid, inſenſibly the Hill we round;
A ſpiral Line up to the Summit led,
And with a pleaſing Cheat
Beguil'd th' Aſcent, and unknown Pleaſure bred,
We climb'd the Hill, yet went on even Ground.
Each Step, as circling round we went,
A Proſpect of new Pleaſures did preſent;
Now, o'er the fruitful Vale, we wondering ſtood,
Strait hanging o'er the neighbouring Wood.
The Softneſs of the Vale doth now delight,
When at next Step we chang'd the Scene,
And a new Scene of Joys did intervene;
The neighbouring Hills do *entertain our Sight*,
And, in their ſhady, rural *Dreſs*,
Do repreſent a civil *Wilderneſs*.
All Objects from below now *leſſen'd ſhow*,
Fields ſhrink to Acres, Towns to Houſes grow;
The vaſt extended Plain is a ſmall Compaſs now.
So ſome bleſs'd Soul, by Angels borne above,
Sees the dear native Land he once did love,
And other mighty Realms below
Into narrow Limits grow:
(And, as in Maps we find,
Small Space unto large Kingdoms is aſſign'd,
But Realms by Spots, Rivers by Lines deſign'd.)
So ſtill, as higher up he flies,
Kingdoms ſhrink into little Spots of Ground,
And ſtraight thoſe too are flown;
The whole Earth then but a ſmall Point is found,
And that ſoon diſappears too, and is gone.

11.

The ſtately Fabrick near,
Whoſe Look our Souls with vaſt Deſires ſupply'd,
With haſty Zeal, we trod the circling Way,
When my obliging Guide

My Mind from the deep Admiration took,
And thus, in mournful Accents, the long Silence broke:
'Tis not long ſince, and then there fell a Tear,
This ſtately Fabrick in its Ruins lay.
Not many Luſtres paſt, in thoſe black Times,
When, to be Great and Excellent, were Crimes:
When, to be Good, was Cauſe enough to fall,
And, to be Eminent, was capital.
When *Charles*, becauſe he was a King, muſt die,
Guilty of no one Crime, but Majeſty.
When brutiſh Fury did aſcend the Throne,
And all the Marks of Greatneſs tumbled down,
This look'd too kingly to be let alone.
It fell, but none e'er in a nobler Cauſe,
For its Religion, for its Prince and Laws:
Glorious its ſtately Head in Ruins lay,
That the ſame Fate with Royal Greatneſs ſhar'd:
'T had been Diſgrace not to have been a Prey,
T' have been by ſuch deſtructive Villains ſpar'd.

12.

As ſome Commander, compaſs'd by his Foes,
A Stranger both to Fear and Flight,
Himſelf and Army doth maintain the Fight,
And Zeal againſt their Numbers doth oppoſe;
Fearleſs doth ſee his Limbs before him fall,
His mangled Members ſtrow the Ground;
He the great Oak unmov'd is found,
Tho' robbed of his graceful Branches all.
Till the ſad News doth circle round,
His Prince, for whom he fought, is ſlain;
Then ſcorning Life, which he did juſt maintain,
Upon his Enemies Swords he flies,
And bravely, in the Bed of Honour, dies.
This Seat, for Loyalty, a Bulwark ſtood,
Did ſee its beauteous Towers in Pieces torn,
Now this, now that Part into Ruin born;
But when the killing Meſſage did arrive,
And did through all the hollow Ruins ſound,
That *Charles* the Juſt, the Great, the Good,
Fell, to inhuman Rage, a Sacrifice;
Diſdaining to ſurvive
Its much lov'd Prince's Obſequies,
It gave a Groan, that ſhook the Hill around,
It groan'd, and fell, and down in Ruins lay,
Filling the ſad Solemnities of ſuch a woeful Day.

13.

Unpitied, long in Duſt its glorious Head,
With murthered Majeſty, lay dead;
Till Virtue in a Female Breaſt did glow
(Virtue that from our bloody Shore was fled)
And tender Pity in her Soul did grow.
To *Mountagu*'s great Stem ſhe owes her Birth,
Than which, no Tree, in all *Dodona*'s Grove,
Wider its Branches doth extend,
More noble Boughs doth lend,
To beautify the Land and Sea,
The powerful Sword, and the wiſe Gown:
None of more high Renown,
For Wiſdom, Juſtice, or for Loyalty.
None doth more beauteous Scions ſend,
More eminent for Faith or Love,
T' inrich each Corner of the *Britiſh* Earth.
Sprung from this glorious Stem, with generous Scorn,
Diſdaining borrowed Fame,
And Glory, that came from a Father's Name,
With her own Acts ſhe did her Anceſtors adorn.
She view'd the Ruins with a pitying Eye,
Saw griſly Horror o'er the Chaos lie,
Brooding upon Deformity.
She ſaw it, and her Soul took Fire,
And ſwell'd with juſt revengeful Ire;
The mighty Monſter's Death ſhe vow'd,
And the Deliverance of the captive Crowd,
And ſtraight the vaſt Deſign laid in her noble Breaſt.
Belvoir's great Genius the juſt Work allow'd,
And of the Foundreſs proud,
His low-laid Head, in his deep Caverns, bow'd;
And from's dark Grave, where long he had been chain'd,
Aroſe, and the auſpicious Omen bleſs'd,
While ſtranger Joy did on the Ruins reſt:
As the Creation ſmil'd,
When Light ſprung up, Heaven's eldeſt Child.
Mean while, ſhe Leave from her great Lord obtain'd,
(And who could ſuch a pious Boon deny?)
The mighty Labour undertook,
The weighty Bars in ſunder broke,
And adamantine Chains in Pieces ſhook.
Thebes once, from the Muſician's Lyre,
A wonderous Building did acquire;
They with their Lutes did charm, and ſhe,
With an enlivening and creating Look,
The jarring Parts to Harmony and due Proportion ſtruck.
As once the all-powerful Deity
Made him an Heaven, where he himſelf might be.
Women, for Foundreſſes, two Seats do own,
Of modern Times, the Glory one,
Of ancient Days, th' other the Crown,
Belvoir and *Babylon*.

15.

With ſmiling Pleaſure led,
Which, with freſh Joys, our Footſteps did entice;
We circled round the wond'rous Hill, till we,
Like an enchanted Viſion, ſee
The hanging Gardens, Nature's Paradiſe;
Where ſhe doth laviſh out her Store,
As if, grown prodigally careleſs, ſhe,
To furniſh this, had left the whole World poor.
Each Step, with new-hatch'd Joys, was ſpread,
In various Shapes, and Habits dreſt;
Each Bough a new fledg'd Pleaſure bore,
Hopp'd lately from the ſpicy Neſt.

11. Here

16.
Here all Things whiſper'd out Delight,
By Heaven's near Neighbourhood made bright,
With fiercer Beams, darting ethereal Light.
From hence the ſweeteſt Proſpect lies,
That e'er intangled wand'ring Eyes;
A Scene, or civiliz'd, or rude,
For Buſineſs, or for Solitude:
A ſilent Hill, and ſhady Grove;
A flow'ry Mead, and fertile Field,
For Buſineſs one, and one for Love.
But every Step ſuch Joys doth yield,
Such thick-ſown Pleaſures crowding come,
And enter the poſſeſſed Mind,
Th' aſtoniſh'd Eyes no Leiſure find
On foreign Sights abroad to roam.
Loſt thus in Admiration and Joys,
Our Thoughts o'erpower'd with the diſtracting Beams,
Behold——With pleaſant Fury, Streams break out *,
And wander in Meanders round about;
Calling the Soul Home, in a ſweet Surpriſe.
Amaz'd, we ſee the ſportive Streams
In thouſand gayful Poſtures move,
Unbid, with active Motion riſe,
And, with a new Ambition, court the Skies.
In various Numbers gently rove,
Dance to the Muſick of the Spheres
Wanton, and play their ſhort-liv'd Date,
Aſpire at Heaven, but fall in Tears,
And imitate the general Dance of Fate.

17.
Water! th' unruly Tyrant, to whoſe Rage,
Th' Almighty only ſets a Bound:
Whoſe reſtleſs Waves do never ſleep,
But ſtorm the Rocks, that overlook the Deep.
Which knows no Pity, whom no Prayers aſſwage;
Whoſe deaf'ning Noiſe forbids the Gods to hear,
When ſucking Wretches their Petitions rear,
But ſees them and their uſeleſs Prayers together drown'd.
Water! the headſtrong Element, whoſe Force
The mighty Bars of Nature own,
And yield to his unreſiſted Courſe:
At whoſe ſtern Strokes, when Rocks and Mountains groan,
And proſtrate fall to his Dominion:
Like a tame Lion here 'tis learn'd to play;
And, all the former Fierceneſs gone,
Another Nature doth put on,
Crouches ſubmiſſively below his Port,
Fawns, and, in lowly Poſtures, ſeems to pray;
And what our Terror was, becomes our Sport.
The active Streams in antick Figures riſe,
Now mildly play, then fiercely rage,
Now they with hoſtile Waves engage,
Now, reconcil'd, more gently move,
Meet, and embrace, and melt in Love;
Now journey upward to the Skies,
A Path unknown to all that Race,
And now, grown wiſe,
Contented with an humbler Place.
Now ceaſe, as though bound up with rigid Froſt,
And now again with uſual Vigour reign;
Now their Fluidity ſeems loſt,
And now a Fury in each Drop again.
Now anger'd, and now pleaſed be,
And, by ſweet Interchange, make a bleſs'd Variety.

18.
Delighted with the murmuring Noiſe,
That from the purling Springs did riſe,
Inviting to ſoft Eaſe;
The Fountains all at once to Torrents grow,
And rapid Streams from ſecret Caverns flow.
As tho' ſome River, from the Mother Seas,
Its devious wand'ring Courſe had led,
In gloomy Paths below the Ground,
Under vaſt Rocks, and weighty Mountains bound;
Till tired with long Night,
Struggling from the dark loathed Bed,
And ſearching for the wiſh'd-for Light,
Had here a Paſſage found,
And, with unbridled Rage and Force, from the Confinement fled.
Th' embattled Streams to Heaven aſpire,
As though they ſtorm'd its adamantine Bound;
Or that they meant once more to fight
Their ancient Foe, the Element of Fire.
With winged Speed they thither fly,
And fill the dry
And thirſty Regions with Streams, that ne'er
Before did dangerous Inundations fear;
Not when the ſin-bred Deluge flow'd,
That all before it ſtrow'd:
When th' Ocean tore its Bounds, and forc'd its Way,
In ſpight of ſtruggling Nature's Power;
And all the World was but one Sea;
Secure, they never Peril knew before.
Th' amaz'd Inhabitants, with juſt Affright,
Th' aereal Beings took their Flight,
And left the uninhabitable Coaſt,
In dreaded Streams and Torrents loſt.
Trembling, they to Heaven's arched Roof aſpir'd,
And from Earth's dangerous Neighbourhood retir'd.

19.
Bleſs'd Engine, made for general Good,
For great and glorious Acts deſign'd,
That with thy ſwift impetuous Flood,
Ill-boding Meteors canſt diſperſe;
That threaten Ruin to the Univerſe,

---

* The Water-works.

And, with ill-pointed Beams, do rage on human Kind.
Thy Aid ſhall tott'ring States deſire,
Thy Help declining Monarchs require,
To quench the next malevolent Star,
Or ſcar-fire Comet; that, from far,
With flaming Beard or Tail appears,
Prognoſticating Famine, Plague, or War,
Unto ſucceeding Years;
Thy Streams can the prophetick Fires put out,
And ſcatter all the poiſon'd Beams, the ſpacious Heaven throughout.

20.

With curious Eyes, ſurveying all about,
Whence ſuch a Wonder ſhould ariſe,
A Fountain I eſpy'd,
By Art and Nature beautify'd,
And ſtraight I thought,
Some young Leviathan was there, that ſpouted Rivers out.
When drawing nearer, with Surpriſe,
I ſaw the liquid Chryſtal ſtor'd
With Numbers of the finny Race,
That with ambitious Eyes did gaze
Upon their Kindred, ſhining in the Skies:
The ſportful Dolphin, and the kingly Whale,
The backward Crab, and ſouthern Fiſh,
To whom learn'd Ages did afford,
A Manſion in the ſtarry Plain.
While theſe with new Deſires inflam'd, do wiſh
Their ſhining Scales, deck'd with ethereal Beams,
That envy'd Honour to obtain,
Which their no more deſerving Kindred gain.
Heaven's mighty Cataracts with Joy they ſee,
And all the ſcaly Progeny
Of wide *Eridanus*; whoſe Streams
Down all Heaven's arched Vault with Fury fall.
The neighbouring Heaven they think a Sea,
The expanded Æther a wide Ocean;
And, ſcorning th' narrow Compaſs where they're pent,
Deſign to leap to th' Seas above the Firmament.
Ambition is a heavenly Ray,
That works the Soul to mighty Deeds:
A Beam of the eternal Day,
That great Acts in exalted Tempers breeds;
Ne'er did it ſtoop before ſo low,
To actuate that heavy Kind;
That cold dull Offspring ne'er, till now,
Such an enlivening Warmth did find.
Aſpiring Fiſh! to you will ſure be given,
Among the Conſtellations, Place;
Since you're the firſt, of all the wat'ry Race,
Of that dull unambitious Kind, e'er climb'd ſo near to Heaven.

21.

From hence our Eyes, with pleaſing Joys beguil'd,
Do upon various Objects rove,
Breeding Delight and Love;
Till a ſurpriſing Wonder bid them ſtay:
Statues that did ſuch Charms diſplay,
A Mixture they appear'd of Death and Life;
As tho' theſe Enemies had been at Strife,
Which ſhould the Empire ſway,
Which moſt its Nature ſhould to them bequeath:
But equal Power, conferr'd in equal Beams,
The Statues ſeem'd the *Copula*,
To tie two wide Extreams;
Unite in one two mortal Foes,
And the vaſt Gulph 'twixt Life and Death to cloſe:
And, as of both compil'd,
Shew'd a dead Life, or living Death.
The ſtately Mien and Features Grace,
The Charms of an inviting Face,
A ſwelling Breaſt, and lively Eye,
Proportion, Shape, and Symmetry;
The graceful Poſtures, ſuch as may
Perſuade the Eye to be deceiv'd;
Convincing Symptoms all of Life do give;
Beſtow but Motion, and you'll ſay they live.
So near to Life they all its Sweets obtain,
Yet are ſecured from its Pain.
So well Life's imitated there,
Children of Art, they greater Value bear,
Than if they Nature's real Offspring were.
Such Sweetneſs in their Being couch'd doth lie,
That, to give Life, would do them Injury,
And they would curſe th' officious Hand, that them of Death bereav'd.

22.

With a bewitching Viſage, one
Spectators with ſoft Love inſpires;
And, from the cold and rigid Stone,
Break raging uncontrouled Fires:
A Look, ſo raviſhing and ſweet,
Doth tender Paſſions hide within;
And, could it ſoften into Fleſh and Skin,
With equal Flame 'twould ardent Paſſions meet.
Another, with a Look ſevere,
Doth a more rigid Virtue bear;
The raſh Beholder bids withdraw,
And on wild Love doth ſtrike an Awe.
Doth ſeem to ſpeak, but a vaſt Gulph's between,
And the Sound's loſt i'th' diſtant Air,
And never reaches our deluded Ear:
Nature is perſonated here ſo well
In every lovely Feature's Grace,
A good Phyſiognomiſt could tell
Their Fortune, by the Lines drawn in their Face.
Such Paſſions from the Rock's cold Offspring move,
It doth no Wonder now appear,
That once *Pygmalion* did a Statue love.

23. *Deucalion*

23.

Deucalion once, as Stories tell,
Loſt Mankind did, by Stones, reſtore:
They, backward caſt, groan'd as they fell,
And did to Shape and to Proportion ſwell;
And, influenc'd by th' enlivening Heat,
Each Limb did its due Form and Vertue get.
Such Statues did they once appear,
Their Looks ſuch Beauty gilded o'er,
The Moment juſt before they breath'd,
E're Life had Motion to each Part bequeath'd.
Such Statues did *Meduſa* make,
Such natural Poſtures did they wear,
When *Gorgon*'s Look condens'd them into Stone;
When they the ſame Shape kept, their former Nature gone.
And if old Fame may be believ'd,
(Promiſcuous Mint of Truth and Lyes)
Theſe Statues once with Fame and Beauty liv'd,
Did furious Paſſion in each Boſom move,
Themſelves averſe from Love,
Soft Fleſh without, but Stone within:
Until by Love's enraged Queen.
The *Rebels*, that her Empire did deſpiſe,
Her juſt Avengement bore,
Changed to Stone, the ſame with their obdurate Hearts before.

24.

Hence circling up the Maze, that did beguile
The Steepneſs of the Hill;
As Men, that up a Mountain crawl,
Look back with Joy and ſee the ſubject Vale,
And ſecure Pleaſures of the humbler Ground;
With buſy Eyes we view'd the Proſpect round.
When the long pondering Muſe at laſt thus cry'd:
Caſt down thine Eyes, and ſee
Boteſford; a lovely Scene of beauteous Woe,
Sorrow ſo ſweetly dreſt,
That Death, the ghaſtly Prince of Terrors, there
Doth a majeſtick Grandeur ſhow,
And through his Blacks doth beautiful appear.
Boteſford! the great retiring Room of Fate,
Where, *Belvoir*, thy great Maſters lie,
In tuneful Praiſe they reſt,
Embalm'd with Fame to long Eternity.
Tir'd with the honourable Weight
Of princely Grandeur, and majeſtick State,
From their bright Orb to thee,
Like falling Stars they glide,
And in thy Vaults their wearied Glories hide.
Boteſford! where Death triumphantly doth ſit,
And, grinning with a Smile, doth joy to ſee
The glorious Spoils of his great Victory.
The common Croud, as he walks by,
Turning away his ſcornful Eye,
He unconcern'd mows down;
Wretches for dark Oblivion fit,
That are undiſtinguiſh'd thrown
Among the worthleſs Heap of Deſtiny.
But as an Hero, that ſome noble Foe
Doth by auſpicious Valour overthrow,
O'er his fall'n Trunk doth proudly ſtride:
So Death with comely Pride,
Not able his exulting Joy to hide,
With gloomy Wings broods o'er the princely Buſt:
Jealouſly guards the noble Duſt,
And with inflamed Eyes doth his Reſentment ſhow.

25.

Seed-plot of Worthies! from thy Womb
What crouding Troops of gallant Souls will come?
At the laſt ſhining Day when all
From ſleepy Graves creep at the Call,
Thy active Heroes firſt ſhall riſe
Stretch their ſtiff Limbs, and rub their drouſy Eyes:
And at th' enlivening Trumpet's Noiſe
Start up, and think a Battle nigh,
Cry *Io Io* Victory,
Graſp their keen Swords, and lead the trembling Legions on.
Others Annihilation ſeem to bear,
And doubly dead their dull Ingredients are
Changed to common Earth:
A new Influx of Being muſt
Enliven their unactive Duſt,
And giv't a ſecond Birth.
Theſe ſuch fierce Vigour do retain
The Seeds of Life within remain,
Waiting the Reſurrection.
Struggling, the fatal Bounds they beat
Impatient of ſo long a Stay,
Ready to riſe before the final Day;
Ferment and ſwell with unextinguiſh'd Heat.
Bound by th' immutable Decree,
Unwilling they yield to its eternal Tie,
And that once broke, they of themſelves would riſe to Life again.

26.

Was there an Art that could diſplay
The different Shapes of Bad and Juſt,
The Colours they are varied by,
With Reaſon's intellectual Eye.
Was there a Balance that could weigh,
Which princely, which plebeian Duſt:
What hidden Glories had this Seat diſclos'd,
To our dull Thoughts and groſſer Senſes loſt?
Unſeen here numerous Treaſures lie;
For who can Qualities of Bodies ſee,
Or th' Effluviums that from them are thrown,

The ſubtle Chains with which the Loadſtone draws,
Or th' Influences heavenly Motions cauſe,
Not known till tried, and ſcarce believ'd when known,
How would a lighten'd Mind, or well purg'd Eye,
See Fame and Glory hovering here,
Beauteous and fair,
As Vertues Off-pring i'th' Idea are.
How would it ſpy
Beauty and Honour in each Atom roul:
Each Particle tranſcendent bright;
Each fiery Atom like a Soul:
Each Duſt as pure as common Souls appear,
Such Quinteſſential Parts compoſe the pureſt Orbs of Light.

27.

All the long Line of *Britiſh Albiny*:
Renown'd and ancient as the Iſle,
Ancient beyond imperfect Hiſtory:
Whoſe Anceſtors its Treaſure firſt poſſeſs'd,
Firſt ranſacked her Virgin Breaſt,
When midſt the Waves ſhe roſe the Ocean's Pride;
E're her diſorder'd briny Locks were dry'd.
All martial *Rooſe*'s Stem could lend,
Loaded with Flame and warlike Spoil:
All that from greater *Mannors* did deſcend;
In whoſe bright Line united grow
The ſcatter'd Glories of the other two,
That with new Deeds doth their old Fame outdo.
Here the related Heroes meet,
And in dumb Shew each other greet:
Never a braver Number did
Proud *Mauſoleums* deck or Pyramid.
To you ſhall future Ages bow,
Your Urns ſhall Veneration find,
By wiſe *Apollo*'s Counſel led,
Here future Ages ſhall conſult the Dead.
While *Cæſar*'s mighty Duſt each Wind
Doth round the World in wild Diſorder throw.
Sleep on, bleſs'd Heroes, in your quiet Bed,
While your eternal Flame doth live:
Tho' Time your monumental Marbles eat,
Time that even tyranniſes o'er the Dead:
Your laſting Honour ſhall ſurvive,
While Worth and Valour merits Fame,
While Virtue ſomething is beſides a Name:
In Eaſe alive, let others buried be,
Their Time in Vice ignobly wear,
And paſs forgot, as tho' they never were,
Or known for nothing but for Infamy:
You in your Tombs a glorious Life enjoy,
If we may call that Life which is Eternity.

28.

Rutland! a Title never born
But by a Prince of kingly Blood:
Plantagenet's great Name did it adorn,
The Branches of that ſpreading Tree
By Civil Wars cut down.
Edward York's mighty Duke the Title grac'd,
Who ſwell'd with Fire and martial Gallantry,
To trembling *France* with conquering *Henry* paſt,
At *Agincourt* the ſhouting Troops led on;
With warlike Acts help'd on that Victory,
Which rigid Fate ne'er ſuffer'd him to ſee:
With's royal Blood the fatal Field he dy'd,
And that in ſomething worthy it might pride,
He mix'd his, with the *French* degenerate Flood.
Richard, his Nephew, the bright Honour bore:
The Scourge of *France*, and eaſy *Henry*'s Doom;
No King a Monarch could o'ercome,
And kept the Power, the Title did reſtore.
At *Wakefield*, bloody Battle ſlain,
Cut off in his juſt Hopes of Reign,
His Sons Revengers of his Blood remain.
Offspring and Father he of Kings,
Himſelf uncrown'd; and from his Daughter ſprings
No leſs a Glory; that fam'd Race,
That *Rutland*'s Title now do grace,
Succeeding him in Blood and in exalted Place.
But who ſweet *Edmond* with dry Eyes,
Rutland's young Earl, can ſee thy Fate,
The dire Effects of curs'd inteſtine Hate?
Thy Father's Crimes fell heavy on thy Head:
By giddy Chance become the Victor's Prize,
Thou proſtrate fell'ſt at the proud Conqueror's Feet,
With ſuppliant Hands, and bended Knees, didſt pray
Thy tender Years might Mercy meet:
Unmov'd the cruel *Clifford* ſtood,
With barbarous Rage threw all thy Tears away,
And with an unrelenting Look
Thy ſobbing, begging, Boſom ſtrook,
While his keen Sword drank deep of thy Heart's Blood.
Backward thou fell'ſt cover'd with thine own Flood.
Thy trembling Tongue, yet muttering Prayers,
And thy ſwell'd Eyes drowned in Death and Tears.

29.

From theſe deriv'd, Heir to their Fame and Blood
Mannor's illuſtrious Family ſucceeds.
Thomas renown'd for Skill, and warlike Deeds,
Quartering the *Engliſh* Arms with's own:
He, *Belvoir*, thy proud Head in Ruins thrown,
Did with reſplendent Glory rear,
To be again tore down
In future Times, by a more unnatural War.
Thou and thy Maſters deſtin'd all to be
Scourge of Rebellion and Villainy,

And worſt Effects of their curs'd Rage to bear.
Twice roſe th' unquiet North, as often he
A Bulwark 'gainſt the Rebels ſtood,
And from their Hands their impious Arms did tear.
Henry, his Son, Heir to his Father's Fame,
Made Rebel *Scotland* tremble at his Name,
And the affrighted Crouds with Terror fly:
Did like a Guardian Angel ſtand,
With prudent Valour hover'd o'er,
Secur'd the undiſturbed Land
From all the barbarous Rage and Power
Of *Scotch* perfidious Villainy.
Edward, his Son, did early Valour ſhow
Adorn'd the Stem whence he did grow
And was in tender Years thought fit
Two great rebellious Earls to meet,
And from their Foil eternal Fame to get:
Born to great Acts which envious Death oppos'd
And immaturely the bright Scene of warlike Actions clos'd.
His Brother *John* ſucceeding, the ſame Fate
With the ſame Glory did upon him reſt:
Scarce could he round him take a View,
While Honour boiled in his Breaſt,
And his high Soul to gallant Deeds addreſs'd;
When Death, the Foe of all that's brave and great,
O'er his deſigned Fame a gloomy Curtain drew.

30.

Roger, his Son, ſucceeded who well knew
The Riches, Policy, and Store,
The Arts, and Cuſtoms, that each Country bore:
With curious Eyes th' Intrigues of State did view;
With diving Policy did find
What grave *Spain* thought, and giddy *France* deſign'd.
Unlock'd their Secrets, buried in deep Night,
And brought the ſtruggling new-hatch'd Plots to Light.
Ireland his Wiſdom and his Valour ſung,
And *Denmark* in his Ambaſſy did pride.
Immortal *Sidney*'s Daughter was his Bride,
And the World griev'd, becauſe he childleſs dy'd,
For Wonders had from ſuch a bleſs'd Conjunction ſprung.
Heir to his Wit his Brother *Francis* roſe,
Who *Europe*'s famous Courts had paſs'd
With worthy Honour by all Princes grac'd:
France, *Italy*, and *Spain* had made his own,
And had new Wit to th' heavy *German* ſhown.
Him peaceful *James* for truſty Actions choſe
To's Care his precious Jewel did repoſe,
He princely *Charles* did from *Spain*'s long Enchantment looſe.
The Honour *George* his Brother bore,
When peaceful Times had bridled Fury's Rage,
And round our Land reign'd a pacifick Shore,
Under a bleſſed King.
In Hoſpitality he ſpent his Age,
And him to's quiet Grave did ſhouting Praiſes bring.
John, *Haddon*'s Lord, the Honour did poſſeſs,
Bulwark of the declining State,
The Rebels furious Hate;
Who when they found they could not move
Him with their Rage, or with their Love;
On's ſtately Caſtle did their Fury rate,
And to dead Stones their Malice did expreſs.
Th' illuſtrious *John* ſucceeds; on whom do fall
Th' united Glories of them all;
Which yet, like Accents of a ſmaller Sound,
I'th' greater Noiſe of his loud Fame are drown'd.
Tell me *Apollo*, God of Wit,
Upon whoſe Head doth more in Triumph ſit,
The Glories virtuous Acts do bring,
Or from long Series of Worthies ſpring.

31.

As thoſe that ſearch the Head of flowing *Nile*,
With tedious, fruitleſs Toil,
As it through Spacious Realms doth flow,
Bleſſing the ſmiling Soil;
Still find it fam'd, renown'd, and great,
Until their curious Search doth terminate
In boundleſs Lakes, or Mountains of the Moon:
So, glorious *Mannors*, they
That ſeek the Godlike Head from whence you ſprung,
As through the Ages back they paſs along,
Diſcern the ſhining Path and ſparkling Way,
As far as maimed Hiſtory leads,
Crowned with Fame and honourable Deeds:
Until at laſt
Searching the gloomy Shades of Ages paſt;
The glorious Tract doth the Enquirer bring
To th' Offspring of ſome God or Godlike King.
Proud of th' Relation, other Families
Bring their additional Supplies:
All the entrancing Grace
Of *Totney* and *Albiny*'s Race.
All it from *Rooſey*'s Glory could receive,
Or kingly bold *Plantagenet* could give.
All *Lovel* and all *Paſton* could beſtow,
Could from great *Nevil* or from *Holcroft* flow.
All it from learn'd, lamented *Sidney* got,
Or was from *Knevet*, or from *Tufton* brought.
All Excellencies, that combine
In *Mountague*'s and *Noel*'s loyal Line,
The beauteous Boughs here all in one intwine.
So ſome fam'd River thro' vaſt Regions flows,
And, as it cuts its noted Way,
The leſſer Streams their joyful Tribute pay,
And, in its Waves, their Name and Nature loſe;
Till, grown with their Acceſſion great,

Meeting ſome Chryſtal Virgin Bride,
The Banks too ſmall its ſwelling Waves to hide,
In ſeveral Channels doth its Streams divide,
And, with majeſtick State,
Empties its numerous Waves into the boundleſs Sea.

32.

Up to the Top with various Pleaſures led,
While on the Seat we fix our greedy Eyes,
That raviſhing Pleaſure in our Boſoms bred,
With ſwelling Joy *Jove*'s pleaſed Daughter cries:
'Tis not alone for Shew and empty State,
As Stars, that fair and beauteous ſhine,
But yet have no Inhabitants within:
A mighty Lord dwells here, worthy of ſuch a Seat,
Worthy a Manſion next the Deities,
As high, renown'd, and fair as this;
As gallant Souls brave Bodies actuate,
This in its Neighbourhood to Heaven doth pride;
But he's to Heaven's Inhabitants ally'd:
Kings are to Gods a-kin;
And he from kingly Blood derives his ſparkling Line.
The glorious Patron he of Arts and Arms,
Of ſilent Learning, and War's loud Alarms;
Attended on by both in comely State.
Learning doth flouriſh at his Smile,
Who to ſcorn'd Arts new Value doth create;
Who, with Rewards, doth ſweeten artful Toil,
And, like a God, what's due to Virtue pay.
So the bright Sun, after a fruitful Shower,
Looks down with an enlivening Ray,
Smiles on a Clod, and there grows up a Flower.
The Gown and Sword both own his Power;
Arts from his generous Favour thrive, and Arms his Nod obey.

33.

A Soul he hath as bright and fair,
As e'er th' Almighty's Breath did make;
As deeply ſtamp'd doth the great Image bear:
As largely doth partake
Of Heaven's Perfections, that he
Seems but a Ray of the Divinity.
Goodneſs doth in his Eſſence dwell;
He's in himſelf, and in his Being brave.
Rewards on ſome their Virtues do beſtow,
And ſome their Loyalty from Intereſt have;
Like heavenly Juſtice he doth flow,
Not influenc'd from Accidents below;
Not made by changeable Occurents ſo;
Ever the ſame, fix'd, and unchangeable,
Leaves not a gallant Prince for popular Noiſe
(A Prince, that merits well of all are good;
Of all, where Worth and Valour's underſtood)
Not mov'd with Fears and groundleſs Jealouſies.
He doth what Honour ſays is juſt,
And wiſer Heaven with the Event doth *truſt.*
Above Rewards, Fear and Deſigns above,
He Virtue doth for Virtue love.

34.

A ſteady Loyalty doth poiſe his Soul,
Immoveable, as is th' eternal Pole,
That undiſturb'd doth ſee
The Heaven and Earth about it roll;
" Fix'd, as th' immutable Decree,
" Whom no united Force can ſhake,
" Nor the ſtrong Chain of rigid Fate can break,
From Changes and Mutations free;
Changes, that Signs of Imperfections be.
Weak Individuals here below do change,
Where Diſcord and Confuſion range.
But, like to Heav'n's eternal Frame,
The pureſt Eſſences are ſtill the ſame.
Nature, by ſettled Laws, her Courſe doth lead;
Nature and he
In the ſame even, ſteady Path do tread;
Alike in peaceful Order twine,
Motions alike, juſt, quiet, and Divine,
Should either change, all would Confuſion be.
The Fixed Stars thus the ſame Diſtance keep,
And watch the drowſy World, while Mortals ſleep;
Without whoſe Influence, the Learn'd believe,
No Individual could one Moment live;
For, from th' irregular Planets Motions, grow
All the Mutations, that infeſt the troubled World below.

35.

Thy Steps, great Prince, thy Brother *Angels* tread,
Loyal to their Eternal Head;
Heaven is a Monarchy.
They pride in Truth and Loyalty,
In Loyalty and Truth, the Tie
And Knot of Perpetuity,
That binds in one the diſtant Parts of wide Eternity;
They ever ſerve, and ever praiſe,
With Glory crown'd, and endleſs Days.
Faction once into Heaven did creep:
Its watchful Eyes, that never ſleep,
Did not the reſtleſs Monſter from its Manſions keep.
Rebellion once rag'd i' th' ethereal Plain,
When *Lucifer* led on the armed Train,
When liſted Angels did with Angels fight,
With Lightning cloth'd, and fierceſt Beams of Light.
But what dire Vengeance did purſue
The Rebel Troops, that, ſcatter'd, flew
Thro' all the Orbs, to ſeek for Aid in vain!
When flaming Thunderbolts were at *them thrown,*
And they from Heaven to Hell, *unpitied,* tumbled down.
Ever, juſt Heaven, ever beſtow
Such a Reward on curs'd Rebellion.
Rebellion! that even Hell will not admit,

But Rule doth in that gloomy Region ſit:
Rebellion! *from whoſe Poiſon Hell was bred,*
And well its curs'd Effects doth know;
That firſt in *Lucifer*'s proud *Breaſt did grow,*
And which he doth in *factious Boſoms ſhed.*
Obedience is the *Angels Fame,*
From thence they've their *exalted Name.*
'Tis Kingly Rule's the Crown of *Heaven's bright* Head,
And Order, that preſerves the World's great Frame;
For Anarchy and Chaos are the ſame.

36.

He ſaw the Monſter, giddy Faction, riſe,
Bred of Reports and whiſper'd Lyes,
And fed with clamour'd Fears and Jealouſies;
Teeming black Broods, which one another tear,
And down their forward elder Brethren bear,
And undermine what they but now did rear,
Sucking corrupted Blood from feſter'd Sore:
With meagre Look, deform'd and thin,
Hiding dark Plots and diſmal Thoughts within;
Foaming Religion out, and Property,
The Trumpet of ſucceſsful Villainy;
Odious and filthy to diſcerning Eyes,
Tho' gilded all with fair Pretences o'er:
An heterogeneous Maſs,
Of different Intereſts and Deſigns combin'd,
By an enchanted Bond together join'd.
One, Malice and Revenge ſpurs on;
Another, Conſcience and prepoſterous Zeal;
And this unlimited Ambition.
Some, Folly and Temerity do move;
Some, Rage; ſome, Fear; ſome, Curioſity;
And ſome, the Party's Love;
And ſome, Deſire of Change, they knew not why.
Some, Friends; ſome, Intereſt engag'd.
Some, Democratick Principles enrag'd;
All curs'd, yet differently vile,
As various Vices do one Hell compile.
Some a new-modell'd Government would have,
And ſome the Wounds o' th' old would heal;
Some their beloved Commonwealth do crave;
Some, popular Sway; ſome, Anarchy;
And ſome would not root up the Tree,
But would the Boughs cut down.
Some would their Prince lead bound in iron Bands;
Some would not kill, but would cut off his Hands;
Would have his Riches, Power, and Strength engroſs'd,
And jointure him i' th' People's Love:
All would his Royal Brother and his Friends remove,
And, as th' *Philiſtines* did to *Sampſon* do,
Deride him, when his Eyes were out, and when his Strength was loſt.

37.

Monſter, whom diſagreeing Parties glue,
In Looks, Deſigns, and Intereſts different ſtill,
Yet ſure to their firſt Principle of Ill,
Like jarring Devils, miſchievouſly true.
From various Seeds and Projects ſown,
A many-headed Monſter grown;
The very Shape of Anarchy,
Of deſpicable Compounds made,
The ſcorned Common Croud,
Of brutiſh Rage and heady Fury proud;
The Dregs and Lees of all that's bad.
Thunder, thus, doth from weak Ingredients grow,
From Vapours hatched in the World below;
So Earthquakes do from Compounds ſwell,
Unſeen and unaccountable,
That ſhake the World, and Cities overthrow.

38.

Fearleſs, the dreaded Monſter he oppos'd,
With rancour'd Malice ſwell'd;
With Thouſand Hands, and Thouſand Arms upheld;
That, thro' him, ſtruck at Majeſty,
As Witches murder *in Effigie:*
A loathſome Spawn, as e'er
Th' *Egyptian* Shore diſclos'd,
Or *Pharaoh*'s Table did with ſlimy Traces ſmear;
As black, as numerous, and bold as they,
And with more deadly Poiſon fill'd;
Sworn Enemies to all that's good and great,
And doubly Foes to him,
Whoſe Loyalty and Virtue was a Crime,
And Subject of their endleſs Hate,
When he ſtood Candidate:
Never Deſert did ſuffer more, nor Malice more did ſway.
Like brave *Coriolanus*; he,
Look'd down with Scorn on their low Villainy,
Too good for their Eſteem.
Traytors and Fools their Favourites grow;
Degenerate Slaves, that crouch and fawn,
With baſe Submiſſion proſtrate low
To ſweaty Boar and ſordid Clown.
Proud of their Hate, and glorying in their Rage,
He ſpurn'd the hell-bred Brood:
Spight of their Force dar'd to be good;
Alone did with their Crowds engage,
Champion for Heaven, his Prince, and for Religion.

39.

His beauteous Half adds Glory to the Seat,
Which more its Keeping ſuch a Gem doth prize,
Than the vain Praiſe of being great,
Or the next Neighbour to the Skies.
High in her Birth, but in her Soul more high;

Highly from her illuſtrious Lineage nam'd,
But more for Virtue and for Beauty fam'd.
Much ſhe of Goodneſs hath, and much of Wit,
Her Look at once doth raviſh and ſurpriſe,
Where Modeſty and Gallantry do ſit,
Greatneſs of Mind and pleaſing Candor meet,
Humble, yet great, obliging good, yet wiſe;
Wit doth dart from her Tongue, and Charms fly from her Eyes.
Did you but this Seraphick Viſion ſee,
You'd think a Star had loſt its Way,
A Star of all the Heaven moſt bright,
And on that elevated Mount did ſtray,
The neareſt Manſion to the Sphere of Light:
Or that an Angel of the higheſt Degree,
In all the heavenly Hierarchy,
This, for its Pleaſure-Houſe had choſe:
Condens'd a Body of the pureſt Air,
With *Æther* mixt, unſullied and fair,
And heav'nly Dew that doth bright Gems produce;
Materials as fine as thoſe,
That common Souls compoſe.
If drawn by Pencil, and by Hand Divine,
Upon the Soul of new-made Man did ſhine,
His glorious Maker's Portraiture;
Sure 'twas more exquiſitely drawn in her:
In her fair Soul; where Great and Good do meet,
And all that doth a virtuous Soul, or Deity, befit.
So extremely like th' Original,
That they would pardonable be,
That ſhould to their Devotion fall,
And offer at her Altar as a Deity.
Heaven's Treaſures ſure exhauſted are,
That hath ſo great a Jewel loſt;
Or elſe of wond'rous Plenty boaſt,
That could ſo bright a Beauty ſpare.

40.

Learning ſhe gets at one Survey;
The ſtubborn Sciences, which we
With ſharp Aſſaults, and tedious Sieges gain,
(A mighty *Cæſar*'s Victory)
At one Look yield to her unbounded Reign.
What cannot Wit and Beauty ſway?
And all their Treaſures to her Power ſubmit,
In ſplendid Triumph born.
She th' Conqueſt of one Rebel Art doth ſcorn;
An Army ſhe doth Captive hold,
Enrich'd with all their ranſack'd Worth:
Like Heaven doth, at one Sight, behold
All fruitful Time e'er did or ſhall bring forth.

41.

See but her Draughts, and you'd believe
She Painting's Art from the Almighty ſtole:
Others do Bodies paint, and ſhe the Soul.
Vigour and Life in each doth live.
Nature, whoſe Shop the Univerſe doth ſtore,
With all the Maſs and Crowd of Things;
From whoſe unbounded Treaſure ſprings
The beauteous Metal, fin'd from rugged Ore,
Where Models of all Creatures lie,
The different Moulds where they are caſt,
The Patterns they are forged by,
And Native Forms each Species hath embrac'd:
Not wond'rous Nature, that hath grac'd
The World with all its beauteous State,
E'er, from her Hand, more lively Figures ſent:
Not when, on ſome uncommon Fabrick bent,
She taſks her Art and Diligence to create
Some Monarch that the Univerſe muſt ſway.
Rugged, uneven, her Draughts appear,
Diſtorted and deform'd they be,
Few that a juſt Proportion bear,
Or glory in due Symmetry:
Hence her next Models ſhe may take,
Freſh Patterns for her's worn away;
And Beauties for ſucceeding Ages make;
Beauties that ſhall engage
To due Acknowledgment the future Age,
And in high Extaſies the Artiſt's ſtill diſplay.
Her Worth's the fatal *Rubicon*,
In her Perfection
The terminating Pillar lies,
To which e'er human Worth can riſe,
As far as Earth can journey to the Skies,
As near as Mortals can be to the Deities.

42.

Siſter to her, another glorious Star;
Siſter in all that's good,
In Virtue, Beauty, and in Blood,
With welcome Rays, doth beautify that Sphere:
Like thoſe that to the wond'ring World appear,
At ſome auſpicious Monarch's Birth,
Scattering thick Joys on the exulting Earth:
As fair, as good, and as benign as they;
The Admiration of all Eyes, and Flame of every Heart.
Th' aſtoniſh'd Crowds, with juſt Surpriſe,
Homage at humble Diſtance pay,
Admire but dare not love.
See a bright World, with conquering Beauty riſe,
In ſublime Regions move,
And dare not hope to reach her high Deſert:
But a-far off, as *Perſians* pray,
Proſtrate on Earth, adore the Sun above.
Unhappy State
Of thoſe are eminently good and great!
None can deſerve them here below,
They muſt to Heaven for a fit Lover go:
So, among all the winged Choir,
Th' unequall'd Phœnix doth no Object find,
That may her Heart to Paſſion fire,
To her own ſpicy Neſt, and her own Sweets confin'd.

43. Sprung

43.

Sprung from brave *Noel*'s loyal Line.
Noel that Rebels Rage defy'd,
Did in Allegiance pride,
In his great Maſter's Service liv'd, and in his Service dy'd:
She Heaven's beſt Gift was ſent to be,
A juſt Reward of Loyalty,
A Preſent worthy of a Deity.
Such Treaſures do in her combine,
Her Beauty, that doth charm all Eyes,
Is th' leaſt Accompliſhment that ſhe enjoys:
She that retrieves our Nation's ancient Fame,
And proves that th' *Engliſh* had from Angels Looks their Name.
In her all wide Perfections greet,
Virtue would look ſo raviſhing and ſweet,
Should ſhe an human Shape put on.
And, if the Soul doth as the Learned tell,
The Body form, where it muſt after dwell,
Never a fitter Pair did meet:
Never did Soul a fairer Body find,
And never Body had a fairer Mind:
So ſweet a Concord reigns, that they can give
Solution of the wond'rous Tie,
The unaccountable Connexion,
That doth the fiery Soul to th' earthly Body bind.
So ſweet the Bond, ſo ſoft the Chain,
So free from raging Paſſions reign,
The World will eaſily now believe,
The Soul is Harmony.

44.

Care of the Gods! Their higheſt Favourite;
In whom the ſcatter'd Rays of Light
And Beams diſperſed thro' the World unite.
The true *Pandora* ſhe,
On whom each Deity
A Gift conferr'd, and every Gift a Grace.
One deck'd the Mind, the other the Face.
One Wit, another Beauty did beſtow,
This Wiſdom, and that Gallantry,
This Virtue mix'd with candid Clemency,
And this diffuſive Goodneſs that, with Skill, doth flow.
What every God excels in, ſhe hath found:
All Excellencies join'd in one,
That were to paſt, or preſent Ages known,
Her glorious Eſſence do compound.
Thus, e're the infant World was grown,
The wide diſperſed Rays of Light
O'er the confuſed Maſs were toſt,
In gloomy Clouds, and pitchy Darkneſs loſt;
But, when the rallied Troops did meet,
From their united Forces roſe the Sun.

45.

This ſaid, thrice bowing low, ſhe led me in,
And open'd all the boundleſs Stores,
Brought thither from far diſtant Shores;
All that each different Realm can ſhow.
Extreams there meet, the Eaſt and Weſt combine,
Remoteſt Nations Neighbours grow,
And the far diſtant Poles do in one Point conjoin.
All that comes from the frozen North,
Or parched Southern Mines bring forth:
All that the Eaſtern Treaſure pays,
Where the Sun lends his early Rays;
Or fartheſt Coaſts where he's undreſt,
And lays his weary Head in *Thetis*'s Breaſt.
The Rarities rich *China* ſend,
Fair *Bantham*, *Goa*, and *Japan*;
The Treaſure Weſtern Caverns lend,
Dug by the miſerable *American*.
All the black *Negro* dives for in the Deep;
Gems, that from heavenly Dew condens'd are got:
All that luxurious *Aſia* doth keep,
All Rarities that come
From *Turkiſh* or from *Perſian* Loom,
From *Taurus*, and old *Bagdat*, upon Camels brought.
Not the looſe Poet, when he did deſcribe
The ſhining Palace where the Sun doth reſt;
Tho' with the richeſt Furniture 'twas dreſt,
That e'er was weaved in the fruitful Brain,
And rich Conceit of all th' inſpired Tribe;
Could ſuch a Pitch of tow'ring Fancy gain,
To reach the Wonders that this doth contain,
Tho' Art and Fiction he to's Help did call,
Tho' 'twas but an Idea, and Invention all.

46.

How oft my unprepared Eyes
Did at th' unlook'd-for Brightneſs cloſe?
As Men, that from dark Dungeons riſe,
Grow, with the Sun's unuſual Glory, blind.
How oft did my ſurpriſed Mind
Itſelf i'th' Labyrinth of Wonders loſe?
Sometimes I thought 'twas but a Dream,
And all the Treaſure that I ſaw
Was but the Scheme
That my diſtracted Mind did draw:
Bred from the Vapours of the Night,
That did a While my wand'ring Thoughts delight,
But far away, with Sleep, would take their Flight:
As feveriſh Eyes paint beauteous Objects near,
Which, when we grow ourſelves, do diſappear:
So a poor Peaſant, that did never know
More Treaſures than the fruitful Field doth ſhow;
That ne'er ſaw Pearls, or Gems, but thoſe
The Morning Dew doth upon Flowers repoſe:
Such would his Admiration be,
Should he be brought to ſee

Th' unutterable Store,
Unſeen, unthought, unheard of him before,
Of ſome rich Eaſtern Prince's Treaſury.
Dread and Surpriſe upon his Soul would fall,
And he would think't Deceit, and an Impoſtor all.

47.

Each Room hath all Perfections got,
That wideſt Wiſhes could create;
Order, Proportion, Riches, Greatneſs, State:
Nor is Conveniency juſtled out.
Conveniency, that's firſt by Prudence ſought,
To whom all elſe ſhould be ſubordinate.
Nor do reiterated Pleaſures cloy;
Variety, that gives a Taſte to Joy,
And reliſhing Sweetneſs doth diſpenſe,
Around doth in agreeing Diſcord fall.
Each Room hath a peculiar Excellence;
All beauteous, yet of different Beauties all.
One with Earth's pureſt Metals ſhines,
The precious Intrails of deep hidden Mines;
The fatal Cauſe of Blood and War:
The ghaſtly Dæmons, that in Battles ſtalk,
Such as i'th' Mines, from whence they're dug, do walk.
Treaſure! the deadly Heat that brings,
The fiery Thirſt, that nothing can aſſwage:
Hydropick Drout! the laſting Plague that haunts ambitious Kings.
Here it hath the right Uſe, and ſerves for Show:
For Show, that hath no real Worth, but what
It hath from our depraved Fancy got.
Such Plenty every where is ſpread,
You'd think the Hill was all one Mine,
Or that 'twas *Peru*'s Magazine,
Or that the *Indies* there were brought to Bed.
Not *Iſrael*'s peaceful mighty King,
That made his Land o'erflow with Store,
That flow'd with Honey, and with Milk before:
Tho' he did Gold from diſtant *Ophir* bring;
Tho' all that his unſkilled Times did know,
Egypt's beloved Daughter's Houſe could ſhow;
Could for its Treaſure this contemn,
Tho' he made Silver, like the Stones, in mountainous *Jeruſalem*.

48.

This next is rich in Art, as that in Store:
Art, that doth varniſh Nature o'er,
And whate'er doth unformed come
From Nature's fruitful Womb,
Doth in myſterious Clothing lap,
And licks the formleſs Embryo to Shape.
Here curious Art in every Place doth reign,
Runs, like the Soul, through every Part;
Surpriſing Wit doth here divert.
Here's ſubtle Fancy in a pleaſing Vein,
And there's the wild Invention of a fruitful Brain.
In thouſand Shapes it doth appear,
Now this, now that Diſguiſe it doth put on,
Now viſible it doth draw near,
Now, in Meanders loſt, 'tis gone;
Now in its matchleſs Beauty ſeen,
Then hides itſelf, yet ſets tranſparent Shades between.
All Arts, in colder Regions bred,
Where ſolid Judgment bears a Sway,
And down light frothy Wit doth weigh:
Or thoſe from hotter Climates led;
Where the near Sun, *with* kindly Heat,
Doth warm the Brain, and active Wit beget;
Ripens the Thoughts, th' Invention doth ſublime,
Concocted in their warmer Clime.
All that from learned *Greece* do come,
From antient or from modern *Rome*.
All ſoft Delights that do comply
With Eaſe, with State, and Luxury,
The lovely Strangers here are all with comely Order met:
That, ſhould a barbarous Inundation reign,
Worſe than the Plague *the* North did once diſplay,
And Learning under deſolate Ruins lay,
From hence the Circle of the Arts might be retriev'd again.

49.

That deck'd with *China*, and rich Porcelane;
China in former Ages made,
And low in Earth's deep Caverns laid,
Wher't doth Tranſparency and Hardneſs gain,
And Value above richeſt Metals hold:
As, under weighty Mountains, Gold,
Concocted by the Sun's enlivening Heat,
In ſecret Manſions doth its Vertue get.
China, by provident Parents, buried low,
Where it, unviſited, doth ſleeping lie,
Until ſome Ages are ſlid by,
Then dug, it Treaſure doth for Great-grand-children grow.

50.

Here's Tapeſtry ſo lively made,
In ſuch due Shades, and living Colours laid,
In the Beholder's Breaſt they move
The Paſſions that they repreſent.
Sometimes a bloody Battle ſtrikes the Eye,
And Death in thouſand Shapes doth rove,
You'd think the living Men, on Slaughter bent,
Did join, and fight, and fall, and die:
While Streams of Blood from Wounds do ſeem to fall,
And caſt a Dread and Horror upon all:
When Landſkips ſoon of ſoft Delight,
Such as the innocent Country yields,

Compoſe, and ſmooth the Soul from the Affright,
And then we're in the flow'ry Fields,
And taſte the undiſturbed Joy
Did o'er the World ith' golden Ages fly.
The lively Actions, there are ſhown,
Make deep Impreſſion on the Breaſt;
The ſame the ſympathiſing Soul doth own:
In the ſame Garb and Paſſions dreſt,
They wind up the Soul, or let it down.

51.

This doth the Quinteſſence of Painting ſhew:
Painting! that firſt in Paradiſe began,
When the Almighty Being drew
His Image on the Soul of Man.
Painting! the wond'rous Art,
That can Eternity impart,
Beyond the Power of Hiſtory:
Hiſtory, where they a Being have,
But one Degree removed from the Grave.
In ſome few Letters they are ſeen,
The poor *Mauſoleum* where they lie,
As fading as their Compound is, the Air.
Here, in Proportion, Features, and in Mien
They live; are ever young, and ever fair,
Intire; not ſublimated to a Name.
Phyſick can underprop Life's ſinking Frame,
And make the ſhaking Fabrick live;
Hiſtory can patch a broken Fame,
And undeſerv'd Applauſes give:
'Tis only Painting that can truly ſave
From the Abyſs, that ſwallows all, the Grave:
Where, undiſtinguiſh'd, all are thrown
I'th' gloomy Shades of dark Oblivion,
Whither paſt Times, and once brave Men, are gone.

52.

If it to learned Souls permitted be,
The Actions of ſucceeding Times to ſee;
What Joy would it impart?
How would it *Zeuxis* and *Apelles* pleaſe,
And the learn'd Soul of fam'd *Praxiteles*,
To ſee th' Improvement of their once lov'd Art:
By *Titian*, *Angelo*, and *Rubens*' Name,
And *Lilly*, laſt in Time, but firſt in Fame.
Zeuxis, with Grapes, the ſilly Birds deceiv'd,
That, fearleſs, to the Boy ill-drawn did fly:
Here Painting doth deceive Man's curious Eye,
And Draughts are real, living Men believ'd.
Such Life in every well-ſhap'd Limb doth play,
An awful Dread doth on Beholders fall,
And reverend Fear their doubtful Hearts doth ſway,
That know them noble, think them living all:
How would *Apelles* his fam'd *Venus* ſlight,
Should he be bleſs'd with ſuch a Sight,
Each one far more than was his *Venus* bright?
Unfit was he to pourtray Beauty's Queen,
That ne'er had *Engliſh* Beauties ſeen:

This Seat in nine ſucceſſive Earls doth pride,
To *England*'s greateſt Families ally'd;
Painting here gives them Life, and they
Do it with Immortality repay,
And give a Value to the Art, that nothing can decay.

53.

This is the happy Room, cry'd out my Guide,
Where the bright Angel doth repoſe,
That all the Glory on this State beſtows,
Shines through, and gilds the Fabrick that doth her incloſe.
Here ſhe doth hide
Her ſacred Beauty from the Shades of Night:
The greateſt Gift indulgent Heaven could give,
Or the admiring Earth receive.
All Things around do with her Beauty ſhine,
And glorious from Reflexion grow;
She, with a dazzling Splendor, makes all fine,
A Worth no earthly Treaſure can beſtow.
Heaven, by the Preſence of the Gods, grows fair,
From thence doth gain its fam'd Felicity;
And would a deſpis'd Manſion be,
Were not that glorious Conſort there.

54.

Hence to another Sphere we paſs'd,
With richeſt Treaſures grac'd:
The lovely Offſpring of that happy Lord,
The brighteſt Gems Heaven can afford.
The richeſt can be given
To his beſt-loved Favourite.
Trifles before did my ſick Eyes invite,
The Gifts of Earth; theſe of indulgent Heaven.
Heaven, by its Impreſs, claims them for his own;
Seal'd with Heaven's Signet, each doth bear,
In ſtarry Letters writ,
The Image the eternal Mind doth wear.
A blooming Glory in their Looks appears,
Sweetly becoming infant Years:
Like Flowers half ripe, that ſhow
The future Glories that in them will grow,
Then ſweeter, than when wider blown.
A lovely Dawning, not ſo bright,
But yet more pleaſing than the furious Light:
Such as *Aurora* doth diſplay,
When ſhe foreſhews a glorious Day,

55.

Epitomes of Worth! How ſoon
Will noble Blood in gallant Actions ſhine?
Break out in Rays Divine;
And, like an actuating Soul,
With Divine Luſtre through each Motion run?
A charming Wit, and Mien unfold,
Quite different from the common Mold,
And every infant Act with infus'd Grace controul?
Stupidity and Dulneſs once did rule

In the World's tender Years, e're ſhe
Was crept out of her Infancy,
Divided 'twixt the Innocent and Fool.
When Wit a Monſter was, and Knowledge thought
The dangerous Path that firſt Deſtruction brought,
Shunn'd for *Eve*'s fatal Curioſity.
When Ignorance, ſecur'd from Cares and Fears,
Long-bearded Boys, and Children of an hundred Years.
Here natural Wit and Gallantry appears,
Born with the Soul; the Seeds, ſown there,
A native inbred Worth do bear,
Not from long Cuſtom grown,
Or tedious Experience known;
Not borrow'd, not acquir'd, but their own.
Wonders do through each Look and Action run;
Yet, ſince ſuch Parents them their Being gave,
Nature a Prodigy had done,
Had they not been ſo fair and brave.
Heaven, to great Souls, peculiar Love doth own,
And hath a nearer Way to Knowledge ſhown;
Stamps ſomething great upon the Mind,
That is for gallant Deeds, and for high Place deſign'd.
For Princes muſt have Eagle's Eyes,
And boundleſs Judgment, every Act to poiſe:
To them indulgent Gods have ſhown
The Principles, Heaven's Monarchy doth own,
For they are Friends of Heaven, and they're the God's Allies.

56.

Low at thy Foot my humble Muſe doth flow,
Illuſtrious *Rooſe*, that doth inherit
Thy Mother's Beauty, and thy Father's Spirit:
In thy wide Soul embracing grow
Intrancing Sweetneſs, and commanding Merit.
Thou leap'ſt o'er Childhood; nor doſt know
The innocent Follies others do,
But manly Wit through all thy Acts doth flow.
In every Thing, but Years, a Man.
Angels, at once, up to Perfection grow,
Nor by Time's tedious Steps their Knowledge gain:
Thou, like them, fair, and, like them, wiſe,
At once to th' Top of Knowledge do'ſt attain,
Leaving th' ignoble Crowds, ſtruggling behind in Vain.
A Ray of Heaven in thy high Blood doth dwell,
And doth thy Soul to mighty Actions ſwell,
A ſecret God in every Particle.
Who fair Ideas in thy Soul doth ſow,
Doth virtuous Maxims i'th' Compoſure ſtrow,
That to an Harveſt of great Deeds will grow.
Virtue's intail'd on thee by long Deſcent,
From Heaven, with thy due Honours, ſent;
Th' Inheritance thy Anceſtors impart:
Virtue in thee is Nature, but in others Art.

57.

Methinks I ſee,
When thy bright Soul was ſent below,
How Heaven upon the beauteous Product ſmil'd:
With Divine Worth and Splendor fill'd;
And an unuſual Eſſence ſent,
A nearer Nature to his own.
And, as through ſhining Orbs it paſs'd
To lofty *Belvoir* down,
Each Conſtellation Bleſſings ſent,
Met and embrac'd the heavenly Gueſt.
Nature herſelf, with ſuch a Treaſure grac'd,
In ſmiling Joys her Thanks expreſs'd:
And *Belvoir*'s Genius his white Locks with flow'ry Chaplets dreſs'd.
Live, noble Youth, thy Parents Joy,
And thy proud Country's Fame;
And, with thy own, eclipſe thy Anceſtors great Name,
And if *Parnaſſus*' Sleeps inſpire
The Poet with prophetick Fire:
My enlighten'd Eyes do ſee
Thy Acts all ancient Fame outdo;
To untrod Paths aſpire,
And a new ſhining Path to Honour ſtrow.
Till to the Top of Excellence attain'd,
The utmoſt Point of human Glory gain'd;
Thy active Soul ſcorning the Tie
Of dull Mortality,
The World too ſmall a Compaſs for thy Heart,
From ſubject Earth thou'lt change thy Courſe,
Aſpire above, and take even Heaven by Force.

58.

Hence to the Chapel did our Footſteps ſlide;
From Heaven's great Favourites to his Court:
Deck'd with the Gems immaculate Vows do bear,
With ſacred Incenſe, and unſpotted Prayer;
Where Heaven's great King diſdains not to reſide.
The Service ſo Divine, and Votaries ſo fair,
To the eternal Seat ſo near,
Angels do think themſelves in Heaven when there.
Prayers thence with winged Speed do paſs,
No Need of *Lucian*'s Whiſpering-place.
A Chorus of bleſs'd Souls the Place did crown,
And Bleſſings, in full Streams, deſcended down:
Such beauteous Suppliants there reſort,
You'd think one God did to another pray.
Go on, bleſs'd Souls, Succeſs your Vows repay,
While Guardian Angels round you ſtay,
And ſteal the ſpoken Word away;
And Patterns from the Accents take,
To ſweeten the new Song that they muſt make:
And, Oh! how they rejoice
To be the Bearer of the Voice,
And eccho'd back again, with a melodious Noiſe.
While Heaven with ſtrict Attention hears,
And turns his Crowd of Eyes to Ears:

For what can he deny
To th' neareſt Patterns of his Deity ?

59.

Hence to a ſtately Room we came,
That did the faireſt Proſpect yield,
Of any Place beneath a Star ;
O'erlook'd the Glories of th' enamell'd Field,
And ſtately Towns, that diſtant Countries bear.
From hence the greedy Eye
O'er the extended Vale did glide,
The Vale, that in a Crowd of Towns did pride,
That interſpers'd, like Beds of Flowers in Gardens, lie.
At once can ſee the Frame
Of lofty *Lincoln*, and fair *Nottingham*.
The ſpacious Scene and Sight for Conqueſt vie :
The Proſpect is as boundleſs as the Eye.
From hence, my fair Inſtructreſs cry'd,
The bright Intelligence that moves this Sphere,
And all the beauteous Nymphs that here reſide,
Can, from the Windows, feed the rouſed Deer
Affrighted at the fatal Noiſe
Of his purſuing Enemies ;
Swift as the Wind
With ſubtle Courſe his eager Foes avoid :
Wander in curious Labyrinths about,
In ſecret Mazes ſtrive to loſe
That Fate, which ever ſticketh cloſe,
Nor will be left behind.
See all the Artifice and Wiles,
The open Speed and hidden Guiles,
With which his Art a While beguiles
Death, that his Footſteps doth purſue,
And in his hidden Mazes finds him out.
Where-e'er he goes, he ſtill is in their View,
And equally, in Vain, his Speed doth try,
From certain Death, or from their Sight to fly :
As guilty Men, by Terrors driven,
Wander about, but cannot go out of the Sight of Heaven.

60.

Scarce had ſhe ſpoke,
When, from a neighbouring Shade,
A joyful Cry of buſy Hounds there broke ;
That rous'd a Stag, in a dark Thicket laid,
With ſecure Shades and Silence compaſs'd round,
By's treacherous Footſteps found.
Unhappy Creature ! that's betray'd by thoſe,
In whom he did his only Truſt repoſe.
His Foes approaching, from his Reſt he ſtarts,
Shakes, and lifts up his lofty Head ;
His Head with dreadful Weapons garniſhed,
And awful Look, that ſtrikes a Dread,
The outward Show of gallant Hearts.
What Contradictions Nature doth intwine ?
What ill-mix'd Contrarieties combine ?
Courage without, and trembling Fear within,
Attentive to the Cry,
Sometimes of War he thinks, ſometimes of Flight,
Of Swiftneſs now, and now of Fight ;
And now he, undiſcover'd, hopes to lie
In the dark Manſions of the ſilent Grove.
A thouſand Schemes his Terror doth compoſe :
Now this Deſign, and now a new doth riſe,
Dreſs'd up in pleaſing Probabilities,
Till a more moving one the Room ſupplies.
At laſt, the chilling Noiſe approaching nigh,
And, Fear increaſing, all are flown,
The Fabricks all are tumbled down,
And Terror every Thing doth diſapprove.
Fear, ghaſtly Fear, the long Diſpute doth end,
And all his Force and Courage he to ſpeedy Flight doth bend.

61.

The eager Dogs their unſeen Foe purſue,
Led by ſtrange Magick Force ;
Where th' curious Sight is loſt, and where
No Tracks or Footſteps do appear,
No Marks left on the yielding Ground, or in the parted Air ;
By a magnetick Influence, they find
A Stream of ſubtil Atoms left behind,
Inviſible, as are th' Ingredients that compoſe the Wind.
And running up th' aereal Clue,
Conducted by that fine-wrought Thread,
Thro' all the Mazes of his wand'ring Courſe,
Thro' all the winding Labyrinths they're led.
The Charms of mighty Love are known,
And powerful Force of Sympathy ;
But here ev'n Enemies are drawn,
By unaccountable Antipathy.

62.

Next following theſe, a gallant Troop is ſeen
Of Men all cloth'd in Green,
The new-made Livery of the verdant Field :
Mounted on Steeds that do devour the Way,
With Courſe as ſwift as quickeſt Thoughts do yield,
When they to fartheſt Regions ſtray.
The ſplendid Train an Hero led,
With ſuch a Port, and ſuch a Mien,
You'd think Divinity was couch'd within.
Unuſual Excellence his Form o'erſpread,
Thro' every well-ſhap'd Member ran,
And promis'd ſomething more than Man.
His fiery Horſe, proud of the glorious Weight,
With winged Speed, and comely State,
Thro' all the ſpacious Plain did fly,
With all the Symptoms of exulting Joy.
Struck with deep Reverence, cry'd I,
What Divine Form doth there that Conſort grace,
That looks like one of the celeſtial Race ?
Such ſure the ancient Hero was ;
Such were the Demigods of old,
By eloquent *Greece*, in laſting Stories told ;

Er'e they for Worth, like his,
Left the unworthy World; and commenc'd Deities.
'Tis, cry'd my Guide, the far-fam'd Lord
That doth this ſtately Fabrick own:
By his Preſence equal to a God, but greater in's
Renown:
Who, ſtooping from his Height, doth deign
Sometimes to taſte the Pleaſures of the Plain;
As Gods from Heaven come down,
And change for Joys that lower Seats afford.

63.

Mean While, the lofty Stag, in Vain,
His wand'ring Courſe doth ſteer thro' all the
Plain.
In Vain he ſtrives to break Fate's rigid Laws,
In Vain with ſubtle Courſe t' avoid
Thoſe Foes, which after him he draws,
By Chains inviſible unto him ty'd.
Reſtleſs, thro' untrod Paths he's borne,
Death ever ſounding in his Ear.
As guilty Men, by ill Conſcience torn,
Are driven on, headlong, by unruly Fear,
Sometimes, by ſpeedy Flight, his Foes outrun,
Beneath a Thicket's Shade he liſt'ning ſtays,
And hopes his Foes and all ill Fate are gone.
But they, thro' all the winding Ways,
By Characters inexplicable read,
The ſecret Courſe his wary Feet did tread;
And drawing nearer do renew Affright,
And ſcatter his abortive Hopes in Flight.
Sometimes he flies for Shelter to the Groves,
The conſcious Manſions of his ſecret Loves:
But every Shade ecchoes the chilling Noiſe,
Augments his Fear, and doubles his Surpriſe.
Now his old Friends, the Herd of Deer, he tries,
Hopes in their Number he unknown may 'ſcape;
But they, his former Fame forgot and gone,
Their Adoration once, and Fear,
With threat'ning Horns forbid him to draw,
near.
Now to the civiliſed Plain
His wandering Courſe doth rove;
But all alike do treacherous prove:
Death in each different Place is bred,
Swift as his Courſe it flies, and hovers o'er his Head.
At laſt decreaſing Strength to Rage doth grow,
Courage from his Deſpair doth riſe,
And ſwell'd with Fury, he doth wiſh for now
Th' Approach of his inſulting Enemies:
Standing at Bay, his much-ſought Life he guards,
And's formoſt eager Foes with Death rewards:
Till tir'd with ſlaughter'd Crouds, ſunk with
their Weight,
Yielding to inexorable Fate,
In comely State he dies,
Incircled round with Heaps of Enemies.

64.

Thro' numerous ſtately Rooms we paſt,
And each ſo beauteous did appear,
Such deep Amazement on the Soul did caſt,
'Twas thought none other could like that be fair:
Till the next did with equal Worth ſurpriſe,
As full of Wonders and entrancing Rarities.
Each did the Soul with Admiration fill,
And e're the heighten'd Spirits had Leave to fall,
New Wonders from new Objects did diſtil,
All beauteous, and inflaming Beauties all.
So a poor Anchoret, that his Days hath ſpent
In the Recluſes of a lonely Cave,
That never knew what Pride or Riches meant;
But th' Earth his Food, his Drink a Fountain
gave:
As he, by Angels borne above,
Thro' all the glorious Orbs doth move,
With the aſtoniſhing Glory rent,
His wide diſtended Soul doth fly,
And break in Admiration, Love, and Joy.
Of ſuch Sights ſure 'tis holy Men rehearſe,
When their Prophetick Spirits borne above,
Of Saints and Angels; how they did converſe
With Seraphims and all the Choir of Love.
Such did th' inſpir'd Apoſtle find,
When he among the Orbs was caught:
Viſions above a Mortal's Thought,
Too bright for human Eyes, and high for earthly
Mind.

65.

Diſtracted with the Sight,
With numberleſs Variety
That made a confus'd Light;
As Crouds of Stars do make the Galaxy.
What Words cry'd I, bleſs'd Muſe, are fit?
(If any can deſcribe an Infinite)
What new-found Eloquence is requiſite?
Since Art and Learning is too poor,
Nor can in all its boundleſs Store;
Its curious Wardrobe, whence are brought,
In wond'rous Hieroglyphick Letters wrought,
The Garbs, that do all Objects fit, and every wan-
d'ring Thought.
Not Art with all's improved Skill can ſpin
Expreſſions fit to cloath theſe Wonders in.
Admire and ſilent be,
The prudent Muſe reply'd,
Attempt no Impoſſibility.
Not all my Siſters Skill the Taſk could do,
In that untrodden Path could go,
Not tho' *Apollo*'s Self ſhould be the Guide.

66.

This ſaid, up to the Roof my Guide me led,
And with bold Feet its lofty Top we tread:

While Divine Ardor in our Souls was bred,
And Breathings of Celeſtial Influence fir'd;
The Soul, with Neighbourhood of Heaven inſpir'd,
Reſtleſs it ſcarcely in our Breaſts would ſtay,
But fain would journey that ſhort Way,
To the bleſs'd Coaſts of everlaſting Day.
Divine Ideas from th' pure *Æther* riſe
So pure, untainted, and ſo high,
An Angel would not bluſh to own them his.
Another Soul ſeem'd in our Breaſt to move,
A Ray from the bright Sun of Light and Love.
If Souls, as learned Men ſuppoſe,
When from the Bodies Fetters looſe:
Tainted with Matter that they hugg'd below;
Unfit as yet to Heaven to fly,
In higher Regions of the Air do ſtay,
And purge their Droſs and earthy Parts away;
Thence to ſome Neighbour Star aſcend;
And ſtill, as pure they do grow,
To higher Orbs of Light their Courſe do bend;
Till they, like Fire, unbound, active, and free,
With winged Speed do riſe
Sublim'd and fitly purify'd to reach the Skies.
The bleſſed *Souls, that* here their Dwelling make,
Need not ſuch tedious Gradations take;
Unſullied with the Miſts that fall below,
From their pure Air they may untainted go:
With higheſt Rank of Angels ſtay,
And be no more ally'd to Earth than they.

67.

From hence, with ſecret Pride,
Our Eyes o'er all the humble Vale did glide.
Now on the Paradiſe below
Our pleaſed Eyes do dwell:
The hanging Gardens, that do ſhow
Thoſe Joys, ſoft *Greece* and *Rome*'s Delights excell,
And all luxurious *Babylon* did know.
Sometimes on the rude Mountains Tops we rove,
The Scene of Innocence and untaught Love,
Whoſe Brows with wild Inhabitants abound,
Under whoſe Shades, their Heads with Ivy bound,
Pan and his hairy *Sylvans* dance the Round.
Straight when we turn our Eye,
The cultivated Vale new Sweets diſplays,
Its Head with Corn and flow'ry Meads arrays,
Th' Effects of Toil and artful Induſtry.
The one doth Nature's naked Form impart,
The other doth expreſs't improv'd by Art.
Hence the bold Eye doth diſtant Countries trace;
With daring unconfined Race,
Contracts the Way, and viſits every Place:
Until at laſt
(Objects ſtill leſſening as they're farther plac'd)
Towns ſpringing up in Crowds,
Appearing from afar,
On ſome far diſtant Coaſt,
Its bold and daring Flight
Is with a pleaſing Error loſt,
In Miſts, and bluiſh Clouds,
On Hills that ſuch appear,
Where the deſcending Heaven on Earth doth ſeem to light.

68.

Phœbus, God of heavenly Fire,
Father of the tuneful Lyre;
God of Light, and God of Wit,
Head of the inſpir'd Quire:
Say if in all thy glorious Way,
(And round the World thou circleſt every Day)
In all the Journies thou doſt go,
A Seat like this thy unwearied Courſe doth know.
Where, all that conſtituteth fair and great,
Order, Conveniency, and State:
All the World's ſcatter'd Excellencies greet,
And all the different Lines as in a Center meet.
And, when thou doſt confeſs the World too poor,
I dare thy Wit's unbounded Store,
The Room of Bankrupt Nature to ſupply,
And fancied Worth to make, as rich and high,
As thy eternal Mind can fly
That gilds with everlaſting Rays the higheſt Sky.
Then, God of Wit, how wilt thou find
Thy proudeſt Flights left far behind,
And of *Belvoir* unworthy be?
All Wonders paſt, or preſent Times can tell,
Bleſs'd Place in thee do lie:
And thou art left of all the World the only Miracle.

The Accuſation and Impeachment of *William Laud*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, by the Houſe of Commons, in Maintenance of the Accuſations, whereby he ſtandeth charged with High-Treaſon. Printed *Anno Dom.* 1641. *Quarto*, containing eight Pages.

I.

IMprimis, That he, the ſaid Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, hath endeavoured to ſubvert the fundamental Laws of this Kingdom, by giving his Majeſty Advice, both private and publick, at the Council-Table, and High-Commiſſion, and other Places, and ſo would have them governed by the Civil Law; and ſaid, he would make the proudeſt Subject in the Kingdom give Way to him; and, being told it was againſt Law, he replied he would make it Law, and that the King might, at his Pleaſure, take away without Law, and make it warrantable by God's Law.

II.

Item, His Countenancing of Books for the Maintenance of his unlimited Power, wherein the Power of the Parliament is denied, and the Biſhop's Power ſet up.

III.

Item, That he traiterouſly went about to interrupt the Judges, by his Threatenings, and other Means, to conſtrain them to give falſe Judgment in the Caſe of Ship-Money; as will appear by Writings under his own Hand, and by the Teſtimonies of divers Perſons of good Worth and Quality.

IV.

Item, That he hath taken Bribes, and ſold Juſtice in the High Commiſſion Court, as Archbiſhop, and hath not only corrupted the Judges there, but hath alſo ſold judicial Places to be corrupted.

V.

Item, That he hath traiterouſly endeavoured the Incroachment of Juriſdiction, Inſtitution of Canons, and they are not only againſt Law, but prejudicial, and againſt the Liberties of the Subjects; that he hath enlarged his Juriſdictions by making theſe Canons; and that he hath exerciſed his Authority very cruelly, both as Counſellor, as a Commiſſioner, and as a Judge; and this Authority is derived from his own Order, and not from the King.

VI.

Item, That he hath traiterouſly aſſumed to himſelf a capital Power over his Majeſty's Subjects, denying his Power of Prelacy from the King.

VII.

Item, That, by falſe erroneous Doctrines, and other ſiniſter Ways and Means, he went about to ſubvert Religion, eſtabliſhed in this Kingdom, and to ſet up Popery and Superſtition in the Church.

VIII.

Item, That, by divers undue Means and Practices, he hath gotten into his Hands the Power and Nominating of Miniſters to ſpiritual Promotions, and hath preſented none but ſlanderous Men thereunto; and that he hath preſented corrupt Chaplains to his Majeſty.

IX.

Item, That his own Miniſters, as *Heywood*, *Layfield*, and others, are notoriouſly diſaffected to Religion; and he hath given Power of licenſing of Books to them.

X.

Item, That he hath traiterouſly endeavoured to reconcile us to the Church of *Rome*; and to that End hath employed a Jeſuit, a Papiſt, and hath wrought with the Pope's Agents in ſeveral Points.

XI.

Item, That, to ſuppreſs Preaching, he hath ſuſpended divers good and honeſt Miniſters, and hath uſed unlawful Means, by Letters, and otherwiſe, to ſet all Biſhops to ſuppreſs them.

XII.

Item, That he hath traiterouſly endeavoured to ſuppreſs the *French* Religion here with us, being the ſame Religion we are of, and alſo the *Dutch* Church, and to ſet Diviſion between them and us.

XIII.

Item, That he hath traiterouſly endeavoured to ſet a Diviſion between the King and his Subjects, and hath gone about to bring in Innovations into the Church, as by the Remonſtrances may appear, and hath induced the King to this War with the *Scots*; and many Men, upon their Death-beds, to give Money towards the Maintenance of this War, and hath cauſed the Clergy to give freely towards the ſame, and hath brought in many Superſtitions and Innovations into the Church of *Scotland*, and that he procured the King to break the Pacification, and thereby to bring in a bloody War between the two Kingdoms.

XIV.

Item, That, to ſave and preſerve himſelf from being queſtioned and ſentenced from theſe and other his traiterous Deſigns, from the firſt Year of his now Majeſty's Reign, until now, he hath laboured to ſubvert the Rights of Parliamentary Proceedings, and to incenſe his Majeſty againſt Parliaments, and ſo that, at *Oxford*, he gave forth many ſuch Words againſt it, and ſo hath continued ever ſince.

By all which Words, Counſels, and Actions, he hath traiterouſly laboured to alienate the Hearts of the King's liege People from his Majeſty, and hath ſet a Diviſion between them, and to ruin and deſtroy his Majeſty's Kingdoms; for which they impeach him of High-Treaſon, againſt our Sovereign Lord the King, his Crown and Dignity.

And the ſaid Commons by Proteſtation, ſaving to themſelves the Liberty of exhibiting, at any Time hereafter, any other Accuſation or Impeachment againſt the ſaid *William Laud* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and alſo to the Replying to the Anſwers, that he the ſaid Archbiſhop ſhall make unto the ſaid Articles, or to any of them; and of offering Proof alſo of the Premiſſes, or any Part of them, or any other Impeachment or Accuſation that ſhall be exhibited by them, as the Caſe ſhall, according to the Courſe of Parliament require: Do pray, that he the ſaid *William Laud*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, be put ſpeedily to anſwer for all, and every the Premiſſes, that ſuch Proceedings, Examinations, Tryals, and Judgments may be, upon every of them, had and uſed, as is agreeable to Law and Juſtice.

Leiceſter's Commonwealth fully epitomiſed, conceived, ſpoken, and publiſhed with moſt earneſt Proteſtation of all dutiful good Will, and Affection towards this Realm, for whoſe Good only it is made common to many. Contracted in a moſt brief, exact, and compendious Way, with the full Senſe and whole Meaning of the former Book, every Fragment of Senſe being interpoſed. With a pleaſant Deſcription of the firſt Original of the Controverſies betwixt the two Houſes of *York* and *Lancaſter*. Printed in the Year 1641. *Quarto*, containing ſixteen Pages.

A Scholar, Lawyer, and Gentleman being convened together in *Chriſtmas* Time, retired themſelves after Dinner, into a large Gallery, for their Recreation: The Lawyer having in his Hand a little Book, then newly put forth, containing, 'A Defence of the publick Juſtice done, of late, in *England*, upon divers Prieſts, and other Papiſts, for Treaſon.' Which Book the Lawyer having read before, the Gentleman aſked his Judgment thereon.

Lawyer. It is not evil penned, in my Opinion, to ſhew the Guiltineſs of ſome Perſons therein named in particular; yet not ſo far forth, I believe, and in ſo deep a Degree of Treaſon, as, in this Book, generally is inforced without Indifferency.

Gent. For my Part, I proteſt that I bear the honeſt Papiſt (if there be any) no Malice for his deceived Conſcience; but ſince you grant the Papiſt, both in general, Abroad and at Home, and, in particular, ſuch as are condemned, executed, and named in this Book, to be guilty, How can you inſinuate, as you do, that there is more inforced upon them, by this Book, than there is juſt Cauſe ſo to do?

Lawyer. Good Sir, I ſtand not here to examine the Doings of Superiors, or to defend the Guilty, but wiſh heartily rather their Puniſhment, that deſerve the ſame. But not only thoſe, whom you call buſy Papiſts, in *England*, but alſo thoſe, whom we call hot Puritans, among you, may be as well called Traytors, in my Opinion; for that every one of theſe, indeed, doth labour indirectly, if not more, againſt the State, ſeeing each one endeavoureth to increaſe his Party, or Faction, that deſireth a Governor of his own Religion. And, in this Caſe, are the Proteſtants in *France* and *Flanders*, under Catholick Princes; the *Calviniſts* under the Duke of *Saxony*, the *Lutherans* under *Caſimere*, the *Grecians*, and other Chriſtians, under the Emperor of *Conſtantinople*, under the Sophy and Cham of *Tartary*, and under other Princes, that are not with them in Religion. All which Subjects do wiſh, no Doubt, in their Hearts, that they had a Prince and State of their own Religion, inſtead of that which now governeth them; and, conſequently, in this Senſe they may be called Traytors: And ſo, to apply this to my Purpoſe, I think Sir, in good Sooth, that, in the firſt Kind of Treaſon, as well the zealous Papiſt, as alſo the Puritan in *England*, may well be called, and proved Traytors.

Gent. I grant your Diſtinction of Treaſons to be true; but your Application thereof to the Papiſts and Puritans, as you call them, be rather divers Degrees, than divers Kinds; and the one is but a Step to the other, not differing in Nature, but in Time, Ability, or Opportunity. For if the *Grecians*, under the *Turk*, and other Chriſtians under other Princes of a different Religion; as alſo the Papiſts and Puritans in *England*, have ſuch Alienation of Mind from the preſent Regiment, and do covet ſo much a Governor and State of their own Religion; then, no Doubt, but they are alſo reſolved to employ their Forces, for accompliſhing and bringing to paſs their Deſires, if they had Opportunity; and ſo, being now in the firſt Degree, or Kind of Treaſon, do want but Occaſion or Ability to break into the Second.

Lawyer. True, Sir, if there be no other Cauſe or Circumſtance that may withhold them.

Gent. And what Cauſe or Circumſtance may ſtay them, when they ſhall have Ability, or Opportunity, to do a Thing which they ſo much deſire?

Lawyer. Divers Cauſes, but eſpecially the Fear of Servitude under foreign Nations, may reſtrain them ſuch Attempts; as, in *Germany*, both Catholicks and Proteſtants joined together againſt Strangers, that offered Danger to their Liberties. So that, by this Example, you ſee, that Fear of external Subjection may ſtay Men in all States, and, conſequently, both Papiſts and Puritans in the State of *England*, from paſſing to the ſecond Degree of Treaſon, although they were never ſo deep in the Firſt, and had both Ability, Time, Will, and Opportunity for the other.

Schol. It ſeems to be moſt clear, and now I underſtand what the Lawyer meant before, when he affirmed, that, although the moſt Part of Papiſts, in general, might be ſaid to deal againſt *England*, in Regard of their Religion, and ſo incur ſome Kind of Treaſon, yet not ſo far forth as in this Book is inforced; though, for my Part, I do not ſee that the Book inforceth all Papiſts in general to be properly Traytors, but ſuch as only in particular are therein named, or that are by Law attainted or condemned, or executed: And what will you ſay to thoſe in particular?

Lawyer. That ſome, here named in this Book, are openly known to have been in the ſecond Degree of Treaſon, as *Weſtmoreland*, *Norton*, *Sanders*, &c. but divers others (namely the Prieſts and Seminaries) I conceive, that to the Wiſe of our State, who had the Doing of this Buſineſs, the firſt Degree of Treaſon was ſufficient to diſpatch them, eſpecially in ſuch ſuſpicious Times as theſe are, to the End that, being hanged for the Firſt, they ſhould never be in Danger to fall into the Second, nor yet to draw other Men to the ſame, which, perhaps, was moſt of all miſdoubted.

Gent. It appertaineth not to us to judge what the State pleaſeth to do, for it muſt as well prevent Inconveniences, as remedy the ſame, when they are happened. But, my good Friends, I muſt tell you plain, that I could wiſh, with all my Heart, that either theſe Differences were not amongſt us at all, or elſe that they were ſo temperately, on all Parts, purſued; as the common State of our Country, the bleſſed Reign of her Majeſty, and the Common Cauſe of true Religion, were not endangered thereby.

Lawyer. But many participate the black *Moors* Humour that dwell in *Guiney*, whoſe Exerciſe, at Home, is, as ſome write, the one to hunt, catch, and ſell the other, and always the Stronger to make Money of the Weaker. But now, if in *England*, we ſhould live in Peace and Unity, as they do in *Germany*, and one ſhould not prey upon the other; then ſhould the great Falcons for the Field, I mean the Favourites of the Time, fail of their great Prey.

Gent. Truly, Sir, I think you rove nearer the Mark than you think; for, if I be not deceived, the very Ground of theſe Broils are but a very Prey, in the greedy Imaginations of him who tyranniſeth the State; and, being himſelf of no Religion, feedeth not yet upon our Differences in Religion, to the Fatting of himſelf, and Ruin of the Realm; for whereas, by the common Diſtinction, there are three notable Differences of Religion in this Land; the two Extreams whereof are the Papiſt and Puritan, and the religious Proteſtant obtaining the Mean: This Fellow, being of neither, maketh his Gain of all, and as he ſeeketh a Kingdom by the one Extream, and Spoil by the other; and ſo he uſeth the Authority of the Third, to compaſs the firſt Two, and to countermine each one, to the Overthrow of all there.

Schol. In good Sooth, I ſee now Sir where you are; you are fallen into the common Place of all our ordinary Talk and Conference in the Univerſity, for I know you mean my Lord of *Leiceſter*, who is the Subject of all pleaſant Diſcourſe, at this Day, throughout this Realm.

Gent. Not ſo pleaſant, as pitiful, if all Matters and Circumſtances were well conſidered, except any Man take Pleaſure to jeſt at our own Miſeries; which are like to be the greater by his Iniquity (if God avert it not) than by all the Wickedneſs of *England* beſides; he being the Man, by all Probability, that is like to be the Bane, and fatal Deſtiny of our State, with the Everſion of true Religion, whereof, by indirect Means, he is the greateſt Enemy that the Land doth nouriſh; A Man of ſo baſe a Spirit as is known to be, of ſo extreme Ambition, Pride, Falſehood, and Treachery; ſo born, ſo bred up, ſo nurſed in Treaſon from his Infancy, deſcended of a Tribe of Traytors, and fleſhed in Conſpiracy againſt the Royal Blood of King *Henry*'s Children in his tender Years, and exerciſed in Drifts ever ſince againſt the ſame, by the Blood and Ruin of divers others; and finally, a Man ſo well known to bear ſecret Malice againſt her Majeſty, for Cauſes irreconcileable. Wherefore, I do aſſure myſelf, it would be moſt pleaſant to the Realm, and profitable to her Majeſty, to wit, that this Man's Actions might be called publickly to Tryal, and Liberty given to good Subjects, to ſay what they know againſt the ſame, as it was permitted in the firſt Year of King *Henry the Eighth* againſt his Grandfather, and in the firſt of Queen *Mary* againſt his Father; and then I would not doubt, but, if theſe Two, his Anceſtors, were found worthy to loſe their Heads for Treaſon, this Man would not be found unworthy to make the Third in Kindred, whoſe Treacheries do far ſurpaſs them both.

Lawyer. My Maſters, have you not heard of the Proviſo made in the laſt Parliament for Puniſhment of all thoſe, who ſpeak ſo broad of ſuch Men as my Lord of *Leiceſter* is?

Gent. Yes, I have heard, that my Lord of *Leiceſter*, being aſhamed of his Actions, deſired a Reſtraint, that he might lie the more ſecurely in Harbour from the Tempeſt of Men's Tongues, which tattled buſily at that Time, of divers of his Lordſhip's Deeds, which he would not have divulged; as of his Preparation to Rebellion upon Monſieur's Commiſſion into the Land, of his Diſgrace and Checks received at Court, of the freſh Death of the noble Earl of *Eſſex*, and of his haſty Snatching up of his Widow, whom he ſent up and down the Country by privy Ways, thereby to avoid the Sight and Knowledge of the Queen's Majeſty; and although he had not only ſatisfied his own Luſt on her, but alſo married and remarried her Contentation of her Friends; yet denied he the ſame by ſolemn Oaths to her Majeſty, and received the Communion thereupon, ſo good a Conſcience he hath. No Marvel, therefore, if he, not deſiring to have theſe and other Actions known publickly, was ſo diligent a Procurer of that Law for Silence.

Schol. It is very probable, that his Lordſhip was in great Diſtreſs about that Time, when Monſieur's Matters were in Hand, whereof he deſired leſs Speech among the People. But, when my Lord of *Warwick* ſaid openly, at his Table in *Greenwich*, That the Marriage was not to be ſuffered, he cauſed an Inſurrection againſt the Queen's own Majeſty; and when her Royal Majeſty ſhould have married to the Brother and Heir apparent of *France*, being

ing judged by the beſt, wiſeſt, and faithfulleſt Proteſtants of the Realm, to be both convenient, profitable, and honourable; this Tyrant, for his own private Lucre, endeavoured to alienate for ever, and make this great Prince, our mortal Enemy, who ſought the Love of her Majeſty with ſo much Honour and Confidence, as never Prince did.

Gent. For the Preſent I muſt advertiſe you in this Caſe, that you may not take Hold ſo exactly of all my Lord's Doings, for they are too many to be recited, eſpecially in Women's Affairs, in touching their Marriages, and their Husbands; for, *Firſt*, his Lordſhip hath a ſpecial Fortune, that, when he deſireth any Woman's Favour, then what Perſon ſoever ſtandeth in his Way, hath the Luck to die quickly, for the Finiſhing of his Deſires. As for Example, when his Lordſhip was in full Hope to marry her Majeſty, and his own Wife ſtood in his Way, as he ſuppoſed, ſhe was ſlain to make Way for him.

Long after this he fell in Love with the Lady *Sheffield*, and then had he alſo the ſame Fortune to have her Husband to die quickly by an artificial Catarrh, that ſtopped his Breath. The like good Chance had he in the Death of my Lord of *Eſſex*, and that at a Time moſt fortunate for his Purpoſe.

He poiſoned alſo one Mrs. *Alice Draykot*, a goodly Gentlewoman, whom he affected much himſelf; and, hearing that ſhe was dead, lamented her Caſe greatly, and ſaid, in the Preſence of his Servants, Ah, poor *Alice*, the Cup was not prepared for thee, although it was thy hard Deſtiny to taſte of it.

Alſo Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton*, whom my Lord of *Leiceſter* invited to a Supper, at his Houſe in *London*, was there poiſoned with a Sallad, by an incurable Vomit.

The late Lady *Lenox* alſo, who came of the Royal Blood by *Scotland*, who never could affect her, took the Pains to viſit her with extraordinary Kindneſs; but, after ſome private Diſcourſe with her, at his Departure, ſhe fell into an extraordinary Flux, which many did avouch to come by his Means.

But this is not all, touching his Marriage and Contracts with Women, changing Wives and Minions, by killing the one, denying the other, uſing the Third for a Time, and fawning on the Fourth. Wherefore he had Terms and Pretences of Contracts, Precontract, Poſt-contracts, Protracts, and Retracts; as for Example, after he had killed his Wife, and ſo broken that Contract, then forſooth would he needs make himſelf Husband to the Queen's Majeſty, and ſo defeat all other Princes by Vertue of his Precontract. And, after this, his Luſt compelling him to another Place, he would needs make a poſt Contract with the Lady *Sheffield*; but yet, after his Concupiſcence, changing again, he reſolved to make a Retract of this Protract, and to make a certain new Protract, which is a Continuation for uſing her for a Time, with the Widow of *Eſſex*.

Schol. I have read much in my Time of the Carnality and Licenciouſneſs of many outrageous Perſons in this Kind; but I never read, nor heard the like of him in my Life, whoſe Concupiſcence and Violence run jointly together; neither holdeth he any Rule in his Luſt, beſides only the Motion and Suggeſtion of his own Senſuality: For there are not, by Report, two noble Gentlemen about her Majeſty (I ſpeak upon ſome Account of them that know much) whom he hath not ſollicited by potent Ways. And, ſeeking Paſture among the Waiting-Gentlewomen of her Majeſty's Chamber, he hath offered three-hundred Pounds for a Night; and, if that would not make up the Sum, he would otherwiſe; having reported himſelf, ſo little Shame he hath, that he offered to another of higher Place a hundred Pound Lands a Year, with many more Jewels to do the Act.

Gent. Nay he is ſo libidinous, that he hath given to procure Love in others, by Conjuring Sorcery, and other ſuch Means. But I am aſhamed to make any more Mention of his Filthineſs.

Schol. To draw you from the further Stirring of this unſavoury Puddle, and foul Dunghill, I will recount a pretty Story concerning his Daughter born of the Lady *Sheffield* in *Dudley-Caſtle*: I was acquainted three Months paſt, with a certain Miniſter, that now is dead living at *Dudley-Caſtle*, for Compliment of ſome ſacred Ceremonies, at the Birth of my Lord of *Leiceſter*'s Daughter in that Place; and the Matter was ſo ordered by the wily Wit of him that had ſowed the Seed, that, for the better Covering of the Harveſt, and ſecret Delivery of the Lady *Sheffield*, the good Wife of the Caſtle alſo, whereby *Leiceſter*'s appointed Goſſips might without Suſpicion have Acceſs to the Place, ſhould feign herſelf to be with

Child, and after long and ſore Travel, God knows, to be delivered of a Cuſhion, as ſhe was indeed, and a little after a fair Coffin was buried with a Bundle of Clouts in Shew of a Child; and the Miniſter cauſed to uſe all accuſtomed Prayers and Ceremonies, for the Solemnizing thereof: For which Thing afterward the Miniſter, before his Death, had great Grief and Remorſe of Conſcience, with no ſmall Deteſtation of the moſt irreligious Device of my Lord of *Leiceſter*, in ſuch a Caſe.

Gent. This was a moſt Atheiſtical Deſignment, and withal ſo unworthy, that it did, alone, deſerve a correſpondent Puniſhment; and no Doubt but that God, who hath an impartial Eye in Viewing ſuch voluntary Iniquities, will one Day render unto him, according to his Demerits; to whoſe ſupreme Juſtice, I leave him; yet, Gentlemen, if you pleaſe, I will relate moſt apparently unto you his intended Murder againſt the Earl of *Ormond*: *Leiceſter* did offer five-hundred Pounds, to have him privately murthered: But, when that Device took no Effect, he appointed the Field with him, but, ſecretly ſuborning his Servant *William Killegre* to lie in the Way, where *Ormond* ſhould paſs, and ſo maſſacre him with a Caliver, before he came to the Place appointed. Which Matter, though it took no Effect, for that the Matter was taken up, before the Day of Meeting, yet was *Killegre* placed afterwards in her Majeſty's privy Chamber by *Leiceſter*, for ſhewing his ready Mind to do for his Maſter ſo faithful a Service.

Schol. So faithful a Service indeed; in my Opinion, it was but an unfit Preferment, for ſo facinorous a Fact. Yet, I hear withal, that he is a Man of great Impatience, Fury, Rage, and Ire, and whatſoever Thing it be that he conceives, either juſtly, or unjuſtly, he proſecuteth the ſame, with ſuch implacable Cruelty, that there is no Abiding his Fury.

His Treacheries towards the Noble Earl of *Suſſex*, in their many Breaches, is notorious to all *England*, as alſo the bloody Practices againſt divers others,

But, among many, none were more odious, and miſliked of all Men, than thoſe againſt Monſieur *Simiers*, a Stranger, and Ambaſſador; whom firſt he practiſed to have poiſoned, but, when that Device took no Place, then he would have ſlain him at the *Blackfriars*, at *Greenwich*, as he went forth at the Garden Gate; but, miſſing of that Purpoſe too, he dealt with certain *Fluſhiners*, and other Pirates, to ſink him at Sea, with the *Engliſh* Gentlemen his Favourers, that accompanied him, at his Return into *France*.

Lawyer. Now verily, Sir, you paint unto me a ſtrange Pattern of a perfect Potentate in the Court; for the common Speech of many wanteth not Reaſon I perceive, which call him the Heart, and Life of the Court.

Gent. They, which call him the Heart, upon a little Occaſion more would call him the Head; and then I marvel, what would be left for her Majeſty, when they take from her both Life, Heart, and Headſhip in her own Realm.

Lawyer. Yet durſt no Subject preſume to contradict his Helliſh Opinions, but rather gave their Aſſertion unto, for Fear of the Damage of their Lives.

Schol. But he hath Ammunition, to what Intent I know not, for in *Killingworth* Caſtle, he hath ready Armour to furniſh ten-thouſand Soldiers, of all Things neceſſary, both for Horſe and Man; beſides the great Abundance of ready Coin there laid up ſufficient, for any great Exploit to be done within the Realm.

Gent. He hath many Lands, Poſſeſſions, Seigniories, and rich Offices of his own: Favour and Authority with his Prince; the Part and Portion in all Suits, that paſs by Grace, or are ended by Law: He doth chop and change what Lands he liſteth with her Majeſty; poſſeſſeth many Licenſes to himſelf, as of Wine, Oils, Currants, Cloth, Velvets with his new Office of Alienation, which might inrich Towns, Corporations, Countries, and Commonwealths: He diſpoſeth at his Will Eccleſiaſtical Livings of the Realm, in making Biſhops, &c. of whom he pleaſeth; he ſweepeth away the Glebe from many Benefices throughout this Land; he ſcoureth the Univerſity, and Colleges, where he is Chancellor, and ſelleth both Head-ſhips, and Scholar-places, and all other Offices, and Dignities, that, by Art and Violence, may yield Money. He driveth the Parties out of their Poſſeſſions, and maketh Title to what Land he pleaſeth: He taketh in whole Foreſts, Commons, Woods, and Paſtures to himſelf; these, and in all theſe he doth inſult, notwithſtanding his former Impiety.

He releaſed *Calais* to the *French*, moſt traiterouſly, as his Father before him ſold *Bulloigñ* to the *French*, by like Treachery.

What ſhould I ſpeak of his other Actions, whereof there would be no End? As of his Dealing with Maſter *Robinſon* of *Staffordſhire*, with falſe Arraignment; with Maſter *Richard Lee*, for his Mannor of *Hockenorton*; with Maſter *Ludwick Grivell*, by ſeeking to bereave him of all his Living at once, if the Drift had taken Place; with *George Witney*, in the Behalf of Sir *Henry Leigh*, for enforcing him, to forego the Comptrollerſhip of *Woodſtock*, which he held by Patent from King *Henry the Seventh*; with my Lord *Barkeley*, whom he inforced to yield up his Lands to his Brother *Warwick*, which his Anceſtors had held quietly before two-hundred Years. What ſhall I ſpeak of his intolerable Tyranny upon Sir *John Throgmorton*, whom he brought to his Grave, by perpetual Vexations; and upon all the Line of King *Henry* againſt this Man's Father, in King *Edward* and Queen *Mary*'s Days? Upon divers of the *Lanes*, for one Man's Sake of that Name before-mentioned, that offered to take *Killingworth* Caſtle: Upon ſome of the *Giffords*, and others, for *Throgmorton*'s Sake; in his endleſs perſecuting Sir *Drew Drewry*, and many other Courtiers both Men, and Women; but eſpecially *Leiceſter* was ſuppoſed to uſe this Practice, for bringing the Scepter finally to his own Head; and that he would not only employ himſelf to defeat *Scotland*, and *Arbeda* to defeat *Huntingdon*; but alſo would uſe the Marriage of the Queen impriſoned, to defeat them both if he could. Which Marriage he being fruſtrated of, was not aſhamed to threaten a treacherous Vindication againſt her Majeſty's Royal Perſon. But I hope her Majeſty will ſet out a fair Proclamation, with a Bundle of Halters for all ſuch Traitors.

~~*Lawyer.*~~ I applaud your well Wiſhings to the State; yet I do obſerve much by Reading over our Country's Affairs; and, among other Things, I do abhor the Memory of that Time, and do dread all Occaſion, that may lead us to the like in Time to come; ſeeing that, in my Judgment, neither the Civil Wars of *Marius* and *Sylla*, or of *Pompey* and *Cæſar* among the *Romans*, nor yet the *Guelphians* and *Gibbelines* among the *Italians*, did ever work ſo much Woe, as this did to our poor Country; wherein, by the Contention of *York* and *Lancaſter*, were fought fifteen or ſixteen pitched Fields, in leſs than an hundred Years. That is, from the eleventh or twelfth Year of King *Richard the Second*'s Reign, unto the thirteenth Year of King *Henry the Seventh*. At what Time, by Cutting off the chief Titler of *Huntingdon*'s Houſe, to wit, young *Edward Plantagenet*, Earl of *Warwick*, Son and Heir to *George*, Duke of *Clarence*, the Contention was moſt happily quenched and ended, wherein ſo many Fields were fought between Brethren and Inhabitants of our own Nation. And therein about the ſame Quarrel were ſlain, murthered, and made away about nine or ten Kings, and Kings Sons, beſides above forty Earls, Marquiſſes, and Dukes of Name; but many more Lords, Knights, great Gentlemen, and Captains, and of the common People without Number, and by particular Conjecture very near two-hundred Thouſand. For that, in one Battle fought by King *Edward the Fourth*, there are recorded to be ſlain, on both Parts, five and thirty-thouſand ſeven-hundred and eleven Perſons, beſides other wounded Perſons, to be put to Death afterwards, at the Pleaſure of the Conqueror; at divers Battles after, Ten-thouſand ſlain at a Battle: As in thoſe of *Barnet* and *Tewkſbury* fought in one Year.

Schol. I pray, Sir, open unto me the Ground of theſe Controverſies between *York* and *Lancaſter*; I have heard a large Relation thereof, but no Original.

Law. The Controverſy between the Houſes of *York* and *Lancaſter* took its actual Beginning in the Iſſue of King *Edward the Third*, and *Edmond* Earl of *Lancaſter*, whoſe Inheritance fell upon a Daughter named *Blanch*, who was married to the fourth Son of King *Edward the Third*, named *John* of *Gaunt*, born in the City of *Gaunt*, in *Flanders*, and ſo by his Wife became Duke of *Lancaſter*, and Heir of that Houſe. And for that his Son *Henry* of *Bullingbrook* pretended among other Things, that *Edmond Crookback* was the elder Son of King *Henry the Third*, and unjuſtly put by the Inheritance of the Crown, for that he was crook-backed and deformed: He took by Force the Kingdom from *Richard the Second*, Nephew to King *Edward the Third*, by his firſt Son, and placed the ſame in the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, where it remained for three whole Deſcents, until afterwards *Edward* Duke of *York*, deſcended of *John* of *Gaunt*'s

Younger Brother, making Claim to the Crown by Title of his Grandmother, that was Heir to *Lionel* Duke of *Clarence*, *John* of *Gaunt*'s elder Brother, took the ſame from *Henry the Sixth* by Force, out of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, and brought it back again to the Houſe of *York*. This therefore, was the Original of all thoſe Diſcords between them.

Gent. But let us not digreſs from our former Diſcourſe concerning *Leiceſter*'s treacherous Actions. I have a Friend yet living that was toward the old Earl of *Arundel* in good Credit, and by that Means had Occaſion to deal with the late Duke of *Norfolk* in his chiefeſt Affairs before his Troubles; who did often report ſtrange Things from the Duke's own Mouth, of my Lord of *Leiceſter*'s moſt treacherous Dealing towards him, for gaining of his Blood, as after appeared true. This *Leiceſter* hath alſo deceived her Majeſty divers Times in forging of Letters as if they came from ſome Prince, when they were his own Forgery: He had likewiſe a helliſh Device to entrap his well deſerving Friend Sir *Chriſtopher Hatton* in Matter of *Hall* his Prieſt, whom he would have had Sir *Chriſtopher* to hide, and ſend away; being touched and detected in the Caſe of *Ardent*, thereby to have drawn in Sir *Chriſtopher* himſelf, and made him Acceſſary to this Plot. What mean all theſe pernicious late Dealings againſt the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, a Man of the moſt ancient and worthieſt Nobility of our Realm? It is only *Leiceſter*'s ambitious Mind, that cauſes all this.

But it is very ſtrange to ſee, what a Contemner of the Prerogatives of *England* he is, and how little Account he makes of all the ancient Nobility of our Realm, how he contemneth, derideth, and debaſeth them: Which is the Faſhion of all ſuch, as mean to uſurp; to the End, that they may have none, who ſhall not acknowledge their firſt Beginning and Advancement from themſelves.

His baſe and abject Behaviour, in his laſt Diſgrace about his Marriage, well declared what he would do, in a Matter of more Importance, by deceiving of Sir *Chriſtopher Hatton*; and by abuſing my Lord Treaſurer in a Letter, for which her Highneſs did much rebuke him.

It was affirmed by many that all the Broils, Troubles, Dangers, and Diſturbances, in *Scotland*, did proceed from his Complot, and Conſpiracy.

His unworthy Scandal, which he caſt on the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, was perfidious: Wherefore in Regard of theſe innumerable Treacheries, for Prevention of ſucceeding Calamities, to tell you plainly my Opinion, and therewith to draw to an End of this our Conference, I ſhould think it the moſt neceſſary Point of all, for her Majeſty to call his Lordſhip to an Account among others, and to ſee what other Men could ſay againſt him, at length, after ſo many Years of his ſole accuſing and purſuing of others. I know and am very well aſſured, that no Act, which her Majeſty hath done, ſince the Coming to the Crown, nor any that lightly her Majeſty may do hereafter, can be of more Utility to herſelf, and to the Realm, or more grateful unto her faithful and zealous Subjects, than this noble Act of Juſtice will be, for Trial of this Man's Deſerts towards his Country.

And ſo likewiſe now to ſpeak in our particular Caſe, if there be any Grudge or Grief at this Day, any Miſlike, Repining, Complaint, or Murmur againſt her Majeſty's Government, in the Hearts of her true and faithful Subjects, who wiſh Amendment of that which is amiſs, and not the Overthrow of that which is well, I dare avouch upon Conſcience, that either all, or the greateſt Part thereof, proceedeth from this Man: And, if her Highneſs do permit, and command the Laws, daily to paſs upon Thieves, and Murderers, without Exception, and that for one Fact only, as by Experience we ſee; How then can it be denied in this Man, who in both Kinds hath committed more enormous Acts, than may be well recounted?

As in the *firſt* of Theft, not only by Spoiling, and Oppreſſing almoſt infinite private Men; but alſo whole Towns, Villages, Corporations, and Countries, by robbing the Realm with inordinate Licenſes, by deceiving the Crown, with racking, changing, and imbezzling the Lands, by abuſing his Prince, and Sovereign, in ſelling his Favour, both at Home, and Abroad, with taking Bribes for Matters of Juſtice, Grace, Requeſt, Supplication, or whatſoever Suit elſe may depend upon the Court, or on the Prince's Authority.

In which Sort of Traffick, he committeth more Theft oftentimes in one Day, than all the Way-keepers, Cut-purſes, Cozeners, Pirates, Burglares, or others of Art that in a whole Year within this Realm.

As for the *ſecond*, which is Murder, you have heard before, ſomewhat ſaid and proved; but yet nothing to that, which is thought to have been in ſecret committed upon divers Occaſions, at divers Times; in ſundry Perſons, of different Calling in both Sexes, by moſt variable Means of Killing, Poiſoning, Charming, Inchanting, Conjuring, and the like; according to the Diverſity of Men, Places, Opportunities, and Inſtruments for the ſame. By all which Means, I think, he hath more Blood lying upon his Head at this Day, crying Vengeance againſt him at God's Hands and her Majeſty, than ever had private Man in our Country before, were he never ſo wicked.

Whereto if we add all his intollerable Licentiouſneſs, in all filty Kind and Manner of Carnality, with all his Sorts of Wives, Friends, and Kinſwomen. If we add his Injuries, and Diſhonours done, hereby to infinite; if we add his Treaſons, Treacheries, and Conſpiracies about the Crown, his diſloyal Hatred againſt her Majeſty, his Perjury, h Rapes, and moſt violent Extortions upon the Poor, his Abuſing of the Parliament, and other Places of Juſtice, with the Nobility, and whole Commonality beſides; if we add alſo his open Injuries, which he offered Daily to Religion, and the Miniſters thereof, by turning all to his own Gain; if I ſay, we ſhould lay together all thoſe Enormities before her Majeſty, and Thouſand more in particular, which might and would be gathered, if his Day of Trial were but in Hope to be granted: I do not ſee in Equity and Reaſon, how her Highneſs ſitting on the Throne, and at the Royal Stern, as ſhe doth, could deny her Subjects this moſt lawful Requeſt; conſidering that every one of theſe Crimes, a-part, requireth Juſtice of its own Nature; and much more altogether ought to obtain the ſame, at the Hand of any good and goodly Magiſtrate in the World.

Before this Diſcourſe was fully ended, the Night came on a-pace, and it being Supper-time, the Miſtris came to call them to Supper, wherefore their further Speech was intercepted.

A Dialogue between *Franciſco* and *Aurelia*, two unfortunate Orphans of the City of *London*. Licenſed, *November* 4, 1690. *London*, Printed for *Randal Taylor*, near *Stationers-Hall*, 1690. *Quarto*, containing eight Pages.

Guildhall, *Nov.* 3, 1690.

Franciſco.

A GOOD Morning to you, Madam: ——— You are an early Riſer, I ſee; though I as little ſuſpected to meet you here, as to find a Quaker behind the Scenes in the Play-houſe.

Aurelia. Why, Sir, think you that young Women have no Buſineſs in *Guildhall?*

Franc. Yes, Madam, but hardly ſo early in a Morning. Had it been the Fourteenth of *February*, I ſhould have ſuſpected you came hither to ſelect one of the Aldermen for your *Valentine.*

Aurel. You are pleaſed to be merry, Sir: — What Merits have I to deſerve an Alderman?

Franc. You cloud your own Worth by your ſingular Modeſty; it is well known, that ſome, who have worn the Purple, have taken their Cook-maids into the Bed with them; and, I hope, Madam, their Deſerts ought not to be named with yours.

Aurel. You ſeem to be better acquainted with me, than I am with myſelf; but, Sir, I hope you have not ſo ill an Opinion of our Sex in general, or of me in particular, to think that, in Affairs of that Nature, Women are uſed to make the firſt Advances.

Franc. Yes; in a little fooliſh Gallantry, like this, a Lady may go a great Way, before ſhe treads upon the Heels of Modeſty.

Aurel. Yes, and that little fooliſh *Gallantry*, as you are pleaſed to name it, ſhall be called *ndneſs* on our Part; for it is the admirable Temper of moſt of your Sex, if you obſerve any Thing in a Woman's Converſation, which you can interpret to your Advantage, the nearer you find her Approaches, the farther you fly from her, and tell it in Company over a Bottle —— *The Truth of it is,* Jack, *I could love Mrs. ſuch an one, but ſhe is ſo coming, that* ——

Franc. No more, no more, good Madam.

Aurel. Yes, one Word more, and then as ſilent as you pleaſe. Modeſty on our Part ſerves to whet and heighten your Deſires; for it is a Virtue of ſuch Reputation, that, where you cannot find the Original, you dote upon the Copy. Witneſs the Truth of what I ſay, in the Conduct of the lewdeſt Women of the Town, whoſe counterfeit Virtue allures you to an Intrigue, whereas an open Declaration of their infamous Way of Living would frighten you from an Amour.

Franc. But, in this Diſcourſe of Modeſty and Intrigue, we have loſt our Alderman.

Aurel. What have I done, that I ſhould be haunted with Aldermen? You are not ſo ill a Philoſopher, as not to know, that Content and Happineſs are not always the Attendants on a plentiful Fortune; which I am neither ſo vain to wiſh, nor have Merits to deſerve, however ſome of my Sex may be pleaſed with the Title of an Alderman's Lady.

Franc. Now, by this Averſion of yours to an Alderman, I humbly conceive, Madam, you are one of the Orphans of the City of *London.*

Aurel. You are much in the Right, Sir; and, if I miſtake not, by meeting you here ſo often, I ſuppoſe you are one of the ſame unhappy Number.

Franc. It is certainly ſo, Madam; for, like the Widow *Blackacre,* in the *Plain Dealer,* I am forced to ſollicit my own Cauſe.

Aurel. I come hither upon the ſame melancholy Account, but have as much Luck in the Attempt, as a poor Fellow, that ſues for an Eſtate *in Formâ Pauperis.*

Franc. Well! there is certainly a Pleaſure in rehearſing one's Misfortunes, eſpecially if the Perſon, to whom they are told, can oblige one with a like Relation; pleaſe you, therefore, Madam, to repoſe yourſelf upon this Seat, and allow one, that is not a perfect Stranger to you, a Quarter of an Hour's Converſation, ſince we are fallen upon a Subject that equally concerns us both.

Aurel. The Pleaſure of that Converſation will be wholly on my Part, Sir.

Franc. Good Madam, let us not talk as if we were in a Dancing-ſchool, but lay all Compliments aſide as ſuperfluous, as fine Clothes at a Funeral.

Aurel. The Subject, I confeſs, is almoſt as melancholy; for, were our Bodies in as deſperate a Condition as our Fortunes, I fear, *Jeſuits Powder* would do us but little Good.

Franc. The Truth of it is, we have lived upon Hope a long Time — A fine, thin, cooling Diet, and as neceſſary, in our Circumſtances, as Water-gruel to a Man troubled with an over-heated Liver.

Aurel. I think we may, not improperly, call this Place *the Land of Promiſe,* where we are treated with all the Civility poſſible. *Indeed, Madam, I think of your Petition. Truly, Sir, you will not fail next Court-day. I profeſs, Madam, I do not neglect your Buſineſs.* And all this is nothing but Ceremony and Compliment, acted with ſo much Gravity, that, on a Court-day, I have ſatisfied myſelf to have ſeen Mr. *Bays*'s grand Dance in the *Rehearſal.*

Franc. Indeed, our daily Attendance is ſomewhat like the Story of the Fellow, that made Love to an inviſible Miſtreſs.

Aurel. But, pray, Sir, give me Leave to inquire of you the Reaſons, or Occaſions of the Practice of putting the Orphans Money into the Chamber of *London*; by what Authority demanded; and whether our deceaſed Parents were not influenced by Cuſtom, and had a wrong Notion of the Matter. For, could they have foreſeen what has ſince happened, they would as ſoon have ordered their Executors to have laid out their Money in Ruffs and Farthingals, as to have put it into that bottomleſs Pit, the Chamber.

Franc. A Place ſomewhat reſembling *Michael Angelo*'s Picture of Hell, from whence the Pope himſelf could not redeem a Cardinal there painted. But, not to run too far from your Queſtion, the Reaſons of the Practice were, at firſt, intentionally good and pious; for——

Aurel. So were Religious Houſes in the Times of the primitive Perſecutions, but Poſterity improved the Matter into Monaſteries and Nunneries, though, ſince, Nurſeries of Luxury and Idleneſs.

Franc. Your Digreſſion is pithy enough, Madam; but, pray, give me Leave to proceed. As to the Authority, by which it is demanded, it is well known, that, the City of *London* being, by Vertue of *Magna Charta*, a Body Corporate, they have a Power or Commiſſion to enact petty Laws and Cuſtoms among themſelves, as they ſhall ſee moſt fit, for the better Government of the City ——

Aurel. Yes, Sir, ſuch as Ordering the Aſſize of Bread, or Penny Loaves, for the Uſe of School-boys and Journeymen Taylors.

Franc. Still you will be facetious. But to proceed: Amongſt other Cuſtoms, this was enacted by Common-Council, no Doubt, that every Freeman dying, and leaving a Widow and Children behind him, for the better Security of what he left them (leſt, having their Fortunes in their own Power, they might embezzle it; or elſe be betrayed to very unequal, if not ſcandalous Matches:) The Money, I ſay, was paid into the *Chamberlain's-Office*, the Sum regiſtered, and his Note given for Security; the Lord Mayor, for the Time being, and the Court of Aldermen, becoming Guardians or Truſtees to the ſaid Widow and Orphans, either of which were not to marry, without their Conſent firſt had and obtained.

Aurel. With Submiſſion to their Authority, I ſhall never trouble them with the Queſtion.

Franc. Heaven be praiſed, at preſent the Condition of that Obligation is void; I *Thomas* may take thee *Abigail*, without that Licenſe; nay, invite the Aldermen to Dinner, and they never be offended at it.

Aurel. But, granting the Intention was good and pious, Did it ever anſwer the End propoſed?

Franc. Yes, unqueſtionably, for ſeveral Scores of Years; for I love to do Juſtice to the Memory of the Dead.

Aurel. I wiſh my Thoughts would allow me the Liberty to the Living. But how comes it to paſs, Sir, that the *Bank* is not in that Reputation as formerly, the City being much more rich and populous?

Franc. Now, Madam, you aſk a very knotty Queſtion; but, to the beſt of my Memory, the *Exchequer*, being ſhut up ſome Time before the *Bank* you ſpeak of, languiſhed in Eſteem about the Year 1681; yet, with Submiſſion, I believe we may go higher, even as far as the Year 1641, *London* being eſteemed by ſome at *Weſtminſter*, what was ſaid of *England* formerly at *Rome*, that it was *Pute*[illegible] *inexhauſtus*, *a Well never to be drawn dry*. Something went to the maintaining that unnatural War, beſides Bodkins and Thimbles. The Proſecuting of the then miſcalled Godly Cauſe calling for vaſt Sums from the Chamber, which all the ſince received Money could not repay again; they being oftentimes forced to pay one Man's Intereſt with another's Principal. And, though the fatal Conſequences were not known till of late, yet ſome Obſervators about *Guildhall* diſcovered, that a late Chamberlain, famous for his Skill in Military Diſcipline, finding a Cloud gathering at Court, and that he was like to fall under the Diſpleaſure of a great Man at *Whitehall*, gave private Notice to ſome of his own Party to draw out their Money; and thoſe who wanted that kind Intelligence are the chief, if not the only Sufferers now; for, you know, it is like the Practice of Bankers, who being blemiſhed in their Repute, their Creditors coming in ſo thick upon them to call in their Money, they are forced to ſtop their Payments, in order to a Compoſition.

Aurel. But, Sir, I have been told, that thoſe, who come a little nearer to our Memories, tell us, they have obſerved a tall Building upon *Fiſh ſtreet Hill*, a Ditch not far from *Ludgate*, and ſeveral Conduits, to be built with Mortar tempered with a Sort of brackiſh Water, known to the Virtuoſi, by the Name of Widows and Orphans Tears.

Franc. No, Madam, that was not ſo, your Judgment has been miſinformed, thoſe Publick Structures being wholly built at the City Charge, by Money raiſed by a Tax upon Coals, &c.

Aurel. I could have wiſhed the Wiſdom of the City would have converted thoſe Funds into other Uſes. For the Payment of the Orphans would have eterniſed their Memories more, than if they had erected Monuments and Mum-Glaſſes in every Street of the City.

Franc. For my Part, though I would have the Second Day of *September* never to be forgotten, yet I have wondered what that Monument was intended for, except by Day for a Land-mark for Travellers, that loſt their Way upon *Shooter's Hill*; and it is Pity that ſome Invention is not found out to make a Lanthorn of that Flaming Ball at Top, for poor People cannot go to the Price of *Hem-*

nings's new Lights; and Coals, they ſay, will be very dear this Winter.

Aurel. I heard, Sir, that a Gentleman the other Day, aſking his Friend, what that ſtreight-bodied Thing might coſt building, was told, about eighteen-thouſand Pounds. Did it ſo, ſays the other; I know a Gentleman of my Acquaintance has lent the City juſt ſuch a Sum, I think they had beſt make a Mortgage of it to him for Security.

Franc. And very good Security too. Well, let the Monument ſtand till a Country Fellow wants Two-pence to ſee it, I care not; and what a pretty Account that Ditch you ſpeak of comes to, after ſo many thouſand Pounds expended in the Building it, when the Vaults and Cellarage belonging to it, are now offered to be rented for One-hundred Pounds *per Annum*? A very pretty Intereſt for ſo large a Principal. Nay, I am told, that a certain Conduit, near *Foſter-lane*, has already gotten a Rheumatiſm, for Want of a Night-Cap. There have been ſome fine Treats at *Guildhall*, and, ſuppoſing there wanted a little Sum to buy Shrimps and Oyſters for a Diſh of Fiſh, I hope it was no ſuch great Crime for the Caterer to put his Hand into the Orphans Bag to purchaſe them.

Aurel. But, methinks, it would have been civil, to have invited us to eat Part of the Fiſh, when our Money paid for the Sauce.

Franc. No, no, there are meaner Proviſions ſuitable to our Condition. Lord! Madam, I ſmile to think how we laugh till our Hearts ake, and divert ourſelves with our very Miſfortunes; as Proſperity never exalted our Thoughts, neither does Adverſity depreſs them. It is a Practice of Philoſophy, which few attain to, and the little Proficiency, I have made in it, is wholly owing to your generous and ſprightly Converſation.

Aurel. Sir, I would return your Compliment, but at preſent I am out of Stock.—— For my Part, I know no Divine nor Human Law forbids innocent Raillery; if the worſt come to the worſt, it is but reaſonable Loſers ſhould have Leave to ſpeak, though it is dear Jeſting at the Rate of eight-thouſand Pounds. But to be ſerious, is it not deplorable, that a Gentleman, well born and educated, ſhould, for Want of that Money of his which lies in the Chamber of *London*, be expoſed to all the Indignities of Fortune, accept of ſome mean Office, to keep him from ſtarving, liſt himſelf a common Sentinel, to ſtave off his importunate Creditors; or, perhaps, take the Highway, and make his Life as deſperate as his Fortune: Whereas, if he enjoyed what was juſtly his own, he might make no contemptible Figure in the World, where he now lies Wind-bound for Want of Money.

Franc. To ſhew you the Reverſe of the Medal. Is it not Pity that a young Gentlewoman, whom Nature and Education have made a finiſhed Piece, for Want of thoſe Bags which lie ſleeping in the Chamber, betake herſelf to ſome mean Employ, or at beſt to wait upon ſome finical Lady, who, excepting her Fortune, is not worthy to be named with her for Accompliſhments; or, at laſt, it may be ſhe is married to ſome inferior Fellow; or, if I durſt be familiar with Female Virtue, perhaps, by reaſon of her Poverty, expoſed to the Sollicitations of unlawful Love, from which Attempts the Poſſeſſion of her Fortune would ſecure her.

Aurel. I have wanted neither lawful nor unlawful Offers; for the firſt, I am reſolved never to diſgrace my Father's Aſhes by a ſorry Marriage; and from the latter Heaven will, I hope, defend me.

Franc. As deſpicable as my Fortune may be at preſent, I am reſolved not to be deſpicable in my own Thoughts: And I will for once, Madam, make you ſo far my Confeſſor, as to aſſure you, I loved a Miſtreſs, fair, rich, and virtuous; nor was I, pardon my Vanity, treated with Contempt, and we had certainly married, had not Fortune, on my Side, forbid the Banes.

Aurel. But is there no Hopes of recovering our Fortunes?

Franc. Much ſuch Hopes as a dying Patient has, when he ſees his Phyſician ſhake his Head; but, however, we do not abſolutely deſpair.

Aurel. I heard the City were about ſelling ſome of their Lands, in order to raiſe a Fund for the Payment of their Debts; Did that come to any thing?

Franc. Sell their Lands, they would as ſoon ſell their Charter. No, Madam, all the Hopes we have is from the preſent Parliament.

Aurel. Pray, Heaven, they prove not as tedious in their Votes, as the laſt Seſſions.

Franc. The greater Concerns of the Nation, as the Wars with *France* and *Ireland*, took up ſo much of their Time, that ſmaller Matters were put by, all private Intereſt being to veil to the publick Good; but my prophetick Hopes tell me, that the preſent Parliament will have the Matter under Conſideration, and I doubt not, but thoſe Worthy Members of the City will be powerful Sollicitors in our almoſt ſinking Cauſe.

Aurel. Then, I think, my Stay here needleſs, for the Judges Pictures are able to afford me as much Conſolation as I am to expect from any here. I wait with ſome Impatien the Motions of the Parliament, but muſt, Sir, after my humble Thanks to you for your extraordinary Company, be ſo rude as to leave you.

Franc. Pray, Madam, let me wait on you Home.

Aurel. Sir, I am not often attended; but I ſhould be uncivil to deny my Hand to a Perſon of ſuch engaging Civility.

Franc. Madam, your Servant. You do me too much Honour.

A ſhort Hiſtorical Collection, touching the Succeſſion of the Crown. *Folio*, containing two Pages.

WHETHER the Hiſtory of the Succeſſion of the Crown will allow ſo good and clear an Hereditary Right, *Jure Humano*, the Reader will beſt judge, by the ſhort Hiſtorical Collection, touching the Succeſſion, hereto ſubjoined.

In the *Heptarchy*, there was no fixed Hereditary Right, one King tripping up the Heels of another, as he had Power, till one got all.

After no fixed Hereditary Right, for *Athelſtan*, the great King was a Baſtard, and ſo were ſeveral others; who, by their Courage and Policy, got the Crown; ſo that a Law was made under the *Saxon* Monarchy, *De Ordinatione Regum*, that directed the Election of Kings, prohibiting Baſtards to be elected.

Edward the Confeſſor was not King *Jure Hæreditario.*

William the Firſt, called the *Conqueror*, had no Right but from the People's Election.

William Rufus was elected againſt the Right of his elder Brother.

Henry the Firſt came in by the ſame Way.

King *Stephen* was elected *a Clero & Populo*, and confirmed by the Pope.

Henry the Second came in by Conſent, yet he had no Hereditary Right, for his Mother was living.

Richard the Firſt was charged before God and Man, by the Archbiſhop, upon his Coronation, that he ſhould not preſume to take the Crown, unleſs he reſolved faithfully to obſerve the Laws.

King *John*, his Brother, becauſe his elder Brother's Son was a Foreigner, was elected *a Clero & Populo*, and being divorced from his Wife, by his new Queen, had *Henry the Third.*

Henry the Third was confirmed and ſettled in the Kingdom, by the general Election of the People; and, in his Life-time, the Nation was ſworn to the Succeſſion of *Edward the Firſt*, before he went to the *Holy-Land.*

Edward the Firſt, being out of *England*, by the Conſent of Lords and Commons, was declared King.

Edward the Second, being miſled, and relying too much upon his Favourites, was depoſed, and his Son was declared King in his Life-time.

Richard the Second, for his evil Government, had the Fate of the ſecond *Edward.*

Henry the Fourth came in by Election of the People, to whom ſucceeded *Henry the Fifth*, and *Henry the Sixth*, in whoſe Time *Richard* Duke of *York* claimed the Crown, and an Act of Parliament was made, That *Henry the Sixth* ſhould enjoy the Crown for his Life, and the ſaid Duke after him; after which, King *Henry* raiſed an Army, by Aſiſtance of the Queen and Prince, and, at *Wakefield*, in Battle kills the Duke, for which, in Parliament, 1 *Ed.* 4. they were all by Act of Parliament attainted of Treaſon; and one principal Reaſon thereof was, for that, the Duke being declared Heir to the Crown after *Henry*, by Act of Parliament, they had killed him.

Edward the Fourth enters the Stage, and leaves *Edward the Fifth* to ſucceed, to whom ſucceeds *Richard the Third*, confirmed King by Act of Parliament, upon two Reaſons: *Firſt*, That, by Reaſon of a Pre-contract of *Edward the Fourth*, *Edward the Fifth*, his eldeſt Son, and all his other Children, were Baſtards. *Secondly*, For that the Son of the Duke of *Clarence*, ſecond Brother to *Edward the Fourth*, had no Right, becauſe the Duke was attainted of Treaſon, by a Parliament of *Edward the Fourth.*

Henry the Seventh comes in, but had no Title. *Firſt*, becauſe *Edward the Fourth*'s Daughter was then living. *Secondly*, His own Mother, the Counteſs of *Richmond*, was then living.

After him *Henry the Eighth* wore the Crown, who could have no Title by the Father. In his Time, the Succeſſion of the Crown was limited three ſeveral Times, and the whole Nation ſworn to the Obſervance.

Sir *Thomas Moor* declared, That the Parliament had a Power to bind the Succeſſion, and would ſubſcribe thereto.

Edward the Sixth ſucceeded, but his Mother was married to King *Henry*, while *Catharine* of *Spain*, his Wife, was living.

Queen *Mary* was declared a Baſtard, and, by Vertue of an Act of Parliament of *Henry the Eighth*, ſhe ſucceeded; which Act being repealed in the Firſt of her Reign, and the Crown being limited otherwiſe by Parliament, all the Limitations of the Crown in *Henry the Eighth*'s Reign were avoided; ſo that

Queen *Eliſabeth*, who was declared a Baſtard, by Act of Parliament, in *Henry the Eighth*'s Time, and limited to ſucceed, in another Act in his Time, and that Act repealed by Queen *Mary*, became Queen in the Force of her own Act of Parliament, which declared her lawful Queen.

The Crown was entailed in *Richard the Second*'s Time; again in the Time of *Henry the Fourth*; again in the Time of *Henry the Sixth*; again in the Time of *Edward the Fourth*; again in the Time of *Richard the Third*; again in the Time of *Henry the Seventh*; thrice in the Time of *Henry the Eighth.*

And, upon the Marriage of Queen *Mary* to *Philip* of *Spain*, both the Crowns of *England* and *Spain* were entailed; whereby it was provided, that, of the ſeveral Children to be begotten upon the Queen, one was to have the Crown of *England*, another *Spain*, another the *Low-Countries*; the Articles of Marriage, to this Purpoſe, were confirmed by Act of Parliament, and the Pope's Bull.

So that it was agreed, by the States of both Kingdoms, and the *Low-Countries*; and, therefore, probably, the univerſal Opinion of the great Men of that Age, That Kings and ſovereign Princes, with the Conſent of their States, had a Power to alter and bind the Succeſſion of the Crown.

A true Relation, from *Germany*, of a Proteſtant Shepherd's Killing a counterfeit Devil, that would have perverted him to Popery, *July* the Twenty-ninth, N. S. 1676. Being a Contrivance of two Monks, that dreſſed themſelves, one in the Likeneſs of an Angel, the other of a Devil; and ſo, in the Night, came to this poor Shepherd, to affright and ſeduce him. With an Account of what paſſed between them;

them; how the Shepherd killed him that acted the Devil, and buried him; and the Trouble he has been like to come into ſince for the ſame.

They compaſs Sea and Land to make one Proſelyte, &c.

Licenſed, *Auguſt* the Seventh, 1676. *Roger L'Eſtrange.*
London, printed for *D. M.* 1676. *Quarto,* containing eight Pages.

The Lutheran *Shepherd killing the Devil,* &c.

THAT there have been feigned Miracles ſet on Foot, and pious Frauds not only tolerated, but juſtified by divers religious Pretenders, can be unknown to, or doubted of by none, but ſuch as are utterly unacquainted with Hiſtory. What this Sheet is to ſet forth, comes atteſted from good Hands, and has already been publiſhed in Print in *Holland, Auguſt* 7. N. S. 1676. Yet ſhall we not oblige the Faith of any to receive it farther than it appears upon Enquiry to be confirmed, and not unſuitable to other Plots and Intrigues contrived not unfrequently, to amuſe and ſeduce the Ignorant.

The Account is dated from *Ummendorf, July* 29. N. S. 1676, and is thus: In the Biſhoprick of *Halberſtadt,* near *Iſeburgh,* there lives a poor Shepherd bred up in the Proteſtant Religion, but of that Kind, which, from *Martin Luther,* are called *Lutherans,* differing in many Points from the *Romiſh* Church, and holding Conſubſtantiation, *&c.* Not far from the Plains, where he kept his Sheep, was ſituated a Monaſtery, or Convent of Monks, who had frequently laboured with all the Arguments they could uſe, to withdraw this Shepherd from his Profeſſion, and bring him over to the *Romiſh* Religion. Certainly, there needs no mighty Learning, or extraordinary Parts, to contemn ſuch a Motion, and triumph over a Cauſe, ſo continually baffled whenever it dares venture a Trial in the Preſence of Scripture or Reaſon. How our Shepherd was furniſhed with Logick, I cannot ſay, but it appears he wanted not a ſettled Reſolution, which remained Proof againſt all their Attempts. Wherefore, finding neither Perſuaſions nor Flatteries would prevail, they proceeded to Threatenings, telling him that if he perſiſted in Hereſy after ſo many ghoſtly Admonitions, he ſhould immediately be plagued with the Devil, who ſhould carry him away quick into Hell. But he, not regarding ſuch their ridiculous Menaces, perſevered ſtill in his Religion. Wherefore, perceiving themſelves unable to vanquiſh him by open Force, they applied themſelves to Stratagem. For Carrying on of which, two Monks dreſſed up themſelves in ſtrange and wonderful Shapes; the one very gay and beautiful, with a brave Pair of Wings, and other Accoutrements, fit to repreſent him as a good Angel; the other in a horrid and frightful Habit, perſonating the Devil. And being thus prepared, they came one Night to the Shepherd, as he was ſleeping in the Fields in his Karr, a ſmall Hut going upon Wheels, commonly uſed by Men of his Profeſſion. The counterfeit Angel firſt approached him, and with fair Words and Inſinuations, tempted him to embrace the *Romiſh* Religion. But the good Shepherd (poſſibly remembering that Text, *If an Angel from Heaven ſhould teach you any other Doctrine, than what you have received, let him be accurſed)* would in no wiſe hearken unto him, ſo as to turn to Popery. Whereupon the ſeeming Angel told him, if he would not obey his Meſſage, he muſt forthwith deliver him over to the Devil; and finding his Threatenings make no Impreſſion, did retreat a little; and then preſently came up his Confederate, repreſenting the Devil's own proper Perſon, ~~with~~ a dreadful Noiſe and Muttering; which put the Shepherd into no ſmall Perplexity, for now he knew not what to think of it. But juſt as the mock Devil made an Offer to ſeize on him, the Shepherd's Dog, not being afraid, when he ſaw his Maſter in Danger, fell upon the feigned Friend; which the Shepherd perceiving, and that the Devil could not keep off the Dog, he began to take Courage, and leaped out of his Car, with his Crook in his Hand, and therewith knocked down the ſuppoſed Devil dead upon the Place; which his Confederate Angel ſeeing, went away; and as ſoon as Day-light appeared, the Shepherd perceived that the Devil, he had ſlain, was only one of the Monks of the neighbouring Cloiſter; however thought it his ſafeſt Way to bury him in his Devil's Dreſs as he was, that no more Words might be made of it.

But the Monks, next Day, came to him, to demand their Brother, who at firſt would acknowledge nothing of it; whereupon they complained to the Magiſtrate, where being examined, he declared, That as for the Monk, he could give no Account of him; but true it is that the other Night he did indeed kill the Devil, and buried him in ſuch a Place, relating the Occaſion and whole Story as you have heard: He was much threatened, it may be conceived, with Puniſhment for this Fact; but probably the Innocency of the Man, the Likelihood of the Thing, and the ſtrange Habit the Monk's Body was found in, might very much contribute to the Clearing of him; but ſtill he is much diſcourſed of for this Thing.

That theſe and the like Stratagems are no new Devices amongſt theſe People, I ſhall add a notable Story affirmed by a credible Author, I mean *Lavaterus* in his Book *De Spectris*, *Cap.* 8. *p.* 35. and was diſcovered at *Orleans*, *Anno* 1534.

The Pretor, that is the chief Judge of *Orleans*, his Wife dying, requeſted of her Huſband, ſhe might be buried in the Church belonging to the *Franciſcan* Friars; which was done, and the *Franciſcans* preſented by the Pretor with ſix Piſtoles; a Bribe far beneath their Avarice, but they reſolved to have a better Gratuity from a Fall of Wood of the Pretor's; which he denying them, it ſo heated the *Franciſcans*, that they, in Revenge, plotted to noiſe it abroad, That his Lady was damned eternally. To carry on this Villainy undiſcerned, they ſuborn a young Man to act her Part ſo notoriouſly, that by hideous Noiſes at Time of publick Devotions, he ſhould cauſe a Diſturbance, and be a Prologue to the Tragedy. A Doctor of that Order and an Exorciſt, whoſe Plot this was, ſo deſigned the Scene, that no Anſwer was to be made by the young Man if any Queſtion were aſked of him, but only by Signs, which the Exorciſt only underſtood, who pre-appointed them, and ſo could report to the Auditory. When this young Fellow had amuſed the People with diſmal and un-underſtood Notes, the Exorciſt boldly aſked him, Whether he were a Spirit or not? If a Spirit, whoſe Spirit; relating the Names of all ſuch as had lately been buried there. And when he named the Pretor's Wife, the young Man gave Signs, that he was the Spirit of that Lady. Then the Exorciſt demanded, If ſhe were damned or no, and for what Offence? Whether for Covetouſneſs, or Luſt, or Pride, or what of practical Charity; or for the upſtart Hereſy of *Lutheraniſm*? And what he meant by thoſe Clamours and Unquietneſs? Whether the Body, there buried, ſhould be digged up and carried elſewhere or not? To all which he by Signs anſwered Affirmatively; which the Exorciſt and his Brethren, the *Franciſcans*, prayed the Congregation there preſent, to take Notice of: Yet upon the Pretor's Complaint to the *French* King, and Parliament of *Paris*, and Commiſſion iſſued forth to report the Truth hereof, the Wickedneſs of this Contrivance came to Light, and the Parties Actors in it were ſeverely ſentenced, according to their Deſerts.

The ſame Author, *Cap.* 7. *P.* 27. relates a Story of the *Dominicans*, as vile as this, acted at *Berne*, in *Switzerland*; that upon a Controverſy between them and the *Franciſcans*, one affirming, and the other as ſtoutly denying, they, to evidence the Truth of their Opinion by Miracle, procured their Sub-Prior, a Magician, to raiſe a Spirit, which aſſerted their Doctrine, threatening Purgatory, nay Hell itſelf to all that oppoſed it; and not only ſo, but likewiſe Deſtruction and Overthrow of the City, unleſs they caſt out the *Franciſcans* thence as Hereticks unfit to live. Much more of the like Trumpery there was diſcovered, to the Shame of the Contrivers.

We might mention the Boy of *Bilſon*, the famous Cheat in *Staffordſhire*, much of Kin to this, diſcovered by the grave Biſhop of *Durham*, and all to make Way for the *Popiſh* Doctrine of Miracles. But let this ſuffice for the preſent for a Caution to the Credulous.

———*Si vult populus decipi, decipiatur.*

The Lord Chancellor's Diſcovery and Confeſſion, made in the Time of his Sickneſs in the *Tower*. With Allowance. *London*, printed for *R. Lee*, without *Biſhopſgate*, 1689. *Folio*, containing two Pages.

THE dreadful Apprehenſion of a future Being, to a Soul ſo ill-prepared, and the Terrors of Conſcience under the Viſitation of Heaven, are of that ſad Weight, that no Thought can imagine, but his that groans under it. When I turn my Eyes inward, I can look upon myſelf, as no other than the unhappieſt of Men, loaded with Infamy, Miſery, Impriſonment, and almoſt Deſpair, but, above all, with the univerſal Hatred of a Kingdom; ſo univerſal, that I ſtand the very Center of Shame, whilſt every Tongue that reviles, each Eye that loaths, and every Finger that points, ſeems to terminate in miſerable me. Such is my hard Fate, and ſuch my ſerious Reflexions, that I believe, had my Faults been ten-fold greater than they are, it was impoſſible for me to diſoblige Mankind, in all my exalted Glory, but half ſo much, as I have pleaſed them in my Fall: So naturally lovely, in the *Engliſh* Eyes, does the Diſtreſs and Ruin of tottering Greatneſs look, where they ſeem but juſt.

But all theſe accumulated Calamities are but my lighteſt Burthen; for, alas! how juſtly, and more ſadly mad, I cry out with falling *Wolſey*, *Had I ſerved my God with half that Zeal I ſerved my King, He would not have left me thus wretched.* Wretched indeed! when my Weakneſs of Body calls me to conſider, how near I may ſtand to that Tribunal, before which the proudeſt of earthly Judges, Potentates, and Princes tremble. The Summons from that terrible Judge is ſuch an Alarm, that What would I do, if poſſible, to ſoften that Almighty Juſtice, that ſtands armed againſt me? Could the Confeſſion of my Crimes make the leaſt Part of their Atonement, How happy ſhould I think myſelf in unboſoming my whole Soul, even to my ſecreteſt and minuteſt Thoughts? The Senſe of which makes me borrow from my Pains theſe few favourable, though diſtracted Minutes, to uſe that Candour and Openneſs, before I leave the World, that may reconcile it, if poſſible, amongſt all its Odium and Averſion, to, at leaſt, one charitable Thought of me.

But, alas! before I come to the ſad Narrative of thoſe numerous Ills I have committed; before I launch down into that deep Torrent, my aking Heart and ſad Remembrance lead me up to the fatal Fountain-head, from whence they took their Riſe; and there, to my Confuſion, I am forced to acknowledge, my Crimes are ſcarce ſo black, as the polluted Source they ſprung from. For, whereas Ambition, Intereſt, Honours, *thoſe ſmiling* Court-beams, the common *Ignes fatui*, are thoſe gaudier Snares, that miſlead the wandering Steps of other offending Stateſmen; I cannot but ſhamefully confeſs, that a viler and footier Coal, Rancour and Malice, warped me crooked.

The two famous Occaſions of my riſing Spleen, and Bitterneſs of Spirit, proceeded from the Parliament's Bringing me upon my Knees for my Abhorring of Petitions; and, next, the City of *London*'s Turning me out of my Recorderſhip.

The Anger, the Rage, the Spight I conceived at this double Diſgrace and Affront, was the firſt accurſed Gall that poiſoned me; a Reſentment that ſtruck me ſo deep, and ſo cankered every Faculty of my Soul, that what is it I did not ſtudy, contrive, and plot to be revenged? I profeſs, in the Agony of my Thought, I was a hundred Times not only thinking, but reſolving, if no other Means, to turn Wizard, to wreak my Malice upon my Enemies, had my ſmall Belief (Heaven forgive me) of either a God or a Devil, perſuaded me there was any ſuch Creature as a Witch, or ſuch an Art as Sorcery.

As for that damned Town of *London*, not *Cataline*, againſt Old *Rome*, was half ſworn a Foe, as I, againſt that inſolent proud City. Really and ſincerely, I could willingly and heartily, out of my own Pocket, though I ſold my laſt Rag in the World, have been myſelf at the Charge of a new Monument, ſo I had had but the Pleaſure of a ſecond ſame Occaſion of building it. Nay, verily, I envied the Fate of the old *Eroſtratus*, and that more modern Worthy, *Hubart*; and could have wiſhed my own Name, though at the Price of his Deſtiny, engraven in the very Room of that wiſely raſed-out Inſcription, on ſo glorious Occaſion.

It was then, alas! edged and enraged with a mortal Hate, and an avowed Vengeance againſt that accurſed and deteſted City, and more deteſted Parliaments, with two ſuch meritorious Qualifications. I applied myſelf to the once great *Coleman*'s greater Maſter, at that Time an early, and indeed almoſt governing Pilot at the Helm; both infallible Recommendations to entitle me to the higheſt Hopes of the moſt exalted Honours. In ſhort, I entered, liſted, and ſwore myſelf Engineer-General under that leading Hero's Banners; and how hugged, and how embraced, my ſucceeding almoſt Deluge of good Fortune, Glories and Preferments, will ſufficiently teſtify.

And, though the World has ſometimes wondered at ſo ſudden a Riſe, as, in little more than ſeven Years, to mount from a *Finsbury* Pettyfogger, to a Lord High-Chancellor of *England*; from Bawling at a Hedge-Court-Bar for a Five Shillings Fee, to ſit Equity-Driver, with Ten-thouſand Pounds *per Annum*, beſides Preſents and Bribes unaccountable, honeſtly gotten. But, alas! to rectify the Miſtakes of Mankind, and ſuppreſs their Aſtoniſhment at ſo unprecedented an Advance, I muſt aſſure them, that as no Hiſtory affords a Parallel of ſuch a Crown-Favourite as myſelf; ſo no Age ever yielded ſuch a true Crown-Drudge neither, to deſerve thoſe Favours. Alas! my darling Fortune moved not half ſo rapid, as my dearer Counſels drove; and all the Careſſes of my Glory were thought but the pooreſt Mead and Reward of thoſe Services that gained them.

But, to recite my fatal Particulars: Upon my firſt Entrance (as I was ſaying) of Engineer-General, our firſt great Attack was againſt the Charter of *London*; and, to the Honour of my premier Effort, what by our terrible dead-doing *Quo Warranto*, my own invented Battering Ram, planted againſt them at *Weſtminſter*, and the *Tower-Hill* Guns removed, and mounted againſt them on the *Tower* Battlements; we ſoon reduced that imperious Town, to almoſt as intire a Subjection and Vaſſalage, as our own Hearts, and our *Roman* Friends, could wiſh.

Next, for thoſe Prerogative-Crampers, thoſe Checkmates of Crowns, called Parliaments, there our Triumph was abſolute; we prorogued or diſſolved, and danced them from Pillar to Poſt, from *Weſtminſter* to *Oxford*, &c. at Pleaſure; and Heaven knows, with timely, prudent, and wiſe Care, to huſh their too impudently inquiſitive Curioſity into our *Coleman*'s Packets, our *Le Chaiſe* and *Lewis* Intrigues, and the reſt of our Popiſh Plots and Cabals; and all, God knows, little enough to keep our cloven Foot undiſcovered.

Fluſhed with ſuch proſperous Succeſs, even in my infant Miſchiefs, What was it that I either ſtaggered or ſhrunk at? My Temptations ſo allured me, my Rewards ſo dazzled me, and my Felicity ſo hardened me, that Moderation, Reluctance, or Humanity, were only ſo many Manacles and Shackles, that my impatient Soul threw off with Diſdain.

Who, alas! but I, with ſo much unrelenting and pitileſs Barbarity, triumphed in the Blood of thoſe poor miſerable Weſtern Wretches; and ſanguined my very Ermins in their Gore, till even the Air, with the Noiſomeneſs of their Carcaſſes, ſtunk al[illegible] much, if poſſible, as the very [illegible] *Jefferies* their Butcher? Yes, and I acted by the commiſſioning Vengeance that ſent me thither, to inform the Heretick Enemies of *Rome*, how much their Blood tickles when it ſtreams; and to let them know by the Sample of my Hand, how keen is a Popiſh Edge-Tool.

Was it not I too, that with ſo much Cunning and Artifice, and by ſo many rhetorical High-Treaſon Flouriſhes, wheedled poor *Corniſh* to a Gibbet, and *Ruſſel* to a Scaffold? Yes, and it was a Maſter-Piece! To give the trembling World a timely Warning what Proteſtant Zeal muſt truſt to, when Popiſh Malice is pleaſed to be angry; and to convince how eaſily can a Jeſuitical Engine wire-draw Guilt, where Popiſh Rancour is reſolved to deſtroy.

Who diſſolved all the Charters, and new-garbelled all the Corporations, but *Jefferies?* And why, but to prepare them to underſtand that, what with our *Quo Warranto's*, and the reſt of our modelling Tools, we were reſolved, at laſt, to have Parliaments *A la-mode de Paree*, and their Dragoon-Reformers too, ſoon after.

Who invented that inſnaring Command to the Biſhops, of Reading the Declaration, and put their Refuſal to the Stretch of High Miſdemeanor, if not High Treaſon, but the Chancellor? And why, think you, but to ſatisfy them what *Romiſh* Eye-ſores are the Proteſtant Lawn-ſleeves; and that they ſhall want neither Juſtles nor Stumbling blocks to trip their Heels up, and their Heads off too, when they ſtand in our Way?

Who but the great *Jefferies*, in Defiance of the very Fundamentals of human Society, the original Laws of Nature, and to the Face of *Magna Charta* itſelf, got the Biſhop of *London* ſilenced and ſuſpended, without ſo much as that univerſal and common Right, ſacred even amongſt Heathens and Infidels, *viz.* The Privilege of making either Plea or Defence, condemned, untried and unheard? Yes, I did it; to inſtruct the World what feeble Cobweb-Lawn are the Bonds of Juſtice, Law, Liberty, Common Right, *&c.* in the Hands of an Imperial *Popiſh Sampſon Agoniſtes?*

Was it not I too, by my Eccleſiaſtick, High-commiſſion Supremacy, not only againſt the Statutes and Cuſtoms of the Univerſity, but the poſitive Laws of the Land, turned *Maudlin*-College into a Seminary of Jeſuits, and in Spight of that Bulwark of the Church of *England*, the Act of Uniformity, converted a Collegiate Chapel, into a Maſs-houſe? And by the ſame Juſtice, might not every Collegiate, Cathedral, and Parochial Church have had the ſame Converſion? And both the Fountains of Religion and Learning, the Mother Univerſities, been deprived of all her Proteſtant Sons, and re-peopled with the whole Race of St. *Omer*, aud *Salamanca?*

Who did all this? The Chancellor! Yes, and he ſaved the Church of *England*, and the whole *Engliſh* Liberty, by it. The Nation was lulled into ſo profound a Sleep, that they wanted ſuch Thunder-claps, and ſuch a *Boanerges*, to awaken them from their Lethargy.

With theſe ſerious Reflexions, that theſe rapid and violent Motions of the *Romiſh* Cauſe, are, and have been the Deſtruction of it; Who has been the Proteſtants Champion, but I? Who has pulled off the Vizor from the Scarlet Whore, and expoſed the painted *Babylon* Proſtitute, but I? And if I drove like *Jehu*, it was only to the Confuſion of a *Jezabel.* Who called in the Deliverer of our Church and Laws, that ſecond *Hannibal*, that mighty *Naſſau*, but *Jefferies?* Who has re-mounted the ſinking Glory of our Temples, till their Pinacles ſhall kiſs Heaven, but *Jefferies?* Who has united Two ſuch formidable Proteſtant Neighbours with that eternal Link of Intereſt, as ſhall render us once more the Arbiters of *Europe*, and Terror of the World? Who but *Jefferies*, and *Jefferies*'s Conduct, has joined thoſe Naval Forces, thoſe floating Walls, that ſhall one Day mew up that *French* Antichriſtian Monſter, till in Deſpight and Deſpair, he burſts his Soul out at his *Fiſtula?*

In Fine, Who has cut off the very Entail of Popery and Slavery from three happy Kingdoms, but *Jefferies?* Three Kingdoms did I ſay? Yes, poſſibly has laid that Foundation to the Proteſtant Cauſe, as perhaps ſhall one Day make her over-top the Seven proud Hills, and ſtrike her Dagger into the very Gates of *Rome.*

With this Confeſſion of my Crimes, which under the afflicting Hand of Heaven, I think myſelf obliged to give the World, I beſeech my Enemies themſelves ſo to repreſent my Caſe, as that at leaſt, *Out of the Devourer may come forth Meat; and out of the Strong, Sweetneſs:* And by balancing the Services of my Actions againſt the Guilt of them, give me ſome ſmall Dawn of Hope, that the approaching Parliament, my Judges, my Accuſers themſelves, may be ſoftened into ſome Commiſeration, and Forgiveneſs. I aſſure them, if Heaven ſpare me Life to aſk it, they ſhall want neither Confeſſion, Diſcovery, nor Contrition, to obtain their Abſolution. And black as I am, I beg, even my moſt hard-hearted Adverſaries, to conſider, that ſtill I am not blacker than *Judas.* And alas! there was ſome Merit even in *Judas*; for there wanted his Betraying of his God, for the Saving of the World.

An

An ALPHABETICAL INDEX

To the FOURTH VOLUME of the

HARLEIAN MISCELLANY.

ABSTINENCE (The prodigious) of *Martha Taylor* 41, &c.
Achmet, Emperor of the *Turks*, a Breviate of his Reign 33
——— Death and Iſſue *ib.*
——— Reſolves, before his Death, the Murder of his Brother *Muſtapha* *ib.*
——— His Dream *ib.*
——— Alters his Reſolution, and Declaration of him to be his Succeſſor 34
Adventures of Don *Sebaſtian*, King of *Portugal*, after his Impriſonment at *Naples* 403, &c.
Advice. See Sir *Edward Harwood*'s.
Alfred's (King) being at *Rome* conſidered 104
——— Orders concerning frequent Parliaments 174
Algier, The Emperor *Charles the Fifth*'s Enterpriſe againſt it 504, &c.
Aliment, what the Defect thereof requires for the Support of human Life 45, 53
Allen's (*William*) Killing no Murder, dedicated to *O. Cromwell* 276
Alms-houſes (Working) or Hoſpitals, the beſt Expedient to perfect the Trade and Manufactory of Cloth 464
Ambaſſadors, their Perſons are ſacred 269
——— Are neceſſary and uſeful 270
——— Their Murderers muſt be deprived of all Protection, and be puniſhed with Death 272
Angra, An Account of a Rebellion began there on the Iſle of *Tercera* 406
Anſelm, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* 482
Apparitions (Strange) or the Ghoſt of King *James the Firſt* 501
Articles of Agreement between King *Charles the Firſt* and the *Iriſh* Papiſts 473, &c.
Aſcham's (*Anthony*) Murder, &c. See Proceſs and Pleadings.
——— How he was ſent to, and received as the Parliament's Ambaſſador in *Spain* 269
Aſton (Sir *James*)
Armand (*John*) See Cardinal *Richlieu*.
Athens exiſting *Anno* 1220 116
Attainder (Bill of) againſt *Thomas* Earl of *Strafford* 500
Aulic Council 450
Auſtria (The Houſe of) See Emperor and *Vienna*.
———'s (*Ann* of) Contrivance to have a Child 225
——— How mentioned by the King's Brother 226
——— (The Archduchy of) deſcribed 450, &c.
Ayſcue's (Sir *George*) Victory over the *Dutch* 316

B.

Barnard (Duke) of *Saxon Weimar*, his Courage and Bravery after the Loſs of his King in Battle 193
——— Is wounded 194
——— Gains the Battle *ib.*
——— Retires, and views his Army 195

Barnard is unanimouſly choſen Commander in Chief 195
~~*Barrowe*'s (*Henry*) Examination before the Council~~ 326
Baſtard (The Great) Protector of the Little-one 221
Baſtwicke (Dr.) his Accuſation and Defence in the *Star-chamber* 15
——— His Sentence 17
——— The Execution of the Sentence 18
——— His Speech *ib.*
Batchelors unjuſt Charge againſt the Maidens 417
——— Humble Remonſtrance 479
Becka. See *Pichau.*
Becket (*Thomas*) Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* 482
Belvoir Caſtle, a *Pindarick* Ode 527, &c.
Beſt's (Captain *Thomas*) Voyage 212
Bill (A new) drawn up by a Committee of Grievances, in Reply to the Ladies and Batchelors Petition, *&c.* 416
—— Of Attainder againſt *Thomas* Earl of *Strafford* 500
Biolychnium, Obſervations thereon 47
Biſhops, an Admonition to them 363
Blake (Juſtice) commits *Strangeways* to *Newgate* 7
——'s (General) Victory over the *Dutch* 316
Bodley's (Sir *Thomas*) Life, by himſelf 300, &c.
——— His Birth and Education 301
——— Commenceth Maſter of Arts, enjoys ſeveral Offices in the Univerſity of *Oxford*, and travels 302
——— Employed in ſeveral Ambaſſies *ib.*
——— Means of his Diſgrace at Court 303
——— Is recalled 304
——— Refuſeth Court Employments, and founds the Library at *Oxford* *ib.*
——— His Death 305
Bonaſius, the Emperor, his untimely End, through Exceſs in Eating and Drinking 455
Boſcabel-Houſe 422
Bread (The *Queen*'s) why ſo called 223
——— (The *Cardinal*'s) why ſo called *ib.*
Bruce (*Robert the*) See Letter of the Nobility, *&c.*
[redacted]'s (Duke of) Ghoſt's Conference with the Gh[redacted] *James the Firſt* 501
Bum-baily deſcribed 141, &c.
Burton's (Reverend Mr.) Accuſation and Defence in the *Starchamber* 17
——— His Sentence or Cenſure *ib.*
——— The Execution of the Cenſure 18, 21
——— His Behaviour and Speech 21
——— Patience and Reſignation 24

C.

Cabinet (The *Iriſh*) or King *Charles the Firſt*'s ſecret Papers, for Eſtabliſhing the Papal Clergy in *Ireland*, with other Matters, *&c.* 470, &c.
Cales. See *Gades.*
Cappenberg. See *Kapfenburg.*
Careleſs (Colonel) 422
Carniola (Province of) 356, and N. on 38
Carnus (City of) See N. 451
~~*Carr*'s (Mr. *Robert*) Advancement at Court,~~ Favour with his King, and Condemnation for the Poiſoning of Sir *Thomas Overbury* 59
Caſtration of Popiſh Eccleſiaſticks, the beſt Way to prevent the Growth of Popery 395
——— Cannot be thought cruel 398
——— Reaſons for it 399
Cateſby (*Robert*) 254
Celeia, or *Celia.* See *Cilley.*
Celibacy of the Clergy, what maintained in the Church of *Rome* 396
Cellier's (*Eliſabeth*) Propoſal for a Foundling-hoſpital 136, &c.
Cenſure (The) of the *Rota*, &c. 179, &c.
Century (A) of Names and Scantlings in 1665, by the Biſhop of *Worceſter* 489
Cetius (Mountain of) in *Carniola* 385
Chaplain's (The) Petition 200
Charles the Fifth's Enterpriſe againſt *Algier*, &c. 504
Charles the Firſt's (King) Injuſtice to *Carew Raleigh*, Eſq; 60. See Cabinet.
——— *the Second*'s Marriage with Mrs. *Walters* proved 160
——— Denial thereof 157
——— Examples of his Prevarications and Breaking his Word 161
——— His ſolemn Appeal to Heaven, with Obſervations thereon 162
——— The Motive for his Denial of this Marriage 163
——— Eſcape from *Worceſter* 420
Character of a Tyrant 280, &c.
Chaſe's (Father *Le*) Perſuaſives to *Lewis the Fourteenth*, to break the Edict of *Nantz* 222
Child-bearing. See Women.
Churchill's (The Lord) Letter to the King 57
Cilley, or *Cilly*, in *Stiria* 386, 393
Circkniz (Lake of) in *Carniola* 357
Clanius, how deceived 202
Cloud (The) opened 143, &c.
Codroipo (Village of) in *Italy* 350
Coin. See Sir *Thomas Roe.*
—— How its Decay may be prevented 413
Cole's (*William*) Rod for the Lawyers, *&c.* 305
——— See *Lowtherſtone.*
Commonwealth. See Republic.
Committee of Grievances, their Bill. *See* Bill.
Conegliano (Town of) in *Italy* 350
Cooke's (*Alexander*) Dialogue, proving the Reality of Pope *Joan* 61, &c.
Cordel (Mr. *Thomas*) of *London*, Merchant 204
Cornwallis's (Sir *Charles*) Diſcourſe concerning *Henry* Prince of *Wales* 219, &c.
Cottington's (Lord) Cenſure of Dr. *Baſtwicke*, &c. in the *Star-chamber* 17
Court (Imperial) See *Vienna*, and 445

Crab

Crab (Roger) the *Engliſh* Hermit near *Uxbridge* 453
——— Kept Shop at *Cheſham* in *Buckinghamſhire* 454
——— The Manner of his abſtemious Life *ib.*
——— The Reaſon thereof 455, 456, 457
Cromwell (Oliver) an Obſervation on his Fall from his Coach 152
———'s Sermon at Sir *P. T*'s Houſe in *Lincoln*'s *Inn Fields* 168, &c.
———'s Title to the Government of *England* conſidered 280
Cruelties of the *Turks*, and their frightful Ways of putting People to Death 33
Czerniza (Village of) 352

D.

Delaval (*Ralph*) Vice-admiral of the Red 523
Derbyſhire Damſel. See *Martha Taylor*.
Dewis (Major)
Diggs (Sir *Dudley*) 296
Dover, Sir *Walter Raleigh*'s Diſcourſe concerning its Port and Haven 292
——— Haven, by whom made 294
——— Its Advantages *ib.*
——— Propoſed to be repaired in King *Charles the Second*'s Time, and how prevented 298, 299
Draper's (M.) Verſes on Sir *Edward Harwood* 255, 256
Draſtkirchen (Town of) in *Auſtria* 431
Dutch beaten by the *Engliſh* at Sea. See *Hollanders*.
Duty of Mothers to ſuckle their own Children 25, &c.

E.

Ear-mark of an oppreſſive Tally-man 141, &c.
Eaſt-India Trade, its Advantages 207, 413
——— The Hazards therein 211, &c.
Edward the Fourth's (King) Marriage to *Elinor Talbot* denied by him 159
——— Obſervations thereon *ib.*
——— Recogniſed by Parliament *ib.*
Edwin (Miſs) 450
Egliſham's Ghoſt. See *Buckingham*'s.
Ehrnhauſen (Town of) in *Stiria* 388
Emperor's Court. See *Vienna*.
——— Titles 449
——— Forces 444
——— Authority 449
——— Marriage and Iſſue *ib.*
——— Aulic Council 450
England, Advice for its Preſervation againſt a foreign Power 260
——— Reflextions on its preſent State 426
Engliſh Victory over the *Dutch* at Sea 316
Epitaph of Sir *Edward Harwood* 259
Eſſen (City of) in *Germany*. See N. 358
Eſſex's (Earl of) Inſtructions for *England*'s Safety 263
Everatt's (*George*) Encouragement for Seamen 373, &c.
Eugene's (Prince) Character 450
Exceſs in Meat and Drink, ſad Examples thereof 455

F.

Faſting, *See* Abſtinence. Examples of great Faſts 43
Fawkes (*Guido*) diſcovered 244
——— Seized and examined 245
——— Confeſſion 246
Fiſtricz, River and Mountains in *Carniola* 385
——— River and Town in *Stiria* 387
Fens (Draining of) its Advantage to the Nation, 414
Fermentation, Obſervations concerning it 49, 51
Finch's (Sir *John*) Speech to Mr. *Prynne* 12
——— to Dr. *Baſtwicke* 15
——— to the Revd. Mr. *Burton*. 17
——— His Addition to their Cenſure *ib.*
Fiſhing Trade, its Advantage 187, 414
Food. See Aliment.
Forde's (*Edward*) Propoſals for paying and maintaining Fleets, and rebuilding *London* 186, &c.
Foreigners, why to be encouraged in our Manufactures 415
Foundlings. See Hoſpital Royal.
Four for a Penny, *&c.* 141, &c.
French, Admiral *Ruſſel*'s Victory over their Fleet 521, &c.
Frili (Town of) in *Stiria* 428
Franicz. See *Vernich*.
Franz or *Franiz* (Town of) in *Stiria* 386
Fuſſel (*John*) murdered by *Geo. Strangeways* 1, &c. See *Strangeways*.
Fuſſel jun. (*John*) commended 4

G.

Gades, whence it takes its Name 410
Gameſters (The State) or the old Cards new packed and ſhuffled 384
Ghoſt of K. *James* I. 501
Gifford (*Charles*, Eſq; Guide to K. *Charles* II. eſcaping from *Worceſter* 420
Glamorgan's (The Earl of) Agreemen[illegible]ith the *Iriſh* Papiſts, by Commiſſion from K. [illegible]*arles* I. 473, &c.
Goffe's (*Will.*) Method to advance Trade, and employ the Poor 366
Gonavitz or *Gonawicz* (Town of) in *Stiria* 387
Gorde (*De la*) 195
Gorizia or *Goritia* (City of) 351
Gorz or *Gortz*. See *Gorizia*.
Government, Cautions to be obſerved therein 237
———, *Levellers* Principles concerning it 515, &c.
Grand (Mr. *le*) Favourite with *Ann* of *Auſtria*, 226

Grand (Mr. *le*) The reputed Father of *Lewis* XIV. *ib.*
——— Was beheaded 227
——— His laſt Words *ib.*
Graunt (John) 252
Greenwood's *(John)* Examination before the Council 326, 338
Grotſhead (Rupertus) his Character 97
Gradiſca (Town of) in *Italy* 351
Gratz (City) Capital of *Stiria* 388
Grievances (The Committee of.) See Bill.
Gunpowder-Plot, King *James* I's Speech concerning it 234
——— How diſcovered 240
——— A Conſultation and Opinions thereon 243
——— Who concerned therein 246, 247. 251, 252
——— What became of the Conſpirators, after *Fawkes* was taken 252
H.
Guyſe (Mr. *de*) how and why concerned in the Murder of *Henry de Valois* 230
Hamilton's (Marquis of) Ghoſt, and Conference with K. *James* I's Ghoſt 501
Harbours for Shipping ought to be well repaired 293
Harwood's (Sir *Edward*) Advice, upon Occaſion of the *French* King's Preparation, for ſecuring and fortifying of the Kingdom 255, 260
——— Verſes in his Honour 255, 256, 259
——— His Life and Death 258
——— Epitaph 259
Haſtings (Capt.) how killed 523
Heat natural, Obſervations thereon 46
Henry Prince of *Wales*, a Diſcourſe concerning his Highneſs by Sir *Charles Cornwallis* 319, &c.
——— His Character 321
——— Knowledge 322
——— Exerciſes or Diverſions 323
——— Chaſtity *ib.*
——— Sincerity 324
——— Juſtice *ib.*
——— Perſonage, &c. and Death 325
Henry IV. King of *France* how murdered 232
——— Wounds the Murderer *ib.*
——— By whom perſecuted to Death 231
Hermit (The *Engliſh*) or Wonder of the Age 453
Hero (The *Engliſh*) 143, &c.
Herring Fiſhery, its Profitableneſs 203, &c. 213, &c.
——— How eſteemed by the *Dutch* 215
——— How to be diſpoſed of 216
——— Of what Profit to the *Dutch* 217
——— Its Help to other Trades 219
Holloway (Mr.) the Means of diſcovering Mr. *Fuſſel*'s Murderer 6
Hierro's (Don *Auguſtin de*) Charge againſt the Murderers of *Anthony Aſcham*, &c. 268
Hoſpital (Royal) a Scheme for ſuch a Foundation for Foundlings and expoſed Children 136, &c.
——— Rules for its Government 138
Huddleſtone (Mr.) aſſiſting K. *Charles* II. to eſcape after the Battle of *Worceſter* 424
Humours (Seminal) Obſervations thereon 50
I.
Jacobin (Friar) murdered *Henry* IV. of *France* 232
——— His Confeſſion and Execution 233
James I. (King) His Character 158
——— Ghoſt 591
——— Speech concerning the *Powder-plot* 234
——— Suſpects it 243
——— II. His Character before he came to the Throne 164
Janiſaries mutiny againſt the Emperor *Oſman* 29
Ignorance of Popiſh Prieſts 124
Inſtructions by the Earl of *Eſſex* for *England*'s Safety 263
Incontinency of Nuns and Monks, &c. proved 123, 393
Inniskillin, an Account of the Service performed by the Men thereof 477
Joan (Pope) proved by *Alexander Cooke*, in Oppoſition to *Bellarmine*, &c. 61, &c.
——— Of what Country ſhe was 89, 113
——— Obſervations concerning her Name 112
——— In what Order does ſhe ſtand in the Papal *Faſti* 112
——— How long ſhe reigned 114
Iſolani, a *Swediſh* General ſlain 193
Iſlet, Major General under the King of *Sweden* ſlain 194
K.
Kapfenburg (Town) in *Stiria* 429
Killing no Murder, dedicated to *O. Cromwell* 276, &c.
King, the Power of the Laws over a miſled King 525
Krainska des Kela. See *Carniola.*
L.
Lane's (Mrs.) Advice in the Eſcape of K. *Charles* II. 425
——— (Colonel) *ib.*
Laud's (Arch.) Birth and Life 360, &c.
——— His Behaviour in the *Star-Chamber* *ib.*
Promoted *Arminianiſm* 361
——— Favoured Popery *ib.*
——— The Cauſe of all K. *Charles* I's Troubles 362
——— Impriſonment and Execution *ib.*
——— Compared with Cardinal *Wolſey* 482
Laubach (City) in *Carniola* 354
Laws, to what End they ought to aim 306
——— of *England*, by whom, and for what Ends enacted *ib.*
——— How managed 308
——— Their Miſcarriages, how to be rectified 309

Laws, Their Power over a miſled King 525
Lawyers, a Rod for them 305
—— Only ſeek their own Advantage 307
—— Their annual Charge and Burthen to the Nation *ib.*
—— How to be amended 309
—— A Word to the Parliament concerning them 310
———— Army, concerning them 311
———— Lawyers 211
Letter (A) concerning King *Charles*'s II. Diſavowing his Marriage with the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Mother 157
—— of the Nobility, *&c.* of *Scotland* to Pope *John* concerning their Reſolution to adhere to *Robert Bruce* their King, and to maintain their Liberties 485
—— From Admiral *Ruſſel* to the Earl of *Nottingham* 521, &c.
Leveller (The) or the *Levellers* Principles of Government 515
Luyenes (Mr.) Familiarity with *Lewis* XIII. 224
Lewis XIIIth's Letter to his eſpouſed *Anne* of *Auſtria* 224
—— Why he abſtained four Years from her Bed *ibid.*
——His Imbecillity 225
Lewis XIV. King of *France*; ſee the Great Baſtard, why called *le Grand* 227
——Why not bound to keep the Edict of *Nantz* 222
Lincoln's (The Counteſs of) Nurſery 25
Lodge's (*Thomas*) Nurſery of the Counteſs of *Lincoln* 25, &c.
London. See Money.
Lorrain's (The Duke of) Letter concerning the Baſtardy of *Lewis* XIV. 227
Lowtherſtone, an Account of Sir *William Cole*'s Regiment and Troop, and of their Behaviour there 477
Lutzen, the Battle fought there between the King of *Sweden* and *Walſtein* 187, &c.

M.

Mabel's (Mrs.) Dealings with *George Strangeways* 2
Magna Charta 307
Mahomet the Third, his Sons 33
Maidens (The) Anſwer to the Batchelors Charge concerning the Difficulty of getting a Wife 417
Marlborough. See *Churchill.*
Manufactures bad, the Cauſe of the *Engliſh* Trade's Decay Abroad 414
Marburg or *Marchburg* (City) in Lower *Stiria* 387
Mariners, Encouragement for them 373
Markſman unhappy 1, &c.
Matrimony, how and by whom deſpiſed 313
———— Why Men ought to be obliged to marry 314
Maxims and Principles. See *Levellers.*
Mertzhofen (Town) in *Stiria* 429
Merzſelag (Town) in *Stiria* *ibid.*
Meſtre (Village) 348
Middleton's (Sir *Hugh*) Voyage to the *Eaſt-Indies*, and Death 211 & 213
Milton. See *Rota.*
Mojana (Town) 348
Money to pay and maintain Fleets and rebuild *London* 186, &c.
Monk (General) 144, 156
Monks. See Incontinency, Caſtration.
Monmouth's (Duke of) Mother. See Letter.
Monteagle (Lord) a Means of diſcovering the *Gunpowder Plot* 242
——— The Letter he received, by which it was ſuſpected 243
Mothers Duty to ſuckle their own Children 25, &c.
Murderers of Ambaſſadors cannot be protected by any Sanctuary 212
Muſcovy, its Trade advantageous 203
——— Supplanted by the *Dutch* *ibid.*
Muſtapha, how preſerved in Priſon from Death 32, 34 40
——— Is declared by *Achmet* his Succeſſor *ibid.*
——— Depoſed by *Oſman* 35
——— Reſtored 40
——— What Ways he took to ſecure his Power *ibid.*

N.

Names and Scantlings of ſuch Inventions as the Biſhop of *Worceſter* has tried and perfected in 1655 489, &c.
Navigation, how profitable to the Nation 204, &c. 293
——— By what Means ſupported in *England* 205, 293
Navy Royal, how to be ſpeedily and effectually manned 373, &c.
Neunkirchen (Village) in *Auſtria* 430
Neuſtadt (City) in *Auſtria* *ibid.*
Newcaſtle Trade 205
——— The Encouragement and Nurſery of Sailors 210
Nottingham. See *Ruſſel.*
Nuns. See Incontinency.
Nurſery of the Counteſs of *Lincoln* 25, &c.
Nurſing, the Duty of Mothers proved, and Objections againſt it anſwered 27, 29

O.

Oils, Obſervations concerning them 48
Onogyros (The Herb) 143
Ormond's (The Earl) Treaty in the Name of King *Charles* I. with the *Iriſh* Papiſts 470, &c.
Oſgualdo (San) a Town in *Carniola* 386
Oſman depoſeth *Muſtapha* 35
——Reſolves War againſt *Poland* *ibid.*
——Proclaims the War; prepares and marches in Perſon *ibid.*
—— The Engagement *ibid.*

Oſman ſuffered great Annoyances and Hardſhips 37
——Makes Peace 38
——Returns to *Conſtantinople* ibid.
—— How received at his own Metropolis ibid.
——Reſolves to go to *Mecca* 39
——Is made Priſoner by the Janizaries, and depoſed and ſtrangled 40
Owen Mac Arte O Neal put to Flight 477, &c.
Oxeſterne (Chancellor) of *Sweden* 195

P.

Palmada, or *Palma Nova* (Fortreſs) in *Italy* 350
Pamela 183
Pamyri. See *Vampyres*.
Paris's (*Matt.*) Account of ſeveral Popes 98
Parſons's (Father *Robert*) Character 126
Pannonia 451
Paſſages in the *Star-chamber* concerning *Baſtwicke*, *Burton*, and *Prynne*, &c. 12
Pappenheim 192, 193
—— His Death 194
—— His Character *ib.*
Parliament (An Annual) Reaſons for it 174
—— When firſt prorogued *ib.*
—— Its Nature 238
—— Of whom compoſed 239
—— What Things come under its Cogniſance *ib.*
—— To what End ordained *ib.*
—— How it ſhould act to attain thoſe Ends *ib.*
—— A Word to it, by *Will. Cole* 305, 310
Parliament-man's (A good) Qualifications 174, 177
Pawnbroker's Character, by *Poor Robin* 141, &c.
Pawns, on what Intereſt to be lent 186
Pecka. See *Pichau*.
Pendrill (*William*) 420
—— (*Humphrey*) *ib.*
—— (*Joan*) 423
—— (*John*) 425
—— (*Richard*) 420
Penrie's (*John*) Examination before the Council 326, 340
Peters's (*Hugh*) Epitaph on Sir *Edw. Harwood* 259
Petition (The Chaplains) for Redreſs of Grievances 200
—— of the Ladies of *London* and *Weſtminſter* 312
—— of the Widows, for Redreſs of Grievances 381
Petitions, a Catalogue of ſuch as are ordered to be drawn up, *&c.* 364
Pithius, his Craft 202
Piave (River) in *Italy* 349
Pipaco (Village) 353
—— (River) *ib.*
Plania. See *Planino*.
Planino (Village) 353
Pichau (Village) in *Stiria* 428
Pökach. See *Pichau*.
Podbetſch. See *Puotpoiz*.
Poor, how to be employed 366, 465, &c.
Popetſch. See *Puotpoiz*.
Polanders, their War with *Oſman*, the Great *Turk* 36
—— Peace, how, and upon what Conditions made 38
Popes, why they take new Names at their Exaltation 105
—— Pedigrees of ſeveral of them 106
—— Manner of ſome of their Deaths 107
—— When firſt inhabited the *Vatican* 11
—— Miſtakes concerning the Succeſſion 114
—— Many Accuſations againſt them 127
Popiſh Impoſitions 85
—— Method to ſtifle Authorities againſt their Superſtition 87
—— Diſagreement about their Popes 91, 100, 104
—— Deceitful Way of quoting Authors 92, 119
—— Prieſts, their Ignorance 124
—— Incontinency 123, 395
—— Scandalous Lives 125
—— Plot 234, 240
—— Prieſts, how they may be diſcovered in *England* 400
Poſts, their Number between *Gorizia* and *Venice* 351
—— Between *Gorizia* and *Laubach* 354
—— Between *Laubach* and *Gratz* 388
—— From *Gratz* to *Vienna* 341
Popery, its Growth, how to be prevented 395
Prynne 12, &c.
—— His Accuſation in the *Star-chamber*, and Defence 12
—— His Sentence 17
—— The Execution thereof, and his Behaviour and Speech 11, 20
—— His Verſes, made on the Characters branded on his Cheeks 21
Prieſts. See *Popiſh*, Caſtration.
Preſs, the Tears thereof 426
—— Enormities 427
—— Cures *ib.*
Preſſing of Sailors, how to be prevented 373
Principles and Maxims of *Levellers* concerning Government and Religion 515, &c.
Proceſs and Pleadings in the Court of *Spain* upon the Death of *Anthony Aſcham* and *John Baptiſta Riva* 267, &c.
Propoſals for Raiſing Money to maintain Fleets, and rebuild *London* 186, &c.
—— For Building in every County a Working Alms-houſe, or Hoſpital 464, &c.
Prophecies (pretended) concerning *Sebaſtian*, King of *Portugal* 408
Prorogation of Parliament, when firſt attempted 174
Providence (The particular) of God over Kings 235
Prugg, or *Pruck* (City) in *Stiria* 428
Puniſhments to be inflicted on unmarried Men, *&c.* 418
Puotpoiz (Town) 385

Q.

Qualifications of a good Parliament-man 174—177

R.
Raleigh (Carew) Son of Sir *Walter* 57
—— His Petition to Parliament 58, 60
—— His Intereſt with King *Charles* I. 60
—— Submiſſion *ibid.*
Raleigh's (Sir *Walter)* Troubles, with a Taking away his Eſtate at *Sherburn* 57
—— His Station at the Acceſſion of K. *James* I. 58
—— On what Account brought into Diſgrace, *ibid.*
—— Is accuſed and condemned for High Treaſon *ibid.*
—— Cleared himſelf, is reſtored to his Eſtates, but continued Priſoner *ibid.*
—— His Eſtates contrived to be ſettled on Mr. *Robert Carr*, the King's Favourite *ibid.*
—— On what Conditions releaſed from Priſon 59
—— His Expedition to *Guiana*, Return and Death *ibid.*
—— Diſcourſe of Sea-ports, eſpecially of *Dover*, addreſſed to Queen *Eliſabeth* 292
Redelſtein (Village) in *Stiria* 428
Republic. See *Rota.*
—— Obſervations on the Riſe and Cauſes, &c. of Republicks 181
—— The bad Effects of that Sort of Government 182
Reſderda (Village) 353
Retlſtain. See *Redelſtein.*
Reynolds's *(John)* Diſcourſe upon prodigious Abſtinence 41, &c.
Remonſtrance of the Batchelors to the Ladies Petition for Huſbands 479
Religion, *Levellers*, Principles concerning it 515, &c.
Richlieu's (Cardinal) Impudence, 228. See *Anne* of *Auſtria.*
—— His Life 370, &c.
Riva (John Baptiſta.) *See* Proceſs and Pleadings.
Robinſon (Mr.) the *Engliſh* Miniſter at *Vienna* 441
Robin's (Poor) Character of a Pawnbroker, &c. 141
Rod (A) for the Lawyers 305
Roe's (Sir *Thomas)* Speech in Parliament concerning Coin and Trade 412
Romans xiii. 1. 168
Rome for *Canterbury*, or a Relation of the Birth and Life of Archbiſhop *Laud* 359, &c.
Rota (The Cenſure of the) upon *Milton*'s ready and eaſy Way to eſtabliſh a free Commonwealth, 179, &c.
Rotelſtein 428
Ruſſel's (Admiral) Letter to the Earl of *Nottingham*, containing his Succeſs over the *French* Fleet, 521, &c.
Ruttyer (Admiral.) See *De Witte.*
S.
Siac (Village) in *Italy* 350
Salſbury's (Earl of) Opinion of Lord *Monteagle*'s Letter 243
Saris's (Captain) Voyage 211
Scotland. See a Letter of the Nobility, &c.
Schottwzein (Town) in *Auſtria* 429
Schuzwein. See *Schottwein.*
Sea Ports. See *Dover.*
Seamen. See Mariners.
Seed. See Seminal Humours, Celibacy.
Sebaſtian (Don) King of *Portugal*; a true Hiſtory of his lamentable Adventures from his Impriſonment in *Naples* till his Arrival at St. *Lucar de Barrameda*, in *Spain* 403, &c.
—— What was propoſed to him, and his Anſwers in the Priſon 403
—— His Condemnation and Sentence 404
—— His Puniſhment executed 405
—— Is confined to the Gallies *ibid.*
—— Diſcovers himſelf by evident Tokens to the Duke of *Medina Sidonia* 407
—— A Prophecy concerning him 408
Sermon (A) preached by *Oliver Cromwell* 168, &c.
Sherburn forcibly taken from Sir *Walter Raleigh* 59
—— Entailed on his Heirs 58
Sigiſmond, King of *Poland*, his Wars with *Oſman* Emperor of the *Turks* 36, &c.
—— Obtains a Peace 38
Sleep, Obſervations thereon 54
Sligo, News from thence 476
Spleen, Obſervations on its Uſe 50
Star-Chamber. See *Baſtwicke*, *Paſſages.*
Stoaks (Captain) 317
Stiria 392
Strangeways (George) Murder of his Brother, 1, &c.
—— On what Account 3, 8
—— In what Manner 4, 6
—— Why apprehended 5
—— Methods to find him guilty *ibid.*
—— Is confined; denies the Fact; how diſcovered 5, 6, 7
—— His Policy 7
—— Confeſſion *ibid.*
—— His Trial 8
—— Refuſes to plead *ibid.*
—— His Sentence *ibid.*
—— Letter to his Brother *Dewie*, and Execution 9, 10
Strangeway's (Mrs. *Mabel)* Dealings with *George Strangeways* 2
—— Falls in Love with Mr. *Fuſſel* 3
Straſoldo (Village) in *Italy* 351
Strafford's (*Thomas* Earl of) Bill of Attainder 500
Swearing, Obſervations thereon 155
Sweden's (The King of) March to *Lutzen* 189
—— Reſolves to give the *Imperialiſts* Battle 190
—— His Exhortation and Preparation to Battle 191
—— His Invocation of *Jeſus* 192
—— Humility 195
—— Begins the Charge *ibid.*
—— Is wounded, retires and dies *ibid.*

Sweden's (the King of) Army endeavour to revenge their Loſs 195

—— Rout the *Imperialiſts* 194

—— Their Loſs *ibid.*

—— His Character 198

T.

Tajamento (River) in *Italy* 350

Tallyman's Character by *Poor Robin* 141, &c.

Taylor's *(Martha)* prodigious Faſt of Twelve Months 41, 55

—— Reflexions thereon 56

Tears (The) of the Preſs 426

Thompſon (Mr.) 6

—— Surrenders himſelf Priſoner, and confeſſes he had lent Mr. *Strangeways* a Gun 7

Tokay Wine 441

Tock-fiſh. See N. 442

Tourville (Monſieur) the *French* Admiral 522

Towerſon's (Captain) Voyage 211

Trade of the Nation, how to be advanced 366, 412, 415, 464

—— How it is injured 413

Trade's (The) Increaſe 202, &c. 464

—— Its Extent 205

Traſkirchen. See *Draskirchen.*

Travels of three *Engliſhmen* from *Venice* to *Hamburgh* 348

Treviſo or *Trivigi* (City) 349

Tuam (Archbiſhop) a Copy of King *Charles* I's Commiſſion to the Earl of *Ormond*, found in this Archbiſhop's Carriage 474, &c.

Turky-Trade 204

Turk's (the *Great*) Strangling and Death 32, &c.

Tyrants, Obſervations on their Advancement and Support; or Marks and Rules to know them by 280, 281

—— Whether lawful to kill them 286

See Uſurper.

V.

Valois (Henry de) The Enterpriſes and Conſpiracies made againſt him, and his Murder, 229, &c.

Vampyres, ſome Account of them 358

Veiſtricz. See *Feiſtricz.*

Venice. See Travels.

Vernich (Village) 353

Victory obtained by the *Engliſh* againſt the *Dutch* 316

Vienna (City) in *Auſtria* 431

Villes (Village) in *Italy* 351

Vindobona, Obſervations thereon 432

Upier, what 359

Upierzyca, what *ibid.*

Urſula (Saint) The Story of her and her Eleven-thouſand Virgins fabulous 115

Uſurper. See Tyrant. 284

—— The *Roman* Law againſt him 285

—— It is lawful to kill him 286

—— Whether his Removal can be any Advantage to the People 288

W.

Walſtein, purſued by the King of *Sweden* 190

—— Would avoid Fighting 191

—— His Endeavours to encourage his Forces *ibid.*

—— His Behaviour and Conduct after the Loſs of the Battle 195

Walters (Mrs.) Mother to the Duke of *Monmouth*, whether married to King *Charles* II. 157, 160

White Ladies Houſe 420

Whyneard 244

Whitegrave (Thomas) 424

Wilmot's (Lord) Eſcape at *Worceſter* 424

Winter's (*Thomas*) Confeſſion of the *Popiſh* Plot 247

Witte (De) fights the *Engliſh* Fleet 317

Wolſey (Cardinal) compared with Archbiſhop *Laud* 482

Women (Child-bearing) of great Age; ſeveral Examples 107

Worceſter's Century of Names and Scantlings 489

—— Addreſs to both Houſes of Parliament 490

Y.

York's (The Duke of) Character 164

Z.

Ziſca's Drum 144

The End of the Fourth Volume.

220. A *Supplicatyon* to the *Quene's* Majeſtie. Impryntid at *London*, by *John Cawoode*, Printer to the Quenes Majeſtie, wyth here moſt gracyous Lycence. (In twenty-ſeven Leaves, *black Letter*) *Octavo*, 1550

That Date, at the End of this Pamphlet, is an Error of the Preſs, and ſhould have been five Years later; as appears not only by ſeveral Facts mentioned, as the Condemnation of Biſhop *Hooper*, Mr. *Rogers*, Dr. *Taylor*, and Mr. *Sanders* to Death, but the Dating of one of the Author's *Exhortations* in the ſame Year, 1555. The Whole ſets forth, very freely and particularly, to Queen *Mary*, her Nobility and Gentry, and her Parliament, the wicked Diſſimulation of her Biſhops; who could firſt applaud the late King *Henry*, for throwing off the *Pope*'s Authority; and now his *Daughter*, for ſacrificing the Nation again under the Yoke of it. As is proved, more eſpecially, out of Biſhop *Gardener*'s Book *De Vera Obedientia*; Biſhop *Bonner*'s Preface to it, here tranſlated and exhibited in *Engliſh*; and from a Sermon preached before the ſaid King *Henry* by Biſhop *Tunſtall*. Alſo ſhews, how they condemned Cardinal *Pole*, for endeavouring traiterouſly to ſubvert the Nation by foreign Power in that King's Time; and now in this Queen's, how they encouraged the ſame, under the King of *Spain*, lately married to her.

221. The *Schole Maſter*: Or a plaine and perfect Way of *teaching Children* to underſtand, write, and ſpeake the *Latin* Tonge; but eſpecially propoſed for the *private Bringing up of Youth*, in *Jentlemen* and *Noblemen's Houſes*; and commodious alſo for all ſuch, as have forgot the *Latin Tonge*, and would by *Themſelves*, without a *Scholemaſter*, in ſhort Time, and with ſmall Paines, recover a ſufficient habilitie to underſtand, write, and ſpeake *Latin*. By *Roger Aſcham*. Printed by *John Day*. (In ſixty-ſeven Leaves, beſides the Dedication and Preface, *black Letter*) *Quarto*, 1571

This learned and elaborate Work, of that Author, who was *Latin* Secretary, and Tutor for the *Greek* Tongue, to Queen *Elizabeth*, was publiſhed about three Years after his Death, by his Wife *Margaret*; who dedicates it to Sir *William Cecill*, Principal Secretary of State. It was firſt undertaken, upon the Occaſion of ſome Diſcourſe which happened at the ſaid Sir *William Cecill*'s Table, in his Apartment at *Windſor*, when the Court was retired thither, at the Time of a great Plague, in *London*, in 1563. When Sir *William*, telling the Company, he had heard, That divers Scholars of *Eaton* had run away that Morning from the School, for Fear of Beating, it produced their different Sentiments, Whether *Mildneſs* or *Severity* had the beſt Effect in the *Scholaſtick* Education of Youth? Mr. *Aſcham* inclined, as Sir *William* had done, to the milder Courſe; and uſed ſuch Arguments, that Sir *Richard Sackville*, Treaſurer of the *Exchequer*, then preſent, afterwards prevailed upon him to draw his Thoughts out, upon the Teaching and Training of Youth, into a regular Treatiſe, for the Uſe, among others, of his Grandſon, Maſter *Robert Sackville*: And that was the Occaſion of writing this Work.

222. A Warning for the Wiſe, a Feare to the Fond, a Bridle to the Lewde, and a Glaſs to the Good. Written of the late *Earthquake* chanced in *London*, and other Places, the Sixth of *April*, 1580; for the Glorie of God, and Benefite of Men, that warily can walke, and wiſely can judge. Set forth in Verſe and Proſe, by *Thomas Churchyard*, Gentleman. Seen and allowed. Imprinted at *London* by *John Allde* and *Nicholas Lyng*. (In fifteen Leaves, *black Letter*) *Octavo*, 1580

Though *Anthony Wood* laboured much to get the Titles of this Author's Works, this Tract was ſo ſcarce, that he never got Sight, or Knowledge of it. It is dedicated to *Alexander Nowel*, Dean of St. *Paul's*, by the Author. And, after he has finiſhed his Account both in Proſe and Verſe, in the firſt Half of the Tract, then follows, *A ſhort Diſcourſe*, *by* Tarlton, *upon the Earthquake*; who makes as *pious* an Introduction to his Report of ſome Particulars thereof in *London*, as any Biſhop could have done; which is followed by as decent a *Prayer* to the ſame Purpoſe; and the Whole concludes with a very grave *Poem* upon the other Accidents or Tokens which had lately happened, and ought to be of Admonition to the Age;

that they might be able to render their Account, when called for. And this is ſigned, at the End, by the ſame Perſon, *Richard Tarlton*; who was the Queen's *Jeſter*, and the moſt drole or humourous *Comedian* of the Age. See another Pamphlet written upon this Earthquake, *Article* 178 in this *Catalogue*.

223. The *Engliſh Romayne Lyfe*: Diſcovering the *Lives* of the *Engliſhmen* at *Rome*; the *Orders* of the *Engliſh Seminarie*; the *Diſſention* betweene the *Engliſhmen* and the *Welchmen*; the Baniſhing of the *Engliſhmen* out of *Rome*; the *Pope*'s Sending for them again: A Report of many of the paultry *Reliques* in *Rome*; their *Vaults* under the Ground; their Holy *Pilgrimages*; and a Number other Matters, woorthie to be read and regarded of every one. Thereunto is added, the cruell Tiranny uſed on an *Engliſhman* at *Rome*, his Chriſtian Suffering, and notable *Martirdome*, for the Goſpel of *Jeſus Chriſt*, in *Anno* 1581. Written by *A. M.* ſometime the Pope's Schollar in the Seminarie among them, *&c.* Imprinted at *London*, by *John Charlwoode*, for *Nich. Ling*, &c. (In ſixty-ſeven Pages, *black Letter*, beſides the *Preface*, and *Dedication* to the Lord Chancellor, *Bromley*; Lord Treaſurer, *Burghley*; the Earl of *Leiceſter*, and the reſt of the Privy-Council, *black Letter*) *Quarto*, 1590

This Piece was written by *Anthony Munday*, as he ſigns himſelf in it; and it had been eight or nine Years under his Conſideration; as appears in another Pamphlet of his Writing, before ſpecified, in the 144th *Article* of this *Catalogue*. He gives a very diſtinct Account of the *Orders* obſerved by the *Engliſh*, who were *Students* in that *Seminary*; with the Manners and Practices of the *Engliſh* Prieſts and Jeſuits there, many of whom are named, to beguile the People out of their Senſes and their Money. In his Account of their *Reliques*, he tells us that Biſhop *Jewel*, once preaching upon that Subject, at *Paul's Croſs*, named the particular Places abroad, where the *Papiſts* pretend to have the very *Nails* which faſtened *Chriſt* to the *Croſs*; and they amounted to no leſs than Seventeen: Then he told them, that, at a Viſitation in his *Dioceſſe*, he met with one, at a Gentleman's Houſe, which was affirmed, by him, and his Friends, to be another of thoſe Nails; which, having borrowed, he told his Auditory, *He had already reckoned up Seventeen, and this is the Eighteenth*; ſo pulled it out, and ſhewed it them. In the laſt Chapter but one, our Author deſcribes the *Carne Vale* at *Rome*, alſo the *Pope*'s Manner of *Curſing* the *Hereticks* on *Maunde Thurſday*; with the Cuſtom of the *Flagellante*. And in the laſt Chapter, it appears, the *Engliſhman*, who ſuffered Martyrdom for his Irreverence and Contempt of their Ceremonies, was *Richard Atkins*, an *Hertfordſhire* Man, who periſhed in the Flames with wonderful Patience.

224. The *Honour* of the *Garter*: Diſplaied in a *Poeme* Gratulatorie. Entitled to the worthie and renowned Earle of *Northumberland*; created *Knight* of that *Order*, and inſtalled at *Windſore*, *Anno Regni Elizabethæ* 35. *Die Junii* 26. By *George Peele*, Maiſter of Artes, in *Oxenforde*. At *London*, printed by the Widdowe *Charlewood*, &c. (In eleven Leaves) 4*to*.

This *Poem*, which was printed in the Year 1593, is written in Lines of ten Syllables, without Rhime; or what we call *blank Verſe*. In his *Prologue*, after his Addreſſes to, and Praiſes of that Nobleman, for his Knowledge in Mathematicks and Philoſophy; and his Lamentation of the Loſs of thoſe Patrons of the Muſes, *Sidney* and *Walſingham*; the Author gives a Character of thoſe Contemporary Poets, *Spenſer*, *Harrington*, *Daniel*, *Campion*, and *Fraunce*; and aſks why they do not follow thoſe Patrons, and alſo theſe departed Poets, *Phaer*, *Watſon*, and *Marlow*? Adviſing them to exchange this Spot, ſo barren of Repaſt, for the *Eliſian* Fields; unleſs *Auguſta* will reſtore Learning from the Wrongs it bears of Covetouſneſs and Court Diſdain. In the *Poem* itſelf, which is repreſented in a *Dream* the Author had, as he lay in a fragrant Meadow by *Windſor Caſtle*, under the ſtarry Canopy of Heaven, with Cares, his Bedfellows, almoſt twenty Years; his Eyes and Ears were buſily entertained with the ſurpriſing Proſpect and Din of a numerous and ſplendid Cavalcade of warlike Nobles and Knights, with all martial Accoutrements, Attendants and Muſick about them, deſcending from the Clouds, and circling, as it were, the ſaid *Caſtle*; in the Midſt of whom, moſt royally encanopied, he beheld King *Edward* III. with a glittering Garter about his Leg. Hereupon, he remembers the *Origin* of the *Order*, according to the common Tradition of a *Lady's Garter drop'd in a Dance*, and taken up by that King ; but conceived to be the *Queen*'s by our Author. Then he diſcerns all that glorious Company to be the *Firſt Founders*, who came down thither to grace this *Inſtallation* ; among them the *Black Prince*, on a Coal-black Courſer, his Corſlet varniſhed as black as Jet, his Baſes black, with a Battle-Ax in his Hand ; and all, from Head to Foot, as black as Night. (And in ſuch ſable Armour, *&c.* he is to be ſeen in ſome ancient Illuminations on Vellum, repreſenting him in the Wars of *France*.) Yet makes our Poet this Diſtinction:

> *Though* Black *of Hue, that* Surname *yet in* Fraunce
> *He* wan : *For Terror to the* Frenchmen's *Hearts*
> *His* Count'nance *was* ; *his* Sword, *an iron Scourge*.

At laſt, our Author attaining a View, in this airy Proceſſion, of King *Henry* VIII. and his warlike Band of this Order ; he eſpied, written in the *Book* of *Fame*, the Name of *Francis* Earl of *Bedford* (ſome few Years before deceaſed) of whom, after ſome high Encomiums, he tells this Story: That, once walking out alone, this aged Earl was overtaken with Sleep, and laid himſelf down to Reſt near a Farmer's Lodge. He was wrapped in a plain ruſſet Cloak ; but it covered not the Badge of Honour which was buckled round his Leg, ſo that it tempted a young thieviſh Vagrant, who paſſed by, to endeavour at Taking it off. The Earl was not ſo faſt aſleep, but he ſoon perceived the Deſign, and offered him a better Prize ; for his *Garter* would not fit every Leg, and he eſteemed it better than his *Purſe*. The Thief, affrighted, ran away ; and the Earl would pleaſantly tell his Friends, The Rogue would not have dared to ſteal the *Garter*, if he had underſtood the *French* about it. Next comes on Queen *Elizabeth*, and her ſtately Train of gartered Knights, in great Pomp and Glory ; and King *Edward* congratulates thoſe *Five* eſpecially, who had this Day the Honour to be created by the ſaid Queen ; that is to ſay, the Earls of *Northumberland*, and *Worceſter* ; the Lords *Boroughe*, and *Sheffielde* ; and Sir *Francis Knolles*. And, after that King has given Characters of their Virtues, and Exhortations to proceed in them, *Renown* ſounded a Retreat : The *Train*, as ſwift as ſhooting Stars, retired, *Fame*'s double Doors fell to, and the gay *Morn* wak'd from her golden Sleep. The Author, in his *Epilogue*, tells that Earl, to whom he addreſſes the *Prologue*, that he offers this Dream as the Firſtling of his Scholar's Crop, conſecrated to his Noble Name. Other *Poetical Pieces* of his were printed the ſame Year ; eſpecially in the *Dramatic* Way ; and ſome *Paſtoral* Pieces of his were printed in *England*'s *Helicon*. But the Tragedy of *Alphonſus* Emperor of *Germany*, was *Chapman*'s. Tis true, as *A. Wood* obſerves, that, moſt Poets dying obſcurely, it is hard to trace them to their Graves ; and he was miſled in ſetting down this Poet, to be flouriſhing after his Death, from the Dates of ſome of his Writings which were then printed : For we are aſſured by one of his Contemporaries, that he fell a Victim in the *Wars of Venus*, in, or before the Year 1598. And might then be about Forty, or a Middle-aged Man.

225. Certaine *Experiments* concerning *Fiſh* and *Fruit* : Practiſed by *John Taverner* Gentleman ; and by him publiſhed, for the Benefit of others. Printed for *William Ponſonby*. (In twenty-two Leaves, *black Letter*) *Quarto*, 1600

The Author of this curious and uſeful Tract, dedicates it to Sir *Edmond Anderſon*, Knight, Lord Chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas ; conceiving his Lordſhip might take ſome Delight in *Obſervations* of this Kind ; as having lately permitted Mr. *George Churchey* to dedicate to him, his Tranſlation from the *Latin*, of *Jacobus Dubravius*, his *New Book of Huſbandry, treating of Fiſhponds*, &c. But more eſpecially, for the publick Acknowledgment that is due to his Lordſhip's Virtues ; ſo deſerving of the whole Realm, for his great Care and Labour in the Adminiſtration of Juſtice. And doubts not, but he ſhall, in this little Treatiſe, find ſomething that he knew not before. In his *Preface*, he obſerves, concerning *Fiſh*, that none have written thereof, in our Tongue, to any Purpoſe, whom he ever ſaw ; and that the ſaid Tranſlation, compiled by a Stranger, and rendered into *Engliſh* by a

Perſon of no great Experience, will not ſatisfy the Deſires of thoſe who would practiſe this Way to Improvement. That, for himſelf, he means not to expreſs all that might be ſaid in theſe Matters, but only what he has obſerved and practiſed; for, if he ſhould ſet down, by Way of Preface, the great Benefits that might grow to this Realm, by practiſing to have Abundance of the two foreſaid Commodities, the Preface would grow a greater Volume than the Book. Concerning *Fruit*, he ſays, though many Authors have more learnedly written, yet, many of them being Strangers, inhabiting Climates far differing from ours, they moſtly teach how ſuch Fruits, as their Countries bring forth, are to be uſed; of which Kinds we have little or no Uſe. That, if the Benefit ariſing to the Commonwealth through Abundance of Fruit were well weighed, there would be Laws eſtabliſhed for the Increaſe and Maintenance of it. That *Glouceſterſhire*, *Herefordſhire*, *Worceſterſhire*, great Part of *Kent*, and *Suſſex*, are ſo ſtored, as to yield the Poor Meat and Drink, great Part of the Year. That he has known, in thoſe Counties, many Men, who had twelve or twenty Perſons in Family, not uſe, moſt Years, two Quarters of Malt in Drink, but only *Cider* and *Perry*; and ſell yearly, beſides, great Quantities. So might we have it in moſt other Parts of *England*; yet reap, in Effect, as great Profit, by paſturing and earing the Ground, as we do. That the ſhort Term of Years for which many hold their Lands, and the Hazard of being robbed of their Fruit, are trifling Diſcouragements to Plantations of ſuch Benefit, and what might be eaſily redreſſed.

226. The *Bible bearer*. By *A. N.* ſometimes of *Trinity-College* in *Oxford*. (In twenty-three Leaves, *black Letter*) *Quarto*, 1607

This Tract is dedicated to *Hugh Browker*, one of the *Prothonotories* of the Court of *Common-Pleas*. It is written in the Form of a Dialogue, between *Theotimus* and *Poliphemus*; and is a ſhrewd Satire upon all Hypocritical, Puritanical, and Sanctified Sinners; all *Neuters* and *Nullifidians*, yet ſeemingly *profeſs*, but have no true *Practice* of Religion: All Trimmers, Time-ſervers, and holy *Camelions*, or Conformiſts to any prevailing Parties, or faſhionable Principles; who are only *politically* pious, for *Profit* and *Preferment*. It is adorned with many learned Authorities, and written in a ſhort, pithy, preſſing Style; full of many lively and ſententious Diſtinctions: And concludes with hearty Wiſhes to a ſincere and uniform Diſcipline in the Church.

227. *Orders* appointed by his *Majeſtie* to be ſtraightly obſerved for preventing and remedying of the *Dearth of Graine*, and other *Victuall*. Dated the firſt Day of *June*, 1608. Imprinted by *Robert Barker*, Printer to the King, *&c.* (In fourteen Leaves, *black Letter*) *Quarto* 1608

There are good Orders here againſt the Practices of thoſe pernicious *Monopoliſts*, the *Corn-holders*; who bought up and engroſſed all *Grain*, &c. till they had made a Scarcity; then ſold it out, at their own unconſcionable Rates.

228. The terrible and deſerved *Death* of *Francis Ravilliack*. Shewing the Manner of his ſtrange *Torments* at his *Execution*, upon *Fryday* the 25th of *May* laſt paſt, for the Murther of the late *French* King, *Henry the Fourth*. Together with an *Abſtract* out of divers *Proclamations* and *Edicts*, now concerning the *State* of *France*. As it was printed in *French*, in three ſeveral Books, publiſhed by Authority, 1610. At *London*, printed for *W. Barley*, &c. (In twenty Pages, *black Letter*) *Quarto*, 1610

This bloody Parricide, ſometime a *Felician* Friar, but lately a pettifogging Lawyer, being now brought upon a Scaffold, had his right Hand, with his Knife chained to it, burnt off, in a Furnace before his Face, half Way up the Arm. At which, he roared like a Bull; but would confeſs no Inſtigator, but the Devil. After this, had his Fleſh torn from many Parts of his Body, with burning Tongs and Pincers; and ſcalding Oil, *&c.* poured into the Wounds. Then had he boiling Lead poured into a Rundel of Clay, with an Hole in the Midſt, upon his Navel. And *laſtly*, was torn in Pieces by four Horſes; but with ſuch Difficulty, that one, being wearied, was changed; nor then would his Limbs divide from the Trunk, till his Fleſh was cut. The Mob picked his Bones; then they were burnt, and ſcattered in the Air. See *Artic.* 82, of this *Cat.*

229. *A New Deſcription of Ireland:* Wherein is deſcribed the *Diſpoſition* of the *Iriſh*, whereunto they are inclined: No leſs *admirable* to be peruſed, than *credible* to be believed: Neither *unprofitable* nor *unpleaſant* to be read and underſtood, by thoſe worthy *Citizens* of *London* that be now *Undertakers* in *Ireland*. By *Barnabe Rich*, Gent. Printed at *London* for *Tho. Adams*. (In ſixty-ſix Leaves) *Quarto*, 1610

There is a Dedication to *Robert* Earl of *Saliſbury*, and an Epiſtle to *William Cokyne*, Sheriff of *London*, prefixed. The Author was a *Captain* in the *Iriſh* Service; and in the Lieutenancy of Sir *John Perrot*, had an hundred Soldiers under his Leading at *Coleraine*. He lived no leſs than *Forty ſeven Years* in that Kingdom: Therefore, from a Man of his Senſe, and Experience, theſe Obſervations on the greater Part of the *Iriſh*, who were uncultivated in their Manners, and unreformed in their Religion, will be of Weight and Authority with unbiaſs'd Readers; notwithſtanding he had gained the Name of an *Enemy* to that *Country*, by a Book he had before publiſhed, intitled, *The Survey of Ireland*; for he appears therein only an *Enemy* to *Popery*; and is the ſame in this Work; lamenting the Unhappineſs of *Ireland*, that not only the Cuſtoms and Diſpoſitions of the People ſhould be corrupted therewith, but even that the *Hiſtory* of the *Country* ſhould be ſo obſcured and diſguiſed, by the black Clouds of Superſtition and Impoſture; as appears in *Cambrenſis*, and *Stanihurſt*; the latter of whom, he takes to Task in half the Chapters of his Tract: And ſays, he knew him, many Years ſince, at *Antwerp*; where he profeſs'd *Alchemy*, and undertook the Practice of the *Philoſophers Stone*; and when he had multiplied Lyes ſo long, that every Body grew weary of him, he departed from thence into *Spain*; and there, as it was ſaid, he turned *Phyſician*: A Piece of his perſonal Story, which has eſcaped *Anthony Wood*.

230. A *Relation* of a *Voyage* to *Guiana*. Deſcribing the Climat, Scituation, Fertilitie, Proviſions and Commodities of that Country; containing ſeven Provinces, and other Signiories within that Territory: Together with the Manners, Cuſtomes, Behaviours, and Diſpoſitions of the People. Performed by *Robert Harcourt*, of *Stanton-Harcourt*, Eſq; The Patent for the Plantation of which Country, his Majeſtie hath granted to the ſaid *Robert Harcourt*, under the Great Seal. Printed by *John Beale*. (In forty-four Leaves) *Quarto*, 1613

This Patent was obtained through the Intereſt of the late worthy Prince *Henry*; in order to compleat Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s Diſcovery and Conqueſt of that rich Country; by planting and ſettling a Colony there. The ſaid Captain *Harcourt*, who was Great Grand-father of the late Lord Chancellor *Harcourt*, after he had, with much Labour and Expence, enlarged the Diſcovery both of the *Place* and its *Productions*, by three Years Voyage and Obſervation, has here publiſhed an intelligent and faithful *Relation* thereof; addreſſed to Prince *Charles*. And our Settlement there, on all the Continent of *America*, between the River of *Amazons* and the *Deſſequebe*, was in a hopeful Way; very liberal Propoſals being annexed, to invite Adventurers; the meaneſt, who went in Perſon, being to have, as a ſingle Share, 500 Acres; as Sir *Walter Ralegh* had before granted at *Virginia*; whoſe *Enterpriſe* at *Guiana*, and his *Report* alſo publiſhed thereof, are here honourably mentioned, in more Places than one. The Death of Captain *Harcourt*, which ſeems to have happened not long after the Publication of this *Pamphlet*, very probably put a Stop to our Poſſeſſion and Plantation of that Part of *America*. It was reprinted by *Samuel Purchas*, in the Fourth Vol. of his *Pilgrims*; but not completely, with the *Preface*, &c. See another Attempt at the Poſſeſſing of *Guiana*, in *Article* 192 of this *Catalogue*.

231. Sir *Thomas Overburie*'s Viſion: With the Ghoaſts of *Weſton*, Mrs. *Turner*, the late *Lieſtenant* of the *Tower*, and *Franklin*. By *R. N. Oxon.* (In twenty-nine Leaves) *Quarto*, 1616

This is a *Poem*, compoſed in our *Epic* Verſe; and, as may be gather'd from the 17th Page, by the Author of the additional Legends in that Edition of *The Myrror for Magiſtrates*, which was printed in *Quarto*, 1610; whoſe Name was *Richard Niccols*.

It is, perhaps, with ſome Impropriety entitled, Sir *T. Overburie*'s Viſion: For it is, indeed, the Viſion or Dream of the *Author*; upon whoſe Imagination, the Trial of Sir *Thomas*'s Murderers, in *Guild-Hall*, where he had heard it, made ſuch Impreſſion, that Sir *Thomas* appeared to him at Night in his Sleep, and led him to the *Tower*; and there relates how barbarouſly he was treated for his faithful Services to his Maſter (*Robert Carr*, Earl of *Somerſet*). There is a wooden *Print* of Sir *Thomas* his Ghoſt; and he concludes his Tale with a Requeſt, that our Author would tranſmit to Poſterity his true *Tragedy*. Then, as they are looking towards *Traytor's Bridge*, they ſee under the Arch, the Ghoſt of *Weſton* ariſe out of the *Thames*; and he tells the Story of his Guilt in a penitential Manner: And here we have his *Picture*, with a Halter about his Neck. After whom appears, in the ſame Place, Mrs. *Turner*; whoſe *Figure*, in like Manner alſo, is attended with her *Confeſſion*. To her ſucceeds Sir *Garvis Ellwis*, Lieutenant of the *Tower*; and after him, *Franklin*; each in a *Print*, attended with their *Speech*. When the laſt ſinks down, Sir *Thomas* winds up the Whole, with a *Panegyrick* upon the King's Juſtice, in bringing his ſaid Murderers (*except the Two Noble Chiefs*) to Execution; and with *Prayers*, that Heaven would confound all treaſonable Attempts againſt him, and the State: Here the Author wakes; and ſo ends his *Viſion*. *Anthony Wood* ſays of this *R. Niccolls*, that ‘He was numbered among the ingenious Perſons of the Univerſity;’ and that, ‘he was eſteemed eminent for his Poetry, in his Time.’ But he mentions not this Pamphlet, becauſe he never ſaw it. Though it is chiefly Narrative, ſome pretty Reflexions are diſperſed in it; of which, we ſhall here give you but one ſhort Taſte, to ſhew how cruelly they endeavoured another *Murder* upon Sir *Thomas*'s *Fame*, in Order to palliate *that* they had committed on his *Perſon*; in reporting thoſe Diſcolourations wherewith their Poyſons had ſo marbled over his Body, to proceed from the foul Diſtempers he had contracted of lewd Women:

> O Why ſhould fierceſt *Beaſt* of all the Wood,
> When he has ſlain his Foe, and lick'd his Blood,
> End *Hate* in *Death*; and *Man* with *Man* in Strife,
> *Not* end his *Malice*, with the End of *Life*!

See other *Pamphlets* relating to this black Affair, in the 21ſt and 118th *Articles* of this *Catalogue*.

232. The *true* and *wonderful Hiſtory* of *Perkin Warbeck*, proclaiming Himſelf *Richard* the *Fourth*. Printed by *E. G.* for *Nat. Butler*, &c. (In 112 Pages, beſides Preface, and Dedication to *Thomas* Earl of *Arundel*) *Quarto*, 1618

This Work is copiouſly ſtretched out, with Parade of Style, Circumſtances and Surmiſes, and decked with Alluſions and Applications, out of the ancient Heathen *Poets*; even ſo cloſely, and *poetically*, as to the Bringing them out of ſome of his Perſon's Mouths. Yet it is very deficient in ſome Particulars, which are ever required to ſatisfy a curious Reader: Thoſe are, *Chronology*, and *Authority*; by the Omiſſion whereof, he has deprived his Work of one of the *Eyes*, and one of the *Legs* of *Hiſtory*. He quotes but one Hiſtorian, and that but in one Place, throughout his Narrative. He has but two Dates of the Year of our Lord; neither of thoſe relating to *Perkin Warbeck*, and one of them erroneous, no leſs than ſeventy Years. *George Buck*, who pretends, in his Hiſtory of King *Richard* III, that this *Perkin Warbeck* was no *Pretender*, is out of Humour with our Author *Gainsford*, for repreſenting him one, and not allowing him to be the true Duke of *York*. He ſays, “His Learning may be as much miſtaken in this, as other Things; though he laid a great Pretence to Knowledge, eſpecially in the Hiſtory of *England* and other Countries: That, his Judgment and Reading are much expreſſed alike in this Pamphlet, wherein he forfeits all his Skill to make him a Parallel in adverſe Fortune, and ſuppoſed baſe Quality, to the unhappy Don *Sebaſtian*, late King of *Portugal*, who he alſo proteſts an Impoſtor, &c.” So the ſaid *Geo. Buck* goes on to relate a Deal of the Adventures of that Don *Sebaſtian*, after the ſuppoſed Slaughter of him in *Barbary* by the *Moors*, in 1578, not 1584, much after the Manner as they are more at large recounted in the two Pamphlets beforementioned in the 79th and 80th *Articles* of this *Cat.* The Lord *Bacon*, who in his Hiſt. of *Henry*

Henry VII, has extended his Narrative of *Perkin Warbeck*, to almoſt as great a Length as *Gainsford*, makes no Mention of him; nor do we know how uſeful he has been to others who have had Occaſion to revive the Story of this *Impoſtor*; but he was brought upon the Theatre, in a *Dramatick* Performance, compoſed by *Tho. Forde*, and printed in *Quarto*, 1634. And the ſame was occaſionally reprinted in *Octavo*, in the Beginning of the Reign of the late King *George*; with a Copper Print before it, feigned to reſemble *Perkin*; and a ſhort Account of his *Life* in Proſe.

233. St. *Paule*'s *Church*, her *Bill* for the *Parliament*; as it was preſented to the King's Majeſtie, on *Midlent Sunday* laſt, and intended for the View of that moſt high and honourable *Court*; and generally, for all ſuch as bear good Will to the flouriſhing Eſtate of the ſaid *Church*. Partly in *Verſe*, partly in *Proſe*. Penned and publiſhed for her Good, by *Henry Farley*, Author of her *Complaint*. (In 21 Leaves) *Quarto*, 1621

There is a wooden Print in the Title Page, both of St. *Paul*'s *Cathedral*, and St. *Paul*'s *Croſs*, with a Preacher in the Pulpit thereof, and his Auditory about him, in the open Air. That Author *Henry Farley*, laboured for the Good of this Cathedral both late and early; as it is here expreſſed, in the Epitaph deſigned for him. He dedicates his Pamphlet to the High Court of *Parliament*; and it is a ſtrange Collection in *Proſe* and *Poetry*, of Flowers from Scripture, concerning the Building of the *Lord's Houſe*; Prayers, Petitions, Dialogues with, and Dreams and Viſions about that *Cathedral*; which it ſeems was then kept in a ſad dirty Condition; inſomuch that, upon the King's being to viſit it, on the *Sunday* aforeſaid, there was more Sweeping, Bruſhing, and Cleanſing beſtowed upon it, than had been in forty Years before; and the Workmen looked like him they called *Muld-Sack*, after Sweeping a Chimney. The Author often made his Way to the King, with his *Petitions* and his *Carrols*, before, and upon his Going to *Scotland*, and after his Return; always praying him to *remember St. Paul*'s. In the Year 1615, he preſented St. *Paul*'s *Complaint* to the Lord Mayor, Sir *John Jolles*, with a Petition to him, for his Favour; and a *Letter* to the *Preachers*, to promote ſuch Repair as was neceſſary; and he was the Means, through that Complaint, &c. Of Gaining Benefactions to the ſaid Cathedral, by the Time the King came to viſit it, which was the Twenty-ſixth of *March*, 1619, amounting to five, and as he adds, almoſt *Eight-hundred Pounds*. And yet, how the Court thought of him, he betrays; where he ſays, that when he preſented one of his Petitions aforeſaid to the King, "the *Ma-*
"*ſter of the Rolls* took it away from his
"Highneſs, before he could read it; as ma-
"ny Things had been ſo taken before; to
"the great Hinderance and Grief of the
"poor Author." In ſhort, after having been a Sollicitor for this Church, eight Years; his own Charges towards it, and his Credulity in the Honour of his *Patrons*, brought him, through *Suretiſhip*, into *Ludgate*; where, ſtill, he had his *Dreams* and *Viſions* of the Church; but he grew cooler towards the *Church*, when he got out of the *Priſon*, and would have gone to *Virginia*; had he not been retained, by the joyful Tidings of the King's *Viſitation* aforeſaid; ſo he attended, with Hopes of Succeſs in the ſaid *Reparations*, &c. Which did fall out to the Full of his Expectations for that Time. There was another *Dreamer* and *Viſionary* of this *Name*, in *Oliver Cromwell*'s Time, whoſe *Bloody Viſions* may be taken ſome Notice of, when they ſhall turn up to Hand.

234. *Leather*: a *Diſcourſe* tendered to the High Court of *Parliament*: Of the General *Uſe* of *Leather*; the general *Abuſe* thereof; the *Good* which may ariſe to *Great-Britain*, from the *Reformation*; the ſeveral *Statutes* made in that Behalf by our ancient Kings: And laſtly, a *Petition* to the High Court of *Parliament*, that, out of their pious Care to their Country, they would be pleaſed to take into their Conſideration, the *Redreſs* of all *old Abuſes*, and by adding ſome *Remedies* of their own, to cut off the *New*. (In ſixteen Leaves) *Quarto*, 1629

This Pamphlet does well ſet forth, in many Points, the Merits of this common, but uſeful Commodity. To ſay, to a Friend, *You would lay your Hands under his Feet to ſerve him*: Is it not a Profeſſion of profound Humility? A moſt zealous and liberal Declaration of Love and Affection? If *Leather* was to do no more than *This*, and ſuffered itſelf only to be cut into Boots and ſhoes for our Uſe, were this not ſufficient? An univerſal Benefit to one and all; down from the King to the Peaſant, and up from the common Subject to the greateſt Prince? But *Leather* ſerves us in many other Reſpects; and ſupports many other Handicrafts beſides the Shoemaker. Here are *Twenty Trades*, mentioned in the firſt Article of this Diſcourſe, above-mentioned, which are wholly maintained by *Leather*, or would want Work without it. And yet they had their *Abuſes* of it; among which are reckoned impolitick *Tranſportation*, even to the Making it dear among ourſelves; alſo the profuſe *Conſumption* of it by ourſelves; eſpecially, now it was grown ſuch a Faſhion for every private Gentleman to turn *Phaeton*, and hurry in his rumbling Vehicle about the Streets, as that ambitious Boy did in the Air; that it was thought, at leaſt, *Five-thouſand Coaches and Caroches* were, then, maintained in and about *London*. And, as ſo much Spoil was made in that Compaſs, it is not attempted to make a Computation of what was conſumed through the whole *Kingdom*; ſince *Pride* alſo wheeled about in theſe her Leather Thrones, through every Shire, City, Town and Village thereof. (And to this Increaſe they grew, as we learn elſewhere, in the Space of twenty-four Years; before which Time, they were very ſcarce.) But a more wanton Waſtefulneſs of *Leather* than this, at that Time, alſo prevailed, and is here mentioned as another *Abuſe* of it; in that ſlovenly Faſhion every Body, from the Courtier to the Clown, affected, of Covering their Legs with it, and ſtalking about in Houſes or Streets, with *Boots* on, which had huge, ungainly, and immoderate *Tops* to them. Theſe Exceſſes, together with the *French* Superfluities of *Galloſhes*, occaſion ſuch a Conſumption of *Leather*, as raiſed it to an exceſſive Price, to the great Detriment of the Poor. Here are alſo laid forth the *Abuſes* which were practiſed in the *Leather-Markets*: With the Benefits which would ariſe from the Correction of them; the Whole ending with a Summary of the *Statutes* that have been made for that Purpoſe, in Order to their further Improvement.

235. A *Direction* to the *Huſbandman*, in a new, cheap, and eaſy Way of *fertiling* and *inriching* arable *Grounds*; by a *Mixture* of certain Native *Materialls*, in certain ſmall Quantities, with the *Seed* to ſow, and Strowing the ſame upon the Ground ſowed. Wherein is declared the *Ordering* and *Preparation* of the *Materialls*; the *Manner* and *Proportion* of *Mingling* them with the *Seed*; and *Strowing* them upon the *Ground*. With ſundrie other Particulars, tending to a full and plain Inſtruction of ſuch as ſhall deſire to make Uſe thereof. Printed by *Auguſtine Mathewes*. (In ten Leaves) *Quarto*, 1634.

This Tract is dedicated by the Author, To his worthy, honeſt Friend, Mr. *Benedict Webbe*, that true Patriot; who had taken great Pains to benefit the Publick, in thoſe two important Neceſſaries of Life, our *Raiment* and *Food*; by adding to our old *Draperies*, the making of *Perpetuanas*, *Spaniſh Cloaths*, &c. and by bringing *Rape Oil* to the Uſe of *Cloathing*: Alſo, by being the *firſt Author* of this *new Invention* for *Fertiling* and *Inriching* of *Arable Grounds*; from whoſe tried, and approved *Experiments*, theſe *Directions* are publiſhed. It appears further, in the Entrance of the Work, this *Invention* gained ſuch Credit, that a *Patent* was granted by King *Charles*, to impower *Charles Mowet*, *Edward Keeling*, and *Nat. Waterhouſe*, Gentlemen, and their Agents, alone, for fourteen Years, to put this Myſtery in Practice; whereby the *Inventor*, being excluded, ſeems ſupplanted in his *Invention*. The particular Materials to be uſed therein, are not named in that *Patent*; but in this Pamphlet they ingenuouſly are, with full Inſtructions to uſe them. The *Materials* are, a *Compoſition*; conſiſting of *Rape Oil*, in which the *Grain* is firſt ſteep'd, and *Flour* of *Beans*, with *Powder* of *Rape ſeed Cakes*, and *burnt Lime* quench'd with *Urine*, to cloath and cover the ſaid Grain. In Want of thoſe Materials, or to forward the Fertility, may be uſed, inſtead of the Oil, ſtrong *Wort*: Inſtead of the *Bean* Flour, *Barley-Malt* ground; and for *Rape-Cake* Powder, *Pigeons Dung* dried; or *Sheeps Trundles* prepar'd; or *Kelp-Aſhes*; or *Berilla*; or *Pot-Aſhes*, or dried *Woad*, or even the common *Greenſwerd*. The Whole concludes with a Detail of the ſeveral Advantages of this new-invented Kind of Huſbandry.

236. The *Old*, *Old*, very *Old Man*: Or, the *Age* and *long Life* of *Thomas Parr*, the Son of *John Parr* of *Winnington*, in the Pariſh of *Alberbury*; in the County of *Salop*, or *Shropſhire*; who was born in the Reigne of King *Edward* the *Fourth*, in the Yeare 1483. He lived 152 *Yeares*, nine *Monthes*, and odd *Dayes*; and departed this Life, at *Weſtminſter*, the 15 of *November*, 1635, and is now buried in the Abby at *Weſtminſter*. His *Manner* of *Life*, and *Converſation*, in ſo long a Pilgrimage; his *Marriages*, and his Bringing up to *London*, about the End of *September* laſt, 1635. Whereunto is added a *Poſtſcript*, ſhewing the many remarkable *Accidents*, that hapned in the Life of this *Old Man*. Written by *John Taylor*. Printed for *Henry Goſſon*. (In ſixteen Leaves) *Quarto*, 1635

There is a wooden Print of Old *Parr*, in a black Cap, and ſitting in a Chair, facing this Title-page, The *Life* is written in *Verſe*; and it is dedicated to King *Charles* in Verſe, by the ſaid *John Taylor*; who, being one of his Majeſty's Watermen, is uſually ſtiled the *Water-Poet*. He informs the King, that as he had had the *Greateſt*, the *Leaſt*, and the *Oldeſt* of his Subjects, at his Court, meaning *William Evans*, his Gigantick Porter; little *Jeffrey*, the Queen's Dwarf; and this *Thomas Parr*; he choſe the latter, for the Subject of his Muſe; and begs his Majeſty's Acceptance of this Deſcription of his Life, as he had received and read others of his Poems. If we were to draw the chief Circumſtances expreſſed in the ſaid *Poem*, and the preliminary Diſcourſe in *Proſe*, into a regular Order, and join the *Chronology*, it might render the Story more compleat: And ſo it would appear, That, living with his Father *John Parr*, a Huſbandman at *Winnington* aforeſaid, till he was ſeventeen Years old, he was, in 1500, ſent to Service, under a Maſter of the ſame Calling, with whom he dwelt, till the Death of his Father, about 1518; then, returning Home, reſided upon the Farm, or Lands, he left him in Poſſeſſion of, till the Leaſe expired in 1522. He then renewed the Leaſe for Twenty-one Years, of Mr. *Lewis Porter*; and when this ended, in 1543, he renewed it, a ſecond Time, for the ſame Term, of Mr. *John Porter*. In 1563, old *Parr*, being then *Fourſcore Years of Age*, married *Jane*, Daughter of *John Taylor*, a Maid; by whom he had a Son, and a Daughter, named *John* and *Joan*, who both died very young. The next Year, 1564, his ſecond Leaſe ending, he renewed, for the like Term, of Mr. *Hugh Porter*. In 1585, ended his *third* Leaſe; and he took a *Leaſe*, for *Life*, of *John* the Son of *Hugh Porter*. In 1588, being then aged *One-hundred and five Years*, and having a Colt's Tooth in his Head, he did Penance in a *White Sheet*, in *Alberbury* Church, for Lying with a handſome Woman, named *Katherine Milton*, and, as it is here ſuggeſted, getting her with Child. Upon which Penance, ſays our Poet,

> Should all, that ſo offend, ſuch Penance do,
> O! What a Price would *Linnen* riſe unto!

In 1595, he buried his Wife *Jane*; after they had lived together Thirty-two Years. Having continued a Widower ten Years, and, being now *One-hundred Twenty-two Years of Age*, he married, in the Year 1605, *Jane* the Widow of *Anthony Adda*, Daughter of *John Loyde*, of the Pariſh of *Gillſels*, in *Montgomery Shire* in *Wales*; and they lived thirty Years together. But now, thinking that Time might diminiſh the Strength of his *Tenement*, as it had increaſed the Value of his *Tenure*, he was, for his Wife's Sake, deſirous to renew his *Leaſe* for Years; which was not complied with, though he politickly counterfeited the Renewal of his *Age*, by pretending to ſee, who had been long blind, a Pin on the Floor, which having directed his Wife to lay there, he bid her, take up, in Preſence of his Landlord's Son, Mr. *Edward Porter*, with whom it paſſed as a pleaſant Conceit, but it had no Effect. Soon after, *Thomas* Earl of *Arundel*, a great Lover of Antiquities, viſiting an Eſtate of his, in thoſe Parts, was led by the Fame of this great Curioſity, this *Thomas de Temporibus*, to viſit him. He took him into his Protection, and, having prevailed on him to ſee *London*, ordered a Litter with two Horſes for his Carriage; and being attended by his Daughter-in-Law, named *Lucy*, *John the Fool*, and a Servant of his Lordſhip's, named *Brian Kelley*, who defrayed their Expences on the Road, they ſet out from *Winnington*: But, when they arrived at *Coventry*, the Multitude of People grew ſo great and preſſing, to behold this breathing Monument, that *Kelley* was afraid he ſhould be able to carry his Charge no further. At laſt, with ſlow Marches, they arrived ſafe at *London*, about the End of *September*, 1635. King *Charles* having had Certificates from the Gentry of *Shropſhire* of the Leaſes aforeſaid, and other Particulars, proving *Thomas Parr*, to be the *Eldeſt Son* of *Time*, alive; he was admitted to Court, admired with great Veneration, and had the Honour to kiſs his Majeſty's Hand. Care was taken to accommodate him with all Conveniences, in a Lodging provided for him at *Weſtminſter*: But the Change agreed not; he had breathed in a freer Air, fed on ſimpler Diet, nor had been uſed to ſuch Throngs of Viſitors. All which, though now grown very decripid, ſo as not to walk, without two Perſons to ſupport him, and having only one Tooth left in his Head, not his *Colt's Tooth* beforementioned, might haſten his natural Decay; and he at laſt paid the Debt of Nature like other Men, though it was longer delayed, in the Middle of *November* following; after he had been, little more than ſix Weeks, removed to the City aforeſaid, as appears in the Title-page above; and he was decently buried in the *Abbey*. But that *Poſtſcript* is not ſufficiently explained in the ſaid *Title*; for it contains only ſuch remarkable Accidents as happened not in, or concerning his own *Life*, but only in the Times, when he *lived*.

237. A ſhort and true *Relation*, concerning the *Soape-buſineſs*; containing the ſeveral *Patents*, *Proclamations*, *Orders*, whereby the *Soape-makers* of *London*, and other his Majeſty's *Subjects*, were *damnified*, by the *Gentlemen*, that were the *Patentees* for *Soape* at *Weſtminſter*; with the particular *Proceedings* concerning the ſame. Printed for *Nicholas Bourne*, &c. (In 15 Leaves.) *Quarto*, 1641

Theſe *Soap-boilers* appear to have undergone a tedious, expenſive, and cruel Perſecution, by thoſe Courtiers, who had procured a Patent to ſupplant them, and engroſs their Buſineſs. After twenty or thirty Freemen of the Trade had, for many Years, carried it on quietly, two Patents were granted to *And. Palmer*, and *Rog. Jones*, for Twenty-one Years, to make *Hard-ſoap* with *Berilla*, and *Soft-ſoap*, without Fire, by ſundry Motions, and not boiling it; and to make *Pot-aſhes* of *Engliſh* Materials; but they, not able to do much Damage, imparted their Invention to Sir *W. Ruſſel*, Sir *Baſil Brook*, Sir *Rich. Weſton*, Sir *Edw. Stradling*, and others; who, in *December*, 1631, procured a Grant to make *Hard*, and *Soft-ſoap*, for fourteen Years. Soon after, Sir *H. Compton*, Sir *H. Guilford*, Sir *N. Forteſcue*, Sir *Baſ. Brook*, Sir *Rich. Weſton*, *Geo. Gage*, Eſq; and others, moſtly *Popiſh Recuſants*, upon Pretence of a new Invention of making *White-ſoap*, better, and cheaper, than what the *Soap-makers* of *London* could produce, for which they would pay his Majeſty *four Pounds per* Tun, procured to be incorporated as a *Society* of *Soap-makers* of *Weſtminſter*, with Power to make all Manner of *Soap*; to ſearch all *Soap* made by others; and mark it before they ſold it, or elſe deſtroy it: Alſo to uſe the Trade, take Apprentices, &c. In *April*, 1632, Sir *William Ruſſel*, and his Partners, aſſigned over their Privilege of making *Soft-ſoap*, &c. to this *Weſtminſter Corporation*, who indentured with the King, To make *Five-thouſand Tuns of White-Soap yearly*, or more, if required: And, after the firſt Year, to pay him *four Pounds the Tun*; and not to ſell it for above *three Pence* the Pound. From theſe ſpecious Overtures of thoſe *Monopoliſts*, through that Grant, aroſe much Loſs to the Crown, and great Grievance to the regular Tradeſmen aforeſaid. For firſt the King allowed *Five-thouſand Pounds* to Sir *John Bourchier* and *Jones*, for their Expences in the Project; and the Corporation, finding the new *White-Soap*, after all their Artifices, would not vend, to diſable the *London Soap-makers*, from affording to ſell *theirs* at the Price by *theſe* propoſed, procured a Proclamation that no Soap ſhould be ſold, made with *Fiſh Oyl*, but only that of *Olives* or *Rape*; ſo that all the old *Soap-makers* Stock lay upon their Hands. Then came, in *November* following, *Informations* in the *Star-Chamber* againſt *Sixteen* of the *London Soap-makers*, for proceeding in their eſtabliſhed Way: To this the Defendants pleaded and demurred. But it were a Penance, to mention the *Proclamations*, *Decrees* and *Attachments* made in this Buſineſs; or to recite, how they were harraſſed, delayed, over-ruled; in ſhort, pillaged, and every other Way diſtreſſed by that Court, under the Notion of *Law*. In the End, they were all *fined*, from Five-hundred, to Fifteen-hundred Pounds a Man; and *impriſoned*; moſt, for ten, one for near twelve Months; that is, from the 10th of *May*, 1633, to the 6th of *April*, 1634, and two of them *died* in that *Reſtraint*. Then came Orders to *eſtreat* the *Fines*; and *Extents* were iſſued upon their *Goods*; they were diſabled to uſe their Trade, and others made Soap with their Materials. The *Weſtminſter* Soapers had *Licence*, upon the Badneſs of their *White-Soap*, to make old Soap, with Fiſh Oyl, for which thoſe of *London* had been ſentenced; and, againſt their own Decree, to ſell it at a Penny in the Pound dearer, than Soap of the like Goodneſs was uſually ſold for before, by the *London* Soap-makers; and warranted one of the *Sixteen* aforeſaid, to make that Soap for them, againſt his own Covenant to the Contrary; and ordered that none ſhould buy any, but of this Corporation. Officers were impowered to enter all Houſes, and carry off all Soap unmarked; break down Pans, Fatts, Ciſterns, &c. Drove many to Flight in the Country, beyond Sea, &c. At length, after this Corporation had ſpent *One-hundred and Fifteen-thouſand Pounds* in Soap-making, Salaries, Law, &c. and vexed the whole Kingdom, for *three Years*, and uſurped the Soap-makers Trade, *one Year* and a *Quarter*, they obtained a Grant from the King, of *Forty-thouſand Pounds*, for Surrendering their Patent, and *Three-thouſand Pounds* for Charges of their Houſes, paid them by the *London* Soap makers; who were alſo obliged to take off their Materials, at their own Rates, amounting to above *Twenty-thouſand Pounds* more; beſides *Five-hundred Pounds*, for not meddling with the *Soap-makers* Houſes: And all this, only to have the Uſe of their Trade again. Then the King incorporated the *London Soap makers*; and though thoſe of *Weſtminſter* had paid him but *four Pounds per* Tun, and, for a ſhort Time, *ſix Pounds*; theſe of *London*, without any Liberty of raiſing the Price, were obliged to pay *eight Pounds* the Tun; which, in about three Years, amounted to above *Ninety-thouſand Pounds*. Thus ſuffered they, by *Fines*, *Impriſonments*, *Ejectments*, *Spoil* and *Plunder*, from *June* 1632, to *May* 1637, near five Years, to the Ruin of many, for their Incompliance with the intolerable Uſurpations of thoſe *Knights*, *Eſquires*, and *Gentlemen*. Wherefore, it is here, as reaſonably, as it is humbly deſired, That the ſaid Patentees may be puniſhed, and make the Sufferers full Recompence: That the Commodity may be reduced to its accuſtomed Price; and none ſuffered to uſe the Trade, but ſuch as have been brought up, and are ſkilled in it.

238. A *Diſcourſe* concerning the *Succeſſe* of former *Parliaments* (In ſeven Leaves) *Quarto*, 1642

This Pamphlet was written with a very good Deſign; to ſhew the Eſteem that *Engliſh Parliaments* were anciently held in, without, as the Author profeſſes, any Reflection upon the Proceedings of the preſent Parliament; and yet thereby to induce his Majeſty to pay ſuch Regard thereto, as might ſtill keep this grand *Convention* in its due Eſteem and Efficacy. Alledging, ‘ They have been ‘ as much loved by ſound and healthly Princes, as loathed by them who were out of ‘ Temper; the latter having thought them ‘ a Depreſſion of their Dignity, as the former have eſteemed them an Advantage ‘ to their Strength.’ Concluding that, ‘ Their ‘ greateſt Excellency is ſeen, when they have ‘ been uſed as a Diet by honourable and juſt ‘ Princes; ſuch as this Nation hath often ‘ been bleſſed with; and ſuch, who have ‘ thought it no more Diſparagement, or ‘ Depreſſion of their Dignity, to be ruled ‘ by the Sway of that great *Council*, than a ‘ wiſe Guider of a Ship would think it, to ‘ follow his Compaſs; or any Mathematician ‘ to be directed by his neceſſary Rules and ‘ and Inſtruments.’ This Copy had heretofore been in the Collections of Sir *Symonds D'ewes*; and he has written upon the Title-Page of it, that it is *a notable Piece*.

239. *Seaſonable Advice*, for Preventing the *Miſchief* of *Fire*, that may come by Negligence, Treaſon, or otherwiſe. *Ordered* to be *printed* by the *Lord Mayor* of *London*: And is thought very *neceſſary* to *hang up* in *every* Man's *Houſe*. Invented by *William Goſling*, Engineer,

Engineer. (Printed in one Sheet) *Broadſide,* 1643

This Diſcourſe is divided into *three Parts:* The *Firſt,* ſhews, *how many ſeveral Ways, Houſes, Towns, and Cities have been ſet on Fire.* As, by what Means, the Fires happened in *Shoreditch,* and in *Southwark;* how *Wimbleton* was burnt; St. *Edmondſbury* and *London-Bridge.* The *Second* Part conſiſts of, *Orders to be obſerved, that Fires may not happen.* And the *Third* Part, of *Orders, if a Fire ſhould happen, to prevent the Miſeries of it.* Here, by Recommending the Having, in every Pariſh, a *great Squirt on Wheels,* which may do very good Service, he ſeems to have given the firſt Hint to the Uſe of thoſe *Fire-Engines,* which were, about ten Years after, invented, and offered to the Publick.

240. *The Pope's Nuncioe's:* Or, the *Negotiation* of Seignior *Panzani,* Seignior *Con,* &c. Reſident here in *England,* with the *Queen;* and treating about the *Alteration* of *Religion,* with the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury,* and his Adherents; in the Years of our Lord, 1634, 1635, 1636, &c. Together with a *Letter* to a *Nobleman* of this Kingdom concerning the ſame. (In ten Leaves) *Quarto,* 1643

The Author of this *Letter,* which is prefixed, ſigns himſelf *D. T.* and ſays therein, 'That thoſe *Curtains* of *Peace* and *Charity,* which did ſo ſpeciouſly *cover* this *Work* 'of *Darkneſs,* are *drawn* from off it. He, 'that will not now underſtand that *Tibur* 'and *Thames* were almoſt in one Channel, 'ſhall have my Vote to graze upon the 'Mountains, and forfeit his reaſonable Soul, 'which, in ſo clear a Day, will not diſcern 'the *Waters running.* I believe your Lordſhip, with more Boldneſs, will concur in 'this Sentence; when you ſhall hear, that 'the *Venetian Ambaſſador* was the *Author* of 'this little Story; a Man whoſe Religion 'would not permit him to favour the Reformed Churches, or to blaſt his own with 'any Falſhood; eſpecially in an *Account* to 'a wiſe State, which had employed him; a 'Man of dear Acquaintance with *Panzani;* 'and although no *Maſter-Builder,* yet a 'pious *Servant* and *Spectator* of the Work: 'When you ſhall alſo hear that the *Italian* '*Copy* was firſt tranſlated into *French,* for 'the great *Cardinal's* Satisfaction; and I do 'not doubt it hath good Acquaintance in 'the *Spaniſh* Court, and could ſpeak that 'Language long ago, &c.' That this Negotiation of thoſe *Nuncio's* was written by the *Venetian* Ambaſſador, may be read alſo in Dr. *Heylyn's Life* of Archbiſhop *Laud,* Page 388. That Dr. *Gregorio Panzani,* a *Romiſh* Prieſt, arrived in *London,* the Twenty-fifth of *December,* 1634, to move that a *Catholick Biſhop* might reſide in *England,* under certain Limitations, to moderate the Differences between the Secular and Regular Clergy and the Jeſuits. But hearing what Diſturbance Dr. *Smith,* Biſhop of *Chalcedon,* had made among them, by Conteſting for the Power of *Ordinary* over all *England,* to the Driving him into *France;* and as the Oath of Allegiance could not be allowed of by the Pope, Seignior *Panzani* was adviſed to drop that Scheme, and procure the Allowance of a *Nuncio* to come to the *Queen,* by whom the Courts, that is, the Religions might be reconciled. Accordingly, here arrived, in *July,* 1636, as the Pope's Reſident, Seignior *George Con,* a *Scotchman,* Secretary for the *Latin* Tongue to Cardinal *Barbarini,* who was ſplendidly received, but it was believed by our Author, he would not effectually ſucceed, becauſe he ingratiated too much with the Jeſuits; 'which if the Court perceive 'ſays he, may diminiſh the good Opinion, 'which is now conceived of him. For both 'the *Archbiſhop,* and Biſhop of *Chicheſter,* 'have ſaid often, that there are but *two Sorts* '*of Perſons* likely to impeach and hinder *Re*-'*conciliation*: To wit, *Puritans* amongſt 'the *Proteſtants,* and *Jeſuits* among the '*Catholicks.*'

241. King *James* his *Apopthegmes;* or *Table Talk:* As they were by Him delivered occaſionally; and by the *Publiſher,* his *quondam* Servant, carefully received; and now humbly offered to Publique View; as not impertinent to the preſent Times. By *B. A.* Gent. *London,* printed by *B. W.* (In eight Leaves) *Quarto,* 1643

This Collection is dated as ſpoken at ſeveral Places, from the Year 1617 to 1624. Concluding with theſe Words, *Apothegmata fideliter collecta ex ore Regis* Jacobi, *per me* Ben. Agar, *Servatorem ejus in Juventute ſua, jam Ætatis ſuæ* 52.

NUMBER XV.

242. *Areopagitica:* A *Speech* of Mr. *John Milton*, for the *Liberty* of *unlicenſed Printing*; to the *Parliament* of *England*. (In forty Pages) *Quarto*, 1644

This celebrated *Speech* has many curious Reflexions in it, upon the Advantages of *Writing*, *Reading*, and *Publiſhing* of *Books*, without any ſlaviſh Submiſſion to the peremptory, or corrupted Judgments of ignorant, mercenary, or Time-ſerving *Licenſers*. Shewing it is a Diſparagement to the Juſtice, Underſtanding, and Freedom of Mankind: That thoſe, who have never offended, ſhould be obliged to undergo the Suſpicion and Examination of the greateſt Criminals; and then be *ſtigmatiſed*, or bear an indelible Brand as it were, upon their very *Cheeks*, after they have been fully acquitted, and found clear of all Guilt. Further ſhewing, their Treatment is more ſevere than is uſed to *Debtors* and *Delinquents*; who often walk abroad without a *Keeper*: But inoffenſive *Books* muſt not ſtir forth without a viſible *Jaylor* in their Title. ‘ In ſhort, ſuch was ‘ the Effect of this Treatiſe’, as we are informed by Mr. *Toland*, in his *Life* of the *Author*, ‘ That, the following Year, one ‘ *Mabot*, a *Licenſer*, offered alſo *Reaſons* ‘ againſt *Licenſing*; and, at his own Re‘ queſt, was diſcharged that *Office*:’ However, it comes to paſs, that *G. Mabbot's Imprimatur* is to be found before ſome Pamphlets which were printed five Years afterwards. It was reprinted in *Octavo*, about ſix Years ſince, as it ſhould be, upon all proper Occaſions.

243. *Articles of Peace*, made, concluded, accorded, and agreed upon, by, and between His Excellencie *James* Lord Marques of *Ormond*, Lord Lieutenant Generall, and Generall Governour of his Majeſties Kingdom of *Ireland*: His Majeſties Commiſſioner to treat and conclude a *Peace* with his Majeſties *Roman Catholick Subjects* of the ſaid Kingdome, by Virtue of his Majeſties Commiſſion under the Great Seale of *England*, bearing Date at *Buckingham*, on the Twenty-fourth Day of *June*, in the *Twentieth Yeare* of his *Reigne*. For, and on the Behalf of his Majeſty of the one Part; and *Donogh* Lord Viſcount *Muskery*, and others, appointed and authoriſed by his Majeſties ſaid *Roman Catholick Subjects*, by Virtue of an Authoritie of the ſaid *Roman Catholick Subjects*, bearing Date the Sixth Day of *March* 1645; and in the *One and Twentieth Year* of his Majeſties *Reigne*, of the other Part. Publiſhed by Authoritie and Command of the *Lord Lieutenant* and Councell. Imprinted at *Dublin*, by *William Bladen*, Printer to the King's moſt Excellent Majeſty. (In 15 Leaves) *Quarto*, 1646

244. The *Free-Holders Grand Inqueſt*, touching our Soveraigne Lord the *King* and his *Parliament*. Printed in the *Three* and *Twentieth* Year of the *Raign* of our Soveraign Lord *King Charles*. (In forty Leaves.) *Quarto*, ——

This learned and loyal Diſcourſe, to aſſert the *King's ſupreme Power* in *Parliament*, was publiſhed *An.* 1647; in the latter End of which Year, the Author died. And, though it has not its Author's Name printed before it, is well known among the Curious, to have been written by Sir *Robert Holburne*; who was a Councellor of *Lincoln's-Inn*, and Doctor of the Civil Law; the Prince's Attorney; one of his Majeſty's Privy Councell, Member of Parliament for St. *Michael* in *Cornwall*; and Author of ſome other Pieces, in the Law. This contains an Abſtract of divers *Statutes*, *Records*, and other *Precedents*, explaining the *Writs* of *Summons* to *Parliament*: Shewing, 1. That the *Commons*, by their *Writ*, are only to *perform* and *conſent* to the *Ordinances* of *Parliament*. 2. That the *Lords*, or *Common-Councell*, by their *Writ*, are only to *treat*, and give *Counſel* in *Parliament*. 3. That the *King* Himſelf only *ordains* and *makes Laws*, and is *ſupreme Judge* in *Parliament*. And theſe Arguments are corroborated by the Suffrages of *Henry de Bracton*, *John Britton*, Sir *Thomas Egerton*, Sir *Edward Coke*, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, Sir *Robert Cotton*, Sir *Henry Spelman*, Sir *John Glanvill*, *William Lambert*, *Richard Crompton*, *William Cambden*, and *Jo. Selden*.

245. The *Marqueſſe* of *Ormond's Declaration*, proclaiming *Charles* the *Second*, King of *England*, *Scotland*, *France*, and *Ireland*, &c. With his *Summons* to Colonel *Jones*, for the Surrender of *Dublin*: And the Anſwere of Colonel *Jones* thereunto. Alſo a perfect *Relation*

of their Forces; and the preſent Affairs of that Kingdom. Together with a true Copie of the *Articles* of *Agreement* between the ſaid *Marqueſſe* and the *Iriſh.* Alſo, a *Repreſentation* of the Province of *Ulſter*, concerning the Evills and Dangers to Religion, Laws and Liberties, ariſing from the preſent Practices of the *Sectarian Army* in *England.* (In 13 Leaves) *Quarto*, 1649

Theſe *Articles* of *Peace*, between the *Marqueſs* and the *Iriſh* Papiſts, are more contracted, and more in Number, than thoſe mentioned in the foregoing *Article*, but one, of this *Catalogue:* Theſe latter being ſigned 17 *January*, 1648. Colonel *Michael Jones*, in his Anſwer, inſtead of ſurrendering *Dublin*, proteſts againſt the Marquiſs's *Pardon* of, and *Peace* with thoſe bloody *Popiſh* Rebels: And as the Marquiſs had reſembled, in his Letter, *Oliver Cromwell* to *John* of *Leyden:* Theſe Particulars, together with the *Repreſentation* of the Preſbytery at *Belfaſt*, of the Evils ariſing from the *Sectarian Party* in *England*, &c. provoked *Milton*, or thoſe who could influence his Pen, ſo far, as to make him *anſwer* this *Pamphlet*; which he did, under the Title of *Obſervations upon the Articles of Peace*, &c. which were ſoon after publiſhed.

246. A *Diamond*, or *Rich Jewel*; preſented to the Commonwealth of *England*, for *Inriching* of the *Nation*; being neceſſary for the *Uſe* of all *Merchants* and *Tradeſmen*, and advantageous to the *Poor*. Wherein is declared a Way, 1. How all *Forraign Meneys* may paſs in *England*, and gain the Merchant *Ten per Cent.* and to put off our *Manufacture*, without paſſing our *Engliſh Coyn* into *other Countries.* 2. To ſettle a *Bank* in *London* for Furniſhing all *Trades* with *Money*; and to quit the Nation of *Beggars.* 3. To ſupply the Nation with *Salt*, at three Half-pence the Gallon. 4. To increaſe the Trade of *Fiſhing*, without being beholding to others. 5. To make *England* the *richeſt Nation* in *Europe*, both for *Gold* and *Silver.* 6. To ſave half the Charges of the *Officers* of the *Exciſe* and *Cuſtom*; for the Eaſe of the free-born People of the Nation. 7. To *free* all *neceſſary* Commodities from *Taxes.* 8. To ſettle an *Inſurance Office* cheap; and not to pay above Five in the Hundred for *Inſurance* from *Pirates*, in all Parts of *Europe* and *America.* By Capt. *Samuel Chappel. Licenſed and entered according to Order.* Printed for *John Clowes*, &c. (In 16 Leaves) *Quarto*, 1650

Theſe Projects, or Propoſals, are preſented, as a Petition, in ſeveral Parts, to the *Council for regulating of Trade*; and dedicated to the Lord *Whitlock*, and the *Keepers* of the Great Seal, and the Lord Chief Juſtice *Role*; and the reſt of the Juſtices of the Common Law, by the ſaid Captain *Chappel*, of *Fremington*, in the County of *Devon*, Merchant; who had ſerved the Parliament, from the Year 1641, by Land and Sea, and now lay in Priſon, for Want of the Arrears due to him in their Service. There are ſeveral other Hints of *National Improvements*, offered to be further diſcloſed, when the Author ſhall be paid and ſet at Liberty.

247. *Certain Propoſals* in Order to the People's *Freedome* and *Accommodation* in ſome *Particulars.* With the Advancement of *Trade* and *Navigation* of this Commonwealth in *General.* Humbly tendered to the View of this proſperous *Parliament*, in this Juncture of Time; wherein they may, both with more Safety, and far better Deliberation, judge thereof; and, if they ſee requiſite, put them in a Way of ſpeedy Execution; to the great Enriching, Securing, Cementing, and Contenting the Univerſality of this Nation; which hath been much *deſired* and ſhall be ſtill *endeavoured* by *Henry Robinſon.* Printed by *M. Simmons.* (In 15 Leaves) *Quarto*, 1652

There are many important Topicks touched upon, in this Tract, with Propoſals of Reformation for the Benefit of the Commonwealth; as Advice to the *Union* of *Law* and *Equity*; Remarks on the *Revenue*, and *Adminiſtration* of *Government*; Exhortation for full Freedom of *Petitioning* to *Parliament*; for Liberty of *Speaking*, *Printing*, and *Conſcience*; for Allowing a Competency to the *Miniſtry*, in Lieu of *Tythes*; for Exempting us from all *Oaths* of *covenanting Engagements*, for Recovery and Advancement of *Trade*, by Imitating the *Hollanders*; in making *Rivers navigable*, having *Towns* at proper *Diſtances*, nouriſhing *Timber* for *Shipping*, having Store of *Money* at a reduced *Intereſt*, and a more diligent Exerciſe of the *Fiſhing-Trade*; which, as *They* have engroſſed it, is become a far greater Concernment to them, than is all the Trade of theſe three Nations, to *us.* Alſo to increaſe our *Foreign Plantations*; to recover our Woollen Manufactures; to allow a certain Number of *Free Ports*; grant *Freedom* to *Foreigners*; make all *Harbours*, *Ports*, and *Docks*, ſecure and convenient; ſtrengthen the *Caſtles* and *Forts*; furniſh the *Storehouſes*, and induce the *Mariners*, to abide near where the Ships uſually winter, with Proviſion offered to prevent *Preſſing* of them. Alſo to prevent the *Overballancing* of *Trade*; to encourage the *Importation* of *Bullion* and *foreign Specie*, and to regulate the *Merchandizing Exchange:* To prohibit the *Exportation* of our own *Coin*, and the *Tranſmutation* of it, into *Plate*, *Lace*, &c. To conſtitute a *Court of Merchants*, for deciding Controverſies in Trade; make *Bonds* and *Bills* aſſignable; with the great Benefits of a *Bank* and Requeſt, that the Bill for a *Country Regiſter* may paſs. Recommends the Draining of *Fens*, and Incloſing of *Commons*; to the greater Gain of the Poor, who receive ſome Benefit on them, as well as the Publick in General. To confirm the Laws for encouraging all *New Inventions* and *Improvements:* Reform the *Laws*, concerning the Puniſhment of Creditors Children, or Heirs of Malefactors, being puniſhed for the Sins of their Parents, Predeceſſors, or Debtors; and the unconſcionable Courſe, as it is managed between Law and Chancery of *Penary Bonds* and *Mortgages*; and to enact the *Regiſtring* of *Wills* and *Teſtaments* in the Country Regiſter, to enforce the Validity of *ſingle Bills*, and *Shop Books* of *Accounts*, for [illegible]ating or Clearing Debts. That none be arreſted till after Judgment, unleſs Removal or Concealment of Goods or Perſon be proved. That all Frauds in Commodities be enquired into, and prevented; that the Erection of *Lombards*, or Banks of *Loan*, be encouraged on reaſonable Rates. That certain *Workhouſes* be erected in all great Towns to provide for the *Poor*, *Beggars*, and *Foundlings:* That Truſtees be appointed for *Orphans* and their *Eſtates:* That *Publick Schools* be erected in all Parts of the Nation where wanted, and where Boys ſhould be taught to *read*, *write*, and *ſwim*; which laſt Qualification is particularly inſiſted on, with an Eye to making theſe Schools ſo many Nurſeries for *Navigation*; by obſerving how often Ships and all their Crew have been deſerted and loſt, for Want of this Quality. *Laſtly*, It is requeſted, that *Phyſicians* and *Chyrurgions*, be appointed throughout the Nation, and *Hoſpitals* erected at the Publick Charge. And all theſe *Accommodations*, the Author engages upon his Life, might be put in Execution, in a *very very* few Years; without greater, and perhaps with leſs Charge to the Commonwealth, than they are at preſent at.

248. *Sedition ſcourg'd:* Or, a *View* of the raſcally and venemous *Paper*, entitled, a *Charge of High-Treaſon exhibited againſt* Oliver Cromwel, *Eſq. for ſeveral* Treaſons *by Him committed.* Printed by *H. Hill.* for *Ric. Baddeley.* (In 8 Leaves) *Quarto*, 1653

249. *The Lord Craven's Caſe*, briefly ſtated. Printed by *T. Newcomb.* (In ſix Leaves) *Quarto*, 1654

Herein it appears, that by the Informations of *Ric. Falconer*, *Hugh Reyley*, and Captain *Tho. Kitchingman*, read in Parliament on the Sixth of *March*, 1650, touching the ſaid Lord *Craven*'s Attendance upon, and Intimacy with King *Charles* at *Breda*, his Lordſhip's Eſtate of Twelve *Thouſand Pounds*, *per Annum*, was thereupon voted to be confiſcated, without Hearing of him, being then beyond Seas, by Leave of the Parliament; where he had reſided, attending his *Charge* there, ever ſince the Year 1641. In the two laſt *Informations*, there appears Nothing againſt his Lordſhip, more than his ſaid Waiting on the King; except the Charge his Lordſhip had from the King to look to one Mrs. *Barlow*, who had a *Child*, by his Majeſty, born at *Rotterdam*; which, after the King was gone to *Scotland*, his Lordſhip took from her, for which ſhe went to Law with him, and recovered the Child back again; and in the firſt *Information*, &c. *Falconer*, who was a Fellow notoriouſly infamous, was, upon *Trial*, proved guilty of *Perjury*: And his Lordſhip, ſetting forth, and explaining thoſe *Declarations* of the *Commons*, in which he was conſtrued to be comprehended as an Offender, and having clearly proved, that he could not be involved as ſuch, therein concludes with *Petition* for *Relief*.

249. *Obſervations* upon ſome particular *Perſons* and Paſſages in a Book lately made publick, intitled, *A compleat Hiſtory of the Lives and Reignes of* Mary *Queen of* Scotland, *and her Son* James *the Sixth of* Scotland, *and the Firſt of* England, France, *and* Ireland. *Written* by a *Lover* of the Truth. Printed for *Ga. Bedel*, and *Tho. Collins*, (In twelve Leaves) *Quarto*, 1656

That *Hiſtory* of Q. *Mary*, and her Son King *James*, which this *Pamphlet* has here, in many Particulars, notably corrected, was written dy *William Sanderſon*; but it would require a Volume to correct all the Miſtakes and Miſrepreſentations, which that incompetent and prejudiced Hiſtorian has made therein. The Character, here given of that *Hiſtory*, has been intirely concurred in, by many able Writers, who have had Occaſion to trace it. The ingenious Author ſays, ‘ That *Sanderſon* has therein compiled, not ‘ an *Hiſtory*, but a *Libel*, againſt all the ‘ good Men, and good Actions of thoſe ‘ Times; and, with moſt ſervile *Flattery*, ‘ praiſed and exalted the bad, both Men ‘ and Matters. His whole Book is a *Rapſody* of Notes, and ſcattered Papers, from ‘ other Men, collected without either *Order* ‘ or *Method*; being exceedingly defective, ‘ both in *Time*, *Place*, and *Nomination*; and ‘ written in ſo unſeemly and disjointed a ‘ *Stile*, that you may eaſily perceive he hath ‘ taken up other Men's *Words*, without ‘ underſtanding their *Matter*; and, unleſs ‘ it be where he rails on Perſons of Honour, ‘ which he doth *plainly*, and *often*, though ‘ ſometimes very falſly, his Language is ‘ dark, harſh, and unintelligible.’ Further this intelligent Author, being acquainted with moſt of the eminent Perſonages which are by *Sanderſon* ſo much disfigured and traduced, had great Advantages as well as Inclination to rectify their Stories and do Juſtice to Truth: In doing which, he has acquainted us with ſome curious Pieces of ſecret Hiſtory, whereof all other Writers have been ſilent. Particularly, it was here firſt made known, why Sir *Walter Ralegh* is ſo partially treated by *Sanderſon*, becauſe his Father pretending *Ralegh* owed him much Money, and it being brought to Trial, he was found *Ralegh*'s Debtor in very great Sums, for which he died in Priſon. Here are alſo ſome Aſperſions wiped off from the Memory of Queen *Eliſabeth*; others caſt on the Noble Houſe of *Pembroke*, upon Sir *T. Overbury*, *Hen. Rich*, Earl of *Holland*, &c. &c. The Author's Name is not printed before this Pamphlet, but we learn elſewhere that it was written by *Carew Ralegh*, Eſq; the Son of Sir *Walter* aforeſaid, who was ſometime Gentleman of the Privy-Chamber to King *Charles the Firſt*, a Colonel in the Army, Member in the Houſe of Commons, and Governor of the Iſle of *Jerſey*.

250. *Nuntius a Mortuis*: Or, a *Meſſenger* from the *Dead*: That is, a ſtupendious and dreadful *Colloquie* diſtinctly and alternately heard by divers, betwixt the *Ghoſts* of *Henry* the *Eighth*, and *Charles* the *Firſt*, both *Kings* of *England*, who lie entombed in the Church of *Windſor*. Wherein, as with a Pencil from Heaven, is liquidly, from Head to Foot, ſet forth, The whole Series of the *Judgments* of *God*, upon the *Sinnes* of theſe unfortunate *Iſlands*. Tranſlated out of the *Latine* Copie, by *G. T.* and printed at *Paris*. (In thirteen Leaves) *Quarto*, 1657

251. A true *Relation* of the *Proceedings*, *Examination*, *Tryal*, and *horrid Murder* of Col. *Euſebius Andrewe*: By *John Bradſhaw*, *Preſident* of the pretended *High-Court* of *Juſtice*, and others of the ſame Court. Publiſhed by *Francis Buckley*, Gent. who was *Aſſiſtant* to Mr. *Andrewe* in the Time of his *Impriſonment*, and an *Eye-witneſs* of all the ſaid moſt bloody and execrable *Proceedings*. Printed for *Dani*[illegible]*man*. (In forty Leaves) *Quarto*, 1660

This Colonel *Andrew* had been a Lawyer of *Lincoln's-Inn*, Secretary to the Lord *Capel*; &c. He *was* beheaded on *Tower-Hill*, the Twenty-ſecond of *Auguſt*, 1650, aged Forty-two Years. The *Speech* he made upon the Scaffold, was that Year printed by *John Clowes*, in one Sheet, *Quarto*; but is reprinted in this *Relation* above; which is the moſt copious and compleat Account of the Treaſon, he was charged with by *Bradſhaw*, in attempting an Alteration of the Government, that is to be met with. An Epitome of his Caſe and Sufferings, may be read in ſome of the General Hiſtories of thoſe Times.

252. A *ſhort View* of the *Life* and *Actions* of the moſt illuſtrious *James Duke* of *York*: Together with his *Character*. Printed for *Henry Marſh*. (In 26 Pages) *Quarto*, 1660

253. A *Speech* viſibly ſpoken, in the Preſence of the Right Honourable the *Lords* and *Commons* aſſembled in *Parliament*, by a *Ghoſt*, in a white Sheet of Paper; humbly deſiring Privilege, as a Member of both Houſes: Being a Repreſentative of many thouſand Souls relating to both. *London*, printed for the Author. (In 28 Pages) *Quarto*, ——

This Speech, at the End, appears to have been publiſhed by Dr. *Peter Chamberlen*, and is dated from *Coleman Street*, the 6th of *February*, 1662. There are many wholſome Admonitions in it, againſt *blind Zeal*, and *godly Ignorance*, and the *Diſtempers*, through them, which the *Clergy* had brought upon this Nation. With Illuſtrations upon that Part of his Majeſty's *Declaration* from *Breda*, recommending the Burial of all *Animoſities* between Parties in *Oblivion*; the Forbearance of all *Terms* of *Reproach*; and the Promoting a perfect *Union* among themſelves. He alſo adviſes to win the *Allegeance* of all, by avoiding the *Perſecution* of any; and allowing *Liberty* of *Conſcience*; as what will beſt reſtore the long diſordered Government to its former Health and Strength: And concludes, with Relati[illegible] *Himſelf*; offering his Means of *Saving Lives* from the Grave, no leſs than 3000 of them in a Year: ‘It being his daily ‘Practice, as it was his Father's and Grand‘father's, before him, and moſt of his Fa‘mily, to *ſave Lives*, of all Ages, Sexes, ‘and in all Caſes; which had made him as ‘neceſſary in Courts, and noble Families, ‘as Cottages; and gave him the Honour, ‘to be *firſt Phyſician* to his Majeſty in Or‘dinary, and to the Royal Progeny: Ha‘ving now outlived all his Senior Doctors, ‘in Court, College and both Univerſities.’ ‘And, though he was ſcandaliſed by that ‘Parliament, which oppoſed Kings, with ‘the Report of *Madneſs*;’ he urges, ‘they ‘were more *mad*, to run on, and ſuffer ‘thoſe *Woes* in Earneſt, which to *foretell*, ‘they judged *Madneſs*. For they deſpiſed ‘the *Webb* of *Monarchy* ſo often *preſented* ‘them, becauſe they diſcerned not the ‘*Thread* it was *woven* with, nor how wrap‘ped up in *Linſey Woolſey*.’

‘And if his *Madneſs* were more reaſona‘ble than their *Wiſdom* that firſt branded ‘him, and kept you out of the Seats, you are ‘now poſſeſſed of, what may his *Soberneſs* ‘do, if you are pleaſed to command and ‘own him?’

254. A brief *Treatiſe* of the *Nature*, *Cauſes*, *Signes*, *Preſervation* from, and *Cure* of the *Peſtilence*. Collected by *W. Kemp*, Maſter of Arts. Printed for, and ſold by *D. Kemp*, at his Shop at the *Salutation*, near *Hatton-Garden*, in *Holburn*. (In 51 Leaves) *Quarto*, 1665

The Author, who was a Practitioner in Phyſick, and a Native of *Briſtol*, dedicates this his ingenious Treatiſe to K. *Charles*. There are many entertaining Remarks, many Philoſophical and Hiſtorical Illuſtrations, as well as good Medicinal Preſcriptions in it, relating to the Cauſes and Cures of all deſtructive *Contagions*; eſpecially that which then raged in this Nation: And there may alſo be ſome few Inſtances of his being led a little into *Credulity* by the Authorities of ſome Writers, otherwiſe, or for the Generality of good Credit; as where he treats of *Amulets* and eſpecially *Witches*. We have ſurely been miſchievouſly enough credulous, in the miſchievous Power of *Witches*; but when they ſhall be aſſerted, upon the Teſtimonies of *Hercules Saxonia*, and the candid *Sennertus*, and the ocular Obſervation of the learned Dr. *Urſinus*, or any other learned Doctor, to have more Power in their Graves than ever was allowed them above Ground, even to the Spreading this *Epidemical* Miſchief of *Plagues* among Mankind: When it ſhall be affirmed that, in Death, they forbear not the Habits of Life, but are diſcovered *gnawing* and *devouring* their very

Shrowds, or whatever lies next them; and, that ſuch *Plagues* ſhall not ceaſe, till their Heads are divided from their Carcaſes; theſe ſtrange Reports may raiſe *Conſternation* in ſome, but will certainly adminiſter Matter of *Conſolation* to others; in Finding that, as great Stupidity and Abſurdity of Opinion, prevails in *Germany* and *Poland*, as does in *England*. Among his *Prognoſticks*, the Remark he makes, from *Simon Kelway* and others, that *Children*, Mimicking Funerals, Armies, and Battles, predict *Mortalities* and *Civil Wars*; will be accounted, by ſome, but a *Childiſh* Remark: But others will look upon that King's Chaplain as a Conjurer, who, twenty Years before this Plague, preaching at *Briſtol*, againſt black Patches, or Beauty-ſpots, ſaid they were Fore-runners of other *Spots*, and Marks of the *Plague*; which ſoon after broke out there, and drove all the patched Women out of the City. In his Section of *Preſervation*, he inſtances how durably the *Infection* will lurk among Cloths, in that fatal *furred Gown*, which *Fracaſtorius* affirms to have killed five and twenty Men in *Verona*, one after another, with the *Plague*. *Laſtly*, In his Section *of the Cure of the Peſtilence*, he makes great Uſe of *Vinegar*, in all his Ingredients, and gives us a particular *Panegyrick* upon its extraordinary Efficacy, not only in this, but many other Diſtempers, from Page 79, to 86; where he ſays, *it is for the Virtue of* Vinegar *that I wrote this Book*; and, *I had rather take* Vinegar *by itſelf, than many other, nay, than any other ſingle Medicine without it.* He alſo ſpeaks highly in Praiſe of the *Oils* of *Vitriol*, and of *Brimſtone*.

255. *Clauſtrum Regale Reſeratum: Or, the King's Concealment at Trent*; publiſhed by A. W. *In Umbrâ Alarum tuarum ſperabo, donec tranſeat Iniquitas. London*, printed for *Will. Nott*, &c. (In forty-eight Pages) *Quarto*, 1667

This *Title-Page* is printed from an engraved Plate, which has, at the Top, a Pair of Wings expanded, to which that *Latin* Motto partly alludes. On the Sides, are repreſented *Worceſter* Fight in one Group or Compartment: In another, King *Charles*'s Eſcape through a Wood; out of which appears a Hand with a Shield in it, and this Motto, *Tu Scutum*; Providence intercepting his Enemies in Purſuit. On the other Side, is a View of *Trent* with the Royaliſts making Merry round a Bonfire, and over the ſaid Town is written, *Tu Latibulum.* The Tract is dedicated to King *Charles*'s Queen, *Katherine*, by *Anne Wyndham*, one of the Daughters of *Thomas Gerard*, Eſq. late of *Trent*, and Wife of Colonel *Francis Wyndham*. But the Treatiſe itſelf appears, in Pages 7 and 8, to have been written by the *Colonels own Hand*, though he ſpeaks of himſelf, all the Way in the ſecond Perſon. As the King's Journey, from *Worceſter* to *Abbots-Leigh* in *Somerſetſhire*, had been publiſhed before, this Diſcourſe treats of his Journey, from thence, to the Colonel's Houſe at *Trent*; his Concealment there; Endeavour, though fruſtrate, to get to *France*; his Return, and final Departure for Embarkation; from the 17th of *September*, to the Sixth of *October*, 1651.

256. A *Cenſure* upon certaine *Paſſages* contained in the *Hiſtory of the Royal Society*; as being *deſtructive* to the eſtabliſhed *Religion* and *Church* of *England. Oxford*, printed for *Richard Davis*. (In thirty-four Leaves) *Quarto*, 1670

The Author of this Piece was *Henry Stubbes*, a Phyſician of *Warwick*; who dedicates it to Dr. *John Fell*, Dean of *Chriſt Church, Oxon.* This Author has alſo in another Work of his, intitled, *Plus Ultra reduced to a Nonplus*, againſt Dr. *Joſ. Glanvill*, beſpattered the ſaid *Hiſtory of the Royal* [illegible]*ty*; which was publiſhed by Dr. *Tho. Sprat*, three Years before. But this *Cenſure* provoked two Authors to reply upon *Stubbes*, and their Tracts were printed in the ſame Year.

257. The *Dutch Uſurpation: Or*, a brief *View* of the *Behaviour* of the *States-General* of the United Provinces towards the *Kings* of *Great-Britain*; with ſome of their *Cruelties* and *Injuſtices* exerciſed upon the *Subjects* of the *Engliſh* Nation: As alſo, a *Diſcovery* of what *Arts* they have uſed, to arrive at their late *Grandeur*, &c. By *William de Britaine*, (In 20 Leaves) *Quarto*, 1672

This Piece is founded upon Hiſtory or Matter of Fact all the Way, and is dedicated, in a Copy of ingenious Verſes by the Author, to the Duke of *York*, who was then Lord *High Admiral.*

258. A *Seaſonable Argument* to *perſuade* all the *Grand Juries*, in *England*, to *petition* for a *New Parliament :* Or a *Liſt* of the *principal Labourers* in the great *Deſign* of *Popery* and *arbitrary Power* ; who have *betrayed* their *Country* to the *Conſpirators*, and *bargained* with them to *maintain* a *Standing Army* in *England*, under the *Command* of the bigotted *Popiſh* D--- ; who, by the Aſſiſtance of the L L's, *Scotch* Army, the Forces in *Ireland*, and thoſe in *France*, hopes to bring all back to *Rome. Veritas non quærit Angulos.* ---- *Nunc Omnia Romæ Venalia.* (In 23 Pages) Printed at *Amſterdam*, *Quarto*. 1677

This may be eſteemed as a little, clear Pocket *Glaſs* ; in which, the *Nation* might plainly behold and diſtinguiſh their *Members* ; the Maſter-ſtroke and Features of their very Minds ; the Springs and Movements by which they were actuated, and at what Rates the People were ſold by their *Repreſentatives*, in thoſe Days, and all in *Miniature* ; in the ſhorteſt Touches, yet the ſtrongeſt Colours that could be laid on ! For here we have, enrolled under the ſeveral *Counties*, and their *Cities*, *Towns*, &c. which ſent up ſuch *Truſtees* of their *Liberties* and *Properties*, out of the Country, to make the *beſt* Market of *them* in Town. A *Liſt* of the *Names* and *Titles* of thoſe their *Political Factors*, with a Word often of their Characters ; the *Places*, *Salaries*, *Penſions*, *Grants*, and *Boons*, they acquired of the *Court* or the *Crown*, for their *Services* ; and the *Intereſt*, with the *Qualities*, by, and for which, they obtained them. And all in the moſt ſuccinct, free, and unreſerved Manner. Certainly other Parliaments have yielded Matter for other the like Publications : And it ſeems incredible to conceive, what a *Help to Hiſtory*, what a *Light to Poſterity*, an ingenious communicative Author, of good Intelligence, might be, in the *Continuation* of ſuch *Liſts*, as often as Occaſion ſhould call him to the like eminent and inſtructive Service of the Publick, eſpecially that Part of it which calls itſelf by, and believes itſelf to be poſſeſſed of, that moſt agreeable Name and Title of *Freeholders.*

259. An Account of the Manner of *Taking* the late *Duke* of *Monmouth*, &c. By his Majeſty's Command. Printed by *B. G.* for *Samuel Keble*, &c. (In One Sheet) *Folio*, 1685

260. *A Treatiſe of Monarchy :* Containing Two Parts. I. Concerning Monarchy in *general.* II. Concerning this *particular* Monarchy. Wherein all the main *Queſtions*, occurrent in both, are *ſtated*, *diſputed*, and *determined.* Done by an earneſt Deſirer of his Country's Peace. Printed for, and ſold by *Richard Baldwin.* (In nineteen Leaves) *Quarto*, 1689

There are written, with a Pen, in the Title-page of this Copy, and in a Hand reſembling that of the late Lord *Somers*, in whoſe *Collections* this Pamphlet had been, before it came into the *Harleian Library* ; theſe Words —— 'This is a moſt judicious, and truly admirable Piece ; and to 'which I do entirely aſſent, in all the 'Parts of it.' There are alſo written, by the ſame Hand, in the Margent of Page 18, theſe Words, upon Occaſion of what is there laid down in the Text. ——— 'Nothing can be more judiciouſly determined, than this great and difficult Point 'is here determined, by this incomparable 'Author ; and ſuch, as is able to anſwer 'that captious *Queſtion*, ſo often aſked in 'this intricate Caſe, *viz. Who ſhall be 'Judge ?* &c. And ſuch, as is able alſo to 'ſatisfy the Conſcience of every holy and 'godly Subject ; who is afraid, on the 'one Side, of incurring Damnation, by '*reſiſting* the Ordinance of God ; and, 'on the other Side, of loſing the Liberty 'of his dear Country, Property, Privilege, 'and, it may be, Religion, if he ſhould 'not *reſiſt.*

261. A *Letter* to a *Friend*, concerning a *French Invaſion*, to *reſtore* the late King *James* to his *Throne*; and what may be *Expected* from Him, ſhould he be *ſucceſsful* in it. (In 16 Leaves) *Quarto*, 1692.

Somebody has written upon the Title-Page, that this Pamphlet was written by Dr. *Sherlock*; and at the End, That there was a *Second Letter* on the ſame Occaſion, by the ſame Author, publiſhed the ſame Year.

262. *Reaſons* humbly offered for the *Liberty* of *Unlicens'd Printing*. To which is ſubjoined, The Juſt and True *Character* of *Edmund Bohun*, the *Licenſer* of the *Preſs*. In a Letter from a Gentleman in the Country, to a Member of Parliament. (In 32 Pages) *Quarto*, 1693.

The Author of this Letter and Poſtſcript ſigns himſelf *J. M.* He has ſeveral Remarks and Reflections upon ſome certain Tracts and Books, which were Printed and Licenſed in thoſe Times, eſpecially by Mr. *Bohun*, who is pretty freely treated throughout; as is alſo that Prerogative (or *Plot*, as he calls it, againſt *Truth*) of *Licenſing* the *Preſs*; in which the Author has been indebted to ſome of *Milton*'s Thoughts upon the ſame Subject.

263. The *Uſurpations* of *France* upon the *Trade* of the *Woollen Manufactures* of *England*, briefly hinted at: Being the Effects of *Thirty Years Obſervations*; by which that King hath been enabled to wage *War* with ſo great a Part of *Europe*: Or, a Caution to *England* to improve a Seaſon now put into her Hand to ſecure Herſelf. By *William Carter*. (In 16 Leaves) *Quarto*, 1695.

This Author, who ſcrupled not to ſuffer both in his *Perſon* and *Fortune*, to aſſiſt the *Engliſh* Merchants in preventing the *Tranſportation* of our *Wooll* to *France*, had ſhewn the great Loſs and Detriment to this Nation thereby, in other *Diſcourſes* which he publiſhed Twenty Years before: And, in this, obſerves, 'That as our *Loſs*, in the *Trade* 'with *France*, is about *Two Millions per* '*Annum*, by the *Importation* of their *Com*'*modities* here; ſo it's preſumed, on very 'Grounds, that the *Exportation* of our '*Wool* thither, unwrought, inriches *France* 'much more than all the *Importation* of '*French* Goods into *England*.'

264. A *True Account* of the *Robbery* and *Murder* of *John Stockden*, a Victualler in *Grub ſtreet*, in the Pariſh of St. *Giles*'s *Cripplegate*; and of the *Diſcovery* of the *Murderers*, by the ſeveral *Dreams* of *Elizabeth* the Wife of *Thomas Greenwood*, who was near Neighbour to Mr. *Stockden*, and intimately acquainted with him. By *William Smythies*, Curate of St. *Giles*'s, *Cripplegate*. (In One Sheet) *Broadſide*, 1698.

This Author refers us, for extraordinary *Diſcoveries* by *Dreams*, to Mr. *Walton*'s Life of Sir *Henry Wotton*; and to Sir *Richard Baker*'s Account of the Murder committed by *Anne Waters* on her Husband, which was diſcovered after the like Manner, by the *Dream* of a *Neighbour*, in the Reign of King *James* I. Then proceeds to inform us, that by the Appearance of this *Stockden*, who was robbed and murdered, the 13th of *December*, 1695, to Mrs. *Greenwood*, in her Dreams, and his Direction of her to the Murderers; firſt one of them, named *Maynard*, was ſecured in *Newgate*, who diſcovered three others, named *Marſh*, *Bevil* the Murderer, and *Mercer*, who had been all Soldiers in *Ireland*. She was, in the ſame Manner, directed to diſcover two of Thoſe: The laſt, who would not Conſent to the Murder of *Stockden*, and had preſerved the Life of his Houſekeeper and Relation Mrs. *Footman*, eſcaped un-apprehended; and the other Three were executed. Here is a *Certificate*, at the Bottom of this *Account*, by Biſhop *Fowler*, in theſe Words: 'I '*certify*, That the preſent *Dean* of *York*, 'the *Maſter* of the *Charterhouſe*, Dr. '*Allix*, and *Myſelf*, had the *Particulars* 'of the foregoing *Narrative* immediately 'from Mrs. *Greenwood*, and Mrs. *Buggas*, 'at my Houſe; and there appeared not the 'leaſt Reaſon to ſuſpect our being impoſed 'upon. *Edward Glouceſter*.'

265. *A View of Valyaunce:* Deſcribing the *famous Feates* and *Martial Exploites* of Two moſt mightie *Nations,* the *Romans* and the *Carthaginians,* for the Conqueſt and Poſſeſſion of *Spayne.* Tranſlated out of an auncient Recorde of Antiquitie, written by *Rutilius Rufus,* a *Romaine* Gentleman, and a Capitaine of Charge under *Scipio* in the ſame *Warres.* Very delightfull to reade, and never before this Tyme publyſhed. Imprinted by *Thomas Eaſt.* (In 50 Leaves) *Octavo,* 1580.

The Editor of this Tract was *Thomas Newton,* a noted Author and Phyſician in his Time, of *Butley* in *Cheſhire.* He dedicates it to the valiant Sir *Henry Lee,* Knight, Maſter of the *Armarie* and *Leaſh,* to her Majeſtie: And, in his Epiſtle to the Reader, he ſays of this *Hiſtory:* ——‘ Among other Praiſes worthily due unto it, this ſurely is none of the leaſt, That it is a Monument of great Antiquitie; and now, of late, by a ſtudious Gentleman of this our Countrey, in his Travails into *Italy,* there happilye found, and by Him ſenſibly tranſlated. The Copy whereof, being unto me, upon Truſt, long agoe committed to peruſe, and my ſimple Adviſe therein required, I coulde doe no leſſe, at the Requeſt of my Friend, but both peruſe the Booke, conferre the Matter with other Hiſtoriographers, enlighten it with ſome needful Marginall Notes, and finally, with the Glaunce of my poor Pen, commend the ſame as a *New-found Treaſure* unto thy courteous Conſideration.’

266. A *Compendious* or *Brief Examination* of certayne ordinary *Complaints* of divers of our *Countrymen,* in theſe our Dayes; which, although they are in ſome part unjuſt and frivolous, yet are they all, by Way of *Dialogues,* throughly debated and diſcuſſed. By *W. S.* Gentleman. Imprinted by *Tho. Marſhe; Cum Privilegio.* (In 59 Leaves) *Quarto,* 1581.

This has been a Pamphlet in great Repute, and we may meet with it quoted with great Reſpect. It is dedicated by the Author to Queen *Eliſabeth;* to whom he has theſe Words: ‘ I could not forbear, being, as it were, inforced by your Majeſties late and ſingular Clemency, in pardoning certayne my undutifull *Miſdemeanour,* but ſeek to acknowledge your gracious *Goodneſs* and *Bounty* towards me, by exhibiting unto you this ſmall and ſimple Preſent.’ It is more uſually cited by its *Running-Title,* along the Tops of the Pages; which is—— *A Brief Conceipt of Engliſh Policy,* than *That* in the *Frontiſpiece.* Here are many National Topicks, of great Importance, diſcuſſed, to ſhew the Reaſon why Proviſions and Commodities then were complained of, to be as dear and ſcarce again, as they had been thirty Years before. It is written Dialogue-wiſe; that Arguments on both Sides of the Queſtion might be more naturally diſplayed; and the Interlocutors are Members of every State, or Condition, who found themſelves agrieved; and they were, a *Knight,* a *Merchant,* a *Doctor,* an *Huſbandman,* and a *Craftſman.* The Whole is divided into *Three Dialogues,* or *Colloquies:* The *Firſt,* recounts the Common Grievances; The *Second,* ſifts out the Cauſes and Occaſions of them; The *Third,* propoſes Remedies for their Redreſs.

267. A Short *Declaration* of the *Ende* of *Traytors* and falſe *Conſpirators* againſt the State, and of the *Dutie* of *Subjectes* to their Soveraigne Governour: And wythall, how neceſſarie *Lawes* and Execution of *Juſtice* are, for the *Preſervation* of the *Prince* and *Commonwealth.* Wherein are alſo brefely touched ſundrie Offences of the *Sc. Queen,* committed againſt the Crowne of this Land; and the Manner of the honorable *Proceeding* for her *Conviction* thereof; and alſo the *Reaſons* and *Cauſes* alledged and allowed in *Parliament,* why it was thought dangerous to the State, if ſhe ſhould have lived. Publiſhed by *Richard Crompton,* an Apprentice of the Common Lawes. Printed by *J. Charlewood,* &c. (In 24 Leaves) *Quarto,* 1587.

This Tract is dedicated by the Author to *John (Whitgift)* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury,* from the *Middle Temple.* There was a noted Lawyer of the ſame Name, who was Bencher at the *Temple* at this Time, and Author of ſome well known Books in the Law. *Quere,* If the ſame Perſon.

268. *The Royal Exchange:* Contayning ſundry *Aphoriſmes* of *Philoſophie*, and Golden *Principles* of Morall and Naturall *Quadruplicities*; under pleaſant and effectuall *Sentences*; diſcovering ſuch ſtrange *Definitions*, *Diviſions*, and *Diſtinctions* of *Virtue* and *Vice*, as may pleaſe the graveſt *Citizens*, or youngeſt *Courtiers*. Fyrſt written in *Italian*, and dedicated to the Signorie of *Venice*; now tranſlated into *Engliſh*; and offered to the City of *London*. By *Robert Greene, in Artibus Magiſter*. Printed by *J. Charlewood*. (In 40 Leaves, *black Letter*.) *Quarto*, 1590.

This Tract is written much after the Manner of another not long before publiſhed, and dedicated to Sir *Philip Sidney*, entitled, *The Book of Triplicities*; only this before us, is embelliſhed with *Moral* Deductions from, and *Hiſtorical* Illuſtrations of the *Quadruple Diſtinctions* of the Virtues, Vices, Faculties and Appetites of Mankind, which are here ſententiouſly diſplayed. The *Engliſh* Title, conforms cloſely to that of the Original, *La Burza Reale*; and as the Author dedicated it to the Signory of *Venice*; ſo his Tranſlator dedicates it to *Richard Gurney*, and *Stephen Soame*, Sheriffs of *London*. The ſaid Tranſlator, in his own Epiſtle, to the Citizens of *London*, has theſe Words: ‘Nowe honourable Citizens, look not into my *Exchange* for any wealthie Traffique of curious *Merchandize*; either *Silke*, to make *Men* effeminate; or coſtly *Abiliments*, to make *Women* proude; heere be no *Fans* to ſhadow the Face; nor *Alexandrine Paintings* to make honeſt Wives ſeem like Curtizans; no Commodities to wrap Gentlemen in *Statutes* or *Recognizances:* Only This *Exchange* is *Royal*; and here the *Phyloſophers* ſette abroche theyr Principles: Here you may buy *Obedience* to *God*, performed in the carefull Mayntenaunce of his true Religión: Here you ſhall ſee, curiouſly ſette out, *Reverence* to *Magiſtrates*, *Faith* to *Friends*; *Love* to our *Neighbours*, and *Charitie* to the *Poore*. Who covets to know the Duety of a *Chriſtian*; to be brief, the Effects *Tullie* penned down in his *Officies*, eyther for the embracing of *Virtue*, or ſhunning of *Vice*; let him repayre to this *Royal Exchange*, and there he ſhall find himſelf generally furniſhed.’

269. A *Declaration* of Great *Troubles* pretended againſt the *Realme* by a Number of *Seminarie Prieſts*, and *Jeſuites*; *ſent*, and very ſecretly *diſperſed* in the ſame, to work great *Treaſons* under the falſe *Pretence* of *Religion:* With a *Proviſion* very neceſſarie for *Remedie* thereof. Publiſhed by this Her Majeſtie's *Proclamation*. Imprinted by the Deputies of *Chriſtopher Barker*, Printer to the Queene's moſt excellent Majeſtie. (In 7 Leaves) *Quarto* 1591.

This was a ſearching *Proclamation*, and did very much alarm the *Engliſh* Prieſts, both at Home and Abroad: Inſomuch that they hereupon publiſhed ſeveral virulent Libels againſt ſome of the Queen's Council, particularly the Lord *Burleigh*, who had a ſpecial Hand, and others of the Miniſtry, who were conſulted, in the Compoſition thereof. More eſpecially it produced that pretended *Anſwer*, in *Latin*, under the fictitious Name of *Andreas Philopater*, printed in ſeveral Countries abroad, the following Year, *&c.* And it was ſoon after, in that Year alſo, publiſhed in *Engliſh*, under the Title of *An Advertiſement, written to a Secretary of my Lord Treaſurer's of Ingland, by an Engliſh Intelligencer, as he paſſed through* Germany *towards* Italy, *concerning another Book newlie written in Latin*, &c. *againſt her Majeſties late Proclamation*, &c. The Writing of this *Anſwer* has been imputed to Father *Parſons*; and, in ſome of his Books, he does not, otherwiſe than *Jeſuitically*, deny it. But Sir *Edward Coke*, in his *Speech againſt the Powder Plotters*, and others, who were his Contemporaries, aſcribe it to Father *Creſwell*. Perhaps, it is laid at the Door of neither unjuſtly: For they might be Coadjutors in that ſlanderous Production; at leaſt, as ſome of their own Fraternity have diſtinguiſhed, out of Dr. *Mathew Sutcliffe*'s Writings, and others, *Creſwell* might be the Author of the *Latin* Edition, which has the Proclamation aforeſaid, Tranſlated and Interſperſed; and *Parſons*, the Publiſher of it in *Engliſh*, after the Form of an *Advertiſement* or *Letter*; as above. More may be read of this *Proclamation* in *Camden*'s Annals of Queen *Elizabeth*, and other Hiſtorians of her Reign.

2[illegible]0. *The nine Worthies of London :* Explaining the honourable Exerciſe of *Armes*; the *Vertues* of the *Valiant*, and the memorable *Attempts* of *magnanimous Minds*. Pleaſant for *Gentlemen*, not unſeemely for *Magiſtrates*, and moſt profitable for *Prentiſes*. Compiled by *Richard Johnſon*. Imprinted at *London*, by *Thomas Orwin*, for *Humprey Lownes*, &c. (In 24 Leaves, *black Letter*) *Quarto*, 1592

This Tract may be reckoned among thoſe Monuments, in Memory of the Meritorious, which are too ſcarcely met with, and ſuffered too much to run to Ruin. It is founded upon a pretty Platform, in Proſe and Verſe; with a very commendable Deſign, by reviving the honourable Actions of our renowned *Predeceſſors*, to inſpire an Emulation in their hopeful *Poſterity*. It is dedicated to Sir *William Webbe*, Lord-Mayor of *London*, by the Author, who calls himſelf a poor *Apprentice*; but he had no barren Brain, however it might not be perfectly cultivated with Learning; as he appears more exalted in his Genius, than exact, perhaps, every where, in his Language; which yet, is often very polite, elegant, and poetical, for the Time he wrote in. The *Introduction*, in Proſe, diſcovers *Fame* taking her Flight to *Parnaſſus*; and there, having found her Secretaries the *Muſes*, at their Exerciſes, in their fragrant Bower, expreſſed her Will and Pleaſure, to have the *Renown* of her *nine London Worthies revived*. Then ſhe beckoned out *Clio* for this Service; who claſping up her *Book* of *Hiſtories*, and taking her *golden Pen*, they mounted *Fame*'s Silver Chariot, drawn by *Pegaſus*; who tranſported them through the Air, like *Jove*'s blazing Darts, and never ſtopped his downward Courſe, till his ſteely Hoofs beat againſt the Gates of *Tartarus* were leaving the crooked thorny Way, ſmoking with Sulphur, and keeping on the oppoſite Side, they arrived at the delightful *Eleſian* Shades, there finding, among the ſeveral Habitations, that of *Amber*, more ſweetly ſcented ſtill, with the burning Boughs of *Balm*, uſed to cure brave Warriors Wounds; *Fame* ſhook her immortal Wings, and ſtraight the melodious *Noiſe*, with the *Breath* fanned from their Feathers, awakened *nine comely Knights*, who Arm in Arm, upon a green Bank, ſtrewed with Roſe Buds, had laid their conquering Heads to reſt in Peace. Then *Fame* admoniſhing *Clio* to be attentive, and record what ſhe heard, advances to the firſt, a tall, aged Man, with white Hair, in a Scarlet Robe, his Head bound with Balm, and a Sword in his Hand, touches his Lips with her Finger; and He, who was Sir *William Wallworth*, Fiſhmonger and Lord-Mayor of *London*, in the Reign of *Richard* II, recounts his Story in *Verſe*: It is a Poem of about five Pages in Stanzas of ſix Lines. Then comes a ſhort Diſcourſe in *Proſe*, containing ſome Reflexions by the *Author*, ſome Reſolutions by *Fame*, and ſome Remarks by *Clio*; when roſe another of thoſe venerable Knights, and framed his Tale, in near three Pages of *Verſe* after the like Manner; by which it appears, that he was Sir *Henry Pichard*, Vintner, and Lord-Mayor of *London*, in the Reign of *Edward* III. That he led 5000 Men in his Return from the Wars of *France*; and that he then entertained *four Kings*, one *Prince*, and all their *Train* at a Banquet. Next after a ſhort Conference, again in *Proſe*, between *Fame* and *Clio*, aroſe Sir *William Sevenoake*, Grocer, and Lord-Mayor of *London*, in the Reign of *Henry* V. And he recounts in *Verſe*, for about two Pages, his ſtrange Fortunes and worthy Acts, being found under ſeven Oaks, from whence he had his Name, which grew where a Town is known to have been raiſed from his Bounty and Foundations in *Kent*. In the *French* Wars, he is here ſaid to have been ſurprized by the *Dauphin* of *France*, as he lay aſleep, who reproached him for his Lazineſs; but to convince him of his Activity, he fought him; and, when they parted, the *Dauphin* bid him be proud he had had ſuch an Adverſary, and gave him a Bag of Crowns for his Bravery. After ſome further Repreſentation of him in *Proſe*, as to his Entertainment, and Meditations in thoſe Regions; he returns to his Reſt; and another lifts up his aged Limbs, Sir *Thomas White*, Merchant-Taylor, and Lord-Mayor of *London*, in the Time of Queen *Mary*; and he unfolds his Merits in *Verſe*, for near two Pages; and though not as a Warrior, yet as a ſingular Benefactor to the Learned and the Poor. When he had laid himſelf down, *Clio* then converſes again in *Proſe*, and aſking *Fame*, who ſhe deſigned ſhould next relate his Life, is anſwered, Sir *John Bonham*, Mercer in the Time of *Edward* I. *Clio* then modeſtly excepts againſt the Miſplacing him here, who lived ſo long before the former. But *Fame* juſtifies her preſent Method, by preferring their *Age*, and the Honour of their *Calling*, before the Obſervation of *Time*. And as our Poets have placed the Worthieſt formoſt, in Reſpect to them, and the Example of others: So it would not be unſeemly, that younger Knights ſhould here ſpeak after thoſe who had borne the Honour of the Mayoralty. After the perſonal Figure of this Knight is deſcribed, and he is ſummoned to diſplay his Story, he rehearſes it, for near four Pages in *Verſe*, like the reſt; wherein he appears to have been a *Devonſhire* Man, the Son of a Knight; but being bound to the Trade aforeſaid, was ſent by his Maſter with Goods to *Denmark*; where, by ſome fortunate Diſpute, he was made favourably known to the King; ſoon after, he ſhewed his ſuperior Valour at a Turnament, and had a Favour given him by the King's Daughter. Was ſent General of the King's Army againſt *Soliman* the Great *Turk*, overcame him, and was knighted by him in the Field; returned Home with rich Gifts and great Glory, and died in Honour and Peace. Next, after an Expoſtulation in *Proſe*, between the Goddeſs of *Renown*, and her *Muſe*, upon that ſurpriſing Grace ſhewn by a *Mahometan* Tyrant, to a *Chriſtian* Conqueror of him, another young gay Knight ariſes, named Sir *Chriſtopher Croker*, Vintner in the Reign of *Edward* III. and he chants out his Feats in like Manner, for the Space of two Pages, in *Verſe*; wherein it is recorded, that he ſerved his Time under his Maſter, who was named *Stodie*, in *Gracious Street*, and gained the Affections of his Daughter. But, being preſſed to the Wars of *France*, was ſoon made Chief over a Band of Soldiers, and was the Firſt who entered the Gates at the Siege of *Burdeaux*. Then went with the Army that reſtored Don *Peter* to the Throne of *Spain*, which had been uſurped by his Baſtard Brother. Received the Honour of Knighthood for his Services. Returned Home, finiſhed his Triumphs in Matrimony, and made *Doll. Stodie* a Lady. After a ſhort Interval of *Proſe*, as before, another valiant Knight, Sir *John Hawkwood*, in the Reign aforeſaid, aroſe, and ſung his ſtrange Adventures and Fortunes in foreign Countries, in about two Pages alſo of *Verſe*; which inform us, That, while he was Apprentice to a Taylor in *Lombard Street*, he was preſſed to ſerve the Prince of *Wales* in the Wars of *France*, where he behaved in ſo diſtinguiſhed a Manner on Foot, that the Prince mounted him gallantly, and for his brave Behaviour afterwards, in Company with three others, knighted him, and called them his own Knights. When the Prince returned Home, he gave him a Gold Chain, and Liberty to try his Fortune in foreign Service; ſo he went, with fifteen-hundred Men under him, to the Aſſiſtance of the Duke of *Milan* againſt his Enemies, and, for the Sharpneſs of his Wit and his Sword, was called by the *Italians*, *John Acute*. Here he had Honour and Riches, in Plenty, heaped upon him; had Caſtles and Towns given him for his Reward. But *Millan* having, by his Valour and Policy, won a Peace, the *Pope* oppreſſed *Spain*, and he marched thither with an Army to quell his Pride, which having done, he Returned; and having worn out the remainder of his Days in great Honour and State, died in the Palace at *Padua*, and had a magnificent Monument and Statue raiſed over his Grave. Here, after ſome Interlocution again between *Fame* and her *Hiſtorian* in *Proſe*, the next, Sir *Hugh Calverley*, the Honour of Silkweavers in the Reign aforeſaid, aroſe, and delivered his Tale in the like *Verſe*, for near two Pages: How, after the Service of his Prince, in the Wars of *France*, he was invited into that of the King of *Poland*, where his Valour gained him high Renown. There he killed a huge wild Boar, which had cauſed much Deſtruction. For this, and many other gallant Feats, he was crowned with Laurel and Gold, clad in Purple, ſhod with golden Buſkins, and had a Caſket of Pearls beſtowed upon him, by Ladies, Nobles, &c. and, ſo adorned, rode with the King to Court. And when engaged in their triumphal Juſts, it was with ſuch ſuperiour Valour, and ſur-

priſing

prizing Vehemence, that the Blood would burſt forth at his Beaver. After he was laden with Honours there, he returned again to *France* : And here his Tale concludes, with Mention of his Death. Next follows the Imparlance, as aforeſaid, in *Proſe*; then ariſes the laſt of theſe *Nine Worthies*, Sir *Henry Maleverer*, ſirnamed *Henry* of *Cornhill*, Grocer, in the Time of *Henry* IV. and relates his Acts in above two Pages of *Verſe*. How he went a Voluntier to the Holy Wars; was choſen, by the Ambaſſadors, to fight in ſingle Combat there; and left not the Field, till he ſaw *Jeruſalem* taken. But was unjuſtly brought into Diſgrace with the Ruler of the *Jews*, and took Sanctuary, or Concealment, in *Jacob*'s Well; where he ſuffered none to drink who did not firſt fight with him, till his Valour and his Innocence became ſo well known, that the King vowed him great Friendſhip, and his falſe Accuſers were put to Death; and ſo with Honour and Fame he returned to his native Country. Then *Fame* concludes the Whole in *Proſe*, commanding *Clio* to claſp up the *Book*, wherein ſhe had written the *Deeds* of the *Nine Worthies*, and, at her Leiſure, publiſh it, for their Honour, and the Example of others; which ſhe accordingly did.

271. *Philadelphus :* or a Defence of *Brutes*, and the *Brutan*'s Hiſtory. Written by *R. H.* Imprinted at *London* by *John Wolfe*. (In 56 Leaves, *black Letter*) *Quarto*, 1593

This Work is dedicated to *Robert* Earl of *Eſſex*, by the Author, *Richard Harvey*, Brother to *John* and Dr. *Gabriel Harvey*; with whom *Robert Green* and *Thomas Naſh* made ſuch Diverſion in their Satirical Writings. Our Author has here an Epiſtle, to his Brother the Doctor, in Vindication of this his *Eſſay*. The *Introduction* contains a Defence of *Geffrey* of *Monmouth*'s Origin, or Derivation of the *Britains* from *Brutus*; and a rough Cenſure throughout of *George Buchanan*, who had condemned that Story as fabulous. This Chronicle gives a Series of the *Britiſh* Kings from the ſaid *Brutus*, A. M. 2855, for ſix *Lines* of them, down to *Cadwallader*, in 4657. But, by a ſingular Method the Author has affected of his own, he has divided, or diſtracted the Stories of every one of his Princes into three or four different Heads, or Chapters. Thus we have the *Genealogy*, or Iſſue of *Brutus*, in one Chapter; *Tables* of their *Arts* and *Acts*, *Virtues* and *Vices*, in another; the *Chronology* of them in another; and the *Topography* of their Hiſtory in a Fourth: And ſo the like, of the other five Generations. Page 70, he ſhews himſelf very fond or conceited of this Method; and yet, two Pages further, reſolves to alter it, by combining two Chapters in one, and chuſes to join the *Places* with the *Actions* hereafter; having found, that *One Day telleth another, and one Night certifieth another.* At the End, the Author has added, what he intitles, *Three Suppoſes of a Student, concerning Hiſtorie.*

272. *A Chriſtian, Familiar Comfort* and *Incouragement* unto all *Engliſh Subjects*, not to *diſmaie* at the *Spaniſh Threats*. Whereunto is added, an *Admonition* to all *Engliſh Papiſts*, who openly, or covertly, covet a *Change*. With requiſite *Prayers* to Almighty *God* for the *Preſervation* of our *Queen* and *Countrie*. By the moſt unworthie *J. N.* Printed at *London* for *J. B.* (In 38 Leaves) *Quarto*, 1596

This Tract is dedicated to Queen *Elizabeth*, by the Author, *John Norden*, as he ſigns himſelf. There was one, at this Time, of that Name, who was an able *Surveyor*, and wrote compendious *Deſcriptions* of ſeveral *Counties* in *England*; ſome of which are publiſhed, both by himſelf, and ſince his Death. But, as there was another of the ſame Name, his Contemporary, who was a *Divine*, it ſhould rather ſeem, that this Tract was written by him.

273. *Of Marriage and Wiving.* An Excellent, Pleaſant, and Philoſophicall *Controverſie*, between the two famous *Taſſi*, now *living :* The one, *Hercules*, the *Philoſopher*, the other, *Torquato*, the *Poet*. Done into *Engliſh*, by *R. T.* Gentleman. Printed by *Thomas Creede*, and ſold by *Thomas Smythicke*, &c. (In 41 Leaves, *black Letter*) *Quarto*, 1599

This *Declamation* againſt *Marriage*, by *Hercules Taſſo*, the Philoſopher, a married Man, and the *Anſwer*, or *Defence* thereof, by his Couſin *Torquato Taſſo*, the famous Poet, a Batchelor, were both firſt publiſhed together, in the Original *Italian*, by the ſaid *Hercules*, the Year before this Tranſlation; as appears by the Date of his Epiſtle to the Lord *Giovan Battiſta Licino*; to whom, he ſays, His *Part*, was the Iſſue, only of a certain youthful capricious Humour, which he would have long ſince contradicted, had not his aforeſaid famous *Kinſman* prevented him. In the Concluſion of that firſt *Part*, or *Declamation*, the ſaid Author allows, there are Women of ſuch excellent Perfection, as prove greater *Bleſſings* to Men, than the bad do *Plagues*: Yet he thinks them as rare as *black Swans*, or the peerleſs *Phenix*; allowing ‘Two only, moſt famous and renowned throughout the World: Of which, one, for a *Virgin*, and *Maiden Queen*, is the moſt excellent and virtuous Princeſs *Eliſabeth*, the admirable Queen of *England*: And the other, for a Wife, though now a Widow, *Loiſa*, Count *Vadomon*'s Daughter, wedded unto the late *French* King, *Henry* the Third of that Name. Whom, becauſe I cannot worthily enough commend, I will, with reverend Wonder, in Silence admire: Unto whoſe beauteous *Virtues*, and virtuous *Beauties*, I have bound myſelf, one whole Day, to diſplay ſome Part of the ſame; for, on the Suddain, unprovided, and without Advice, are not Matters of ſo high a Nature as theſe to be intreated and handled: Therefore I will *here ceaſe*, yet *not ceaſe* to *wiſh*, That, as *They* may ſtill continue *fortunate* and *glorious* in *this World*, ſo they may be *triumphant* and *bleſſed* in the *World to come*.’ *Torquato Taſſo*, in his *Oration* for the *Fair-Sex*, and in *Defence* of *Matrimony*, having alſo produced many eminent *Examples* from Antiquity, and enforced them with many ingenious *Sentiments* of his own, to ſupport his *Argument*; concludes, in like Manner, with no leſs zealous *Praiſes* of, and *Prayers* for our ſaid renowned *Queen*; which, becauſe not common from Foreigners, take alſo, as near as our Tranſlator could render his Words, as follows: ‘To conclude, where in the End, though it be long, yet, at the laſt, you not only allow of *Marriage*, but commend *Women*, in the Perſons of two great *princely Potentates*; although you might have done it in many others beſide; in this, I cannot chuſe but confirm your Judgment, eſpecially in the *famous* Engliſh *Queen*; I finding myſelf far inſufficient and unable to praiſe her, by Reaſon of her *Royal Qualities*, and *matchleſs Virtues*; they being like a foundleſs *Ocean*, that hath no *Bottom*; like unto an intricate *Labyrinth*, wherein a Man may ſooner loſe himſelf, than find the End of the ſame any Way. And therefore I, although a *Stranger*, in all humble Duty, *wiſh* her, for ever *Proſperous*; unto all the World, *Gracious*; and in all Places, *Glorious*; that there be *no End* of her *Praiſe*, until there happeneth a *final End* of *all Things*.’

274. A *Declaration* of the *Practiſes* and *Treaſons attempted* and *committed* by *Robert*, late *Earle* of *Eſſex*, and his *Complices*, againſt her *Majeſtie* and her *Kingdoms*; and of the Proceedings, as well at the *Arraignments* and *Convictions* of the ſaid late Earle, and his Adherents, as after. Together with the very *Confeſſions*, and other Parts of the *Evidences* themſelves; Word for Word, taken out of the *Originals*. Imprinted by *Robert Barker*, Printer to the Queene's moſt Excellent Majeſtie. (In 63 Leaves) *Quarto*, 1601

After the ſaid *Declaration*, we have, here, the Effect of the *Evidence* given at the *Arraignments* of the late Earls of *Eſſex* and *Southampton*; alſo of Sir *Chriſtopher Blount* and Sir *Charles Davers*, Sir *John Davies*, Sir *Gillie Mericke*, and *Henry Cuffe*; with the *Confeſſions* of *Thomas Lee* and *James Knowde*; *Declarations* of Sir *W. Warren*, *Tho. Wood*, and Capt. *David Hethrington*. The *Confeſſions* of Sir *Ferdinando Gorges*, Sir *John Davies*, Sir *Charles Davers*, Sir *Chriſtopher Blount*. The *Declaration* of the Lord Keeper *Egerton*, *Edw.* Earl of *Worceſter*, and Lord Chief Juſtice *Popham*. The *Examination* of *Roger* Earl of *Rutland*. Confeſſion of *William* Lord *Sandys*, *Examination* of the Lord *Cromwell*; and of the Earl of *Southampton*, after his *Arraignment*. The *Speech* of Sir *Chriſtopher Blount* at his Death, with an Abſtract of the Earl of *Eſſex's Confeſſion*, under his own Hand; and his *Confeſſion* to three Miniſters (who attended upon him) the 25th of *February* 1600. Whoſe Names were *Tho. Montford*, *Will. Barlow*, and *Abdie Aſhton*, his Chaplain. Though it appears not in this Work, who was the Draughtſman, or Compiler of it; yet Sir *Francis Bacon*, in his *Apology to the Earl of Devonſhire*, owns He was, by the Queen's Command; and that he had ſuch expreſs Directions, both from her, and her Council, as never Secretary was more particularly confined to: Yea, after it had paſſed the general Allowance, the Queen had an Hand, in ſome Alterations herſelf; and even while paſſing the Preſs, had ſome of the firſt Copies ſuppreſſed, that the frequent Expreſſions, Sir *Francis* had uſed of *my Lord of Eſſex*, might he altered, as too reſpectful, for plain *Eſſex*, or, *the late Earl of Eſſex*; and ſo it was printed *de Novo.*

275. *Lamentable Fyers* in theſe *Shires* of *England: Kent, Middleſex, Surrey, Eſſex, Hertford, Bedford, Barkſhire, Cambridge, Cheſter, Darby, Cornewall, Glouceſter, Lincolne, Northampton, Norfolke, Suffolke, Northumberland, Stafford, Southampton, London, Alderney* Iſle. The Truth of theſe Calamities being certified under the Hands of divers Right Honourable Perſons, Knights and Juſtices of the Peace in all thoſe Counties (the more to credit the Report) under private Certificates to the King's Majeſty, 1607. Printed at *London*, for *Edward White* the Younger. (In 14 Leaves, *black Letter*) *Quarto*, 1607

There is a wooden Print in the Frontiſpiece, giving a Proſpect of the dreadful Danger and Deſtruction, occaſioned by Houſes ſet on Fire: One Woman letting her Child out at Window by a Cord, another preparing to jump out, Men below plucking down the Buildings with long Hooks; others above pouring in Buckets of Water, *&c.* This Book is a Kind of *Chronicle* of thoſe many Conflagrations which happened over almoſt Half the Counties of the Kingdom, within the Compaſs of the four laſt Years; that is, from the Beginning of King *James*'s Reign; mentioning the *Places* where ſuch *Fires* happened; the *Times* when, and the *Perſons* who periſhed, or were ruined thereby; with the Particulars of their *Loſſes*; much increaſing the Dearth and Poverty of the Nation; occaſioned through their Sufferings, alſo in this Period, from all the other *Elements*: From the *Air* by Peſtilence; the *Water* by Inundations; and the *Earth*, by the Barrenneſs that was conſequent thereto. It is computed that the *Loſſes* of particular Men, and the ſeveral *Towns* here mentioned, by Fire, only within thoſe Years, beſides the Damage done to Churches by *Lightning*, particularly that of *Bleachingly* in *Surrey*, amounted to 29690 Pounds; and that the Number of thoſe who were undone, and loſt their Lives, was 267 Perſons; yet this Computation may not have included the Deſtruction afterwards mentioned of the Town of *Ipſwich* by Fire, in the ſame Year the Author publiſhed this Tract; nor that occaſioned by other Fires in *London*; particularly one in 1604, which burnt down a whole Row of Chambers in *Gray*'s-*Inn*. The Author, in his *Preface*, imputes much of theſe ſad Accidents to the ſleepy Negligences of Servants, or ſome ſuch like other Careleſneſs in Houſes, that are apt to receive Danger.

276. A briefe and plaine *Narration* of *Proceedings* at an *Aſſemblie* in *Glaſco*, 8 *Jun.* 1610. anent the *Innovation* of the *Kirk-Government*. With a *Narration* of ſome ſtraunge *Epiſcopall Accidents*, lately happened in *Scotland*, worthie Conſideration; which the Wife of Heart will underſtand. (In twelve Leaves). *Octavo*, 1610

This is a ſharp and free Repreſentation of that *Aſſembly*, here called a *Diſſembly*, and others, convened in *Scotland* before, to ſuſpend or diſcharge the Form of Diſcipline by *Synods* and *Preſbyteries*, and eſtabliſh a *Prelatical* Juriſdiction. The inconſtant Principles of King *James*, in theſe Concerns of the *Scotch Kirk*, are here, in the Author's Epiſtle to the reverend Brethren in *Scotland*, expreſsly ſet forth; ſhewing that, in 1584, he ſet up Papal Biſhops there; yet, in 1592, reſtored the *Diſcipline*, and ſwore by Subſcription, to defend it in *Scotland* all his Life. Conſented to a Conſtitution of the General Aſſembly in *Halirood House*; and, in 1602, ſuffered it to be ordained that the *Lord Biſhops* ſhould no longer have that Title, but be called *Commiſſioners for the Kirk, to vote in Parliament:* And that he promiſed, the Day before he went from *Edinburgh* for *England*, to remove thoſe *Reliques* of *Antichriſt* from them; and yet, as well in 1606, as again now, he authoriſed, through the Inſtigations of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* (*Bancroft*) the *Overthrow*, by his Commiſſioner, the Earl of *Dunbar*, and his Party, of that Government in thoſe new *Aſſemblies*; which had been *eſtabliſhed* in former ones, as well as by *Parliament*, and the *Oaths* of his *Majeſty*, *Nobles*, and *Miniſters*. The Earl aforeſaid, by his Majority of Voices, having prevailed for the Authority of Biſhops, produced the King's Inſtrument for the Diſcharge of all Preſbyteries, and at the Outcry of the Aſſembly againſt it, by promiſing to perſuade the King to recall that Diſcharge, got the *Hands*, as well as the *Votes* of many ſworn *Balaamites*. Thoſe *Epiſcopal Accidents* ſpoken of in the Title, and here conſidered, as Judgments of God, are. 1. Concerning the late titular *Biſhop* (as he is called) Maiſter *James Nicholſon*, who, at his Death, was ſo troubled in Conſcience, for accepting that Title, that he would not be called a Biſhop in his Will, and therein rejected whatever was due to him out of his Biſhoprick. 2. That the Archbiſhop of St. *Androis* was waked out of his Sleep, with the Cry of Blood and Murder; his Nephew having thrown his Dagger at the Cook, and killed him, as he was dreſſing his Lord's Supper. 3. That the ſaid Archbiſhop coming out of *Haddington* Kirk, the Earth broke in with him, and he might have been ſwallowed up, had he not been pulled out by thoſe, who were beſide him.

277. The *Marriage* of the two great Princes, *Fredericke*, Count *Palatine*, &c. and the Lady *Eliſabeth*, Daughter to the Imperial Majeſties of King *James* and Queene *Anne*; upon *Shrove-Sunday* laſt. With the *Showes* and *Fire-workes* upon the Water: As alſo the *Maſks* and *Revells* in his Highneſs Court of *White-Hall*. Printed by *T. C.* for *W. Barley*, &c. (In eight Leaves, *black Letter*) *Quarto*, 1613

There is a wooden Print in the Title-Page of a warlike Knight, or Cavalier, on Horſe-back, attended by his Page; all armed *Cap a Pee*, and gallantly accoutred in all Points; to repreſent the ſaid *Palſgrave*; &c. Theſe Triumphant Solemnities laſted four Days; beginning on *Thurſday* the Eleventh of *February*, in the Evening, with Artificial Fireworks on the *Thames*. *Friday*, the Engineers reſted. On *Saturday*, the Show by Water was renewed in Sea Fights, &c. between the *Turks* and the *Engliſh*; whoſe victorious Overthrow of the Infidels, greatly delighted the Princely Beholders. On *Sunday*, was the Royal Proceſſion to the King's Chapel at *White-Hall*: Firſt came the *Palſgrave*, from the new-built Banqueting Houſe, in a white Satten Suit, richly beſet with Pearl and Gold; and attended by a gallant Train of *Engliſh*, *Scots*, and *Dutchmen*. After came Princeſs *Eliſabeth*, in a white Satten Gown, richly embroidered; led between Prince *Charles*, and the Earl of *Northampton*; having on her Head, a Crown of Gold, made *Imperial*, by the Pearls and Diamonds thereon placed; and ſo thickly, that they ſtood like ſhining Pinacles upon her amber-coloured Hair, which hung down in Plaits over her Shoulders, to her Waiſt, interlayed with Liſts of Gold Spangles, Pearls, Diamonds, &c. followed by fourteen or fifteen Ladies attired in white Satten. Then came the Earl of *Arundel*, bearing the Sword; and next, the *King*, in a ſumptuous Black Suit, and a Diamond in his Hat of great Value; cloſe to him, came the *Queen*, in white Satten, embroidered, and beſet with Diamonds. After the Celebration of the Marriage, and the Dinner over, the reſt of the Day, and Part of the Night, were taken up in Dancing, Maſking, and Revelling. *Monday* was ſpent in *Races*, and ſuch like Diverſions; and, in the Evening, the Gentlemen of the *Inns* of *Courts*, prepared Maſks and Revels at *Whitehall*; which gave great Satisfaction; the Whole, ending with Expreſſions of general Joy, through Court and City, by Ringing of Bells, Firing of Guns, and Blazing of Bonefires.

278. A ſhort *Relation* of the *Departure* of the High and Mightie Prince *Frederick* King Elect of *Bohemia*; with his Royall and Vertuous Ladie *Elizabeth*; and the thryſe hopefull yong Prince *Henrie*, from *Heydelberg* towards *Prague*, to receive the *Crowne* of that *Kingdome*. Whereunto is annexed the *Solempnitie*, or *Maner* of the *Coronation*. Tranſlated out of *Dutch*. And now both togither publiſhed, with other Reaſons and Juſtifications, to give Satisfaction to the World, as touching the Ground and Truth of his Majeſties Proceedings, and Undertaking of that Kingdome of *Bohemia*; lawfully and freelie Elected, by the general Conſent of the States, not ambitiouſlie aſpiring thearunto. As alſo to encourage all other noble and heroical Spirits (eſpeciallie our owne Nation, whom, in Honour, it firſt and cheeflie concerneth) by Prerogative of that high and ſoveraigne Title, hæreditarie to our Kings and Princes, *Defenders of the Faith*, to the lyke Chriſtian Reſolution againſt *Antichriſt* and his *Adherents*. At *Dort*, Printed by *George Waters*. (In eight Leaves) *Quarto*, 1619

The Author of that *Relation*, and Tranſlator of the *Solemnities* annexed, in his *Epiſtle* to the Reader, ſigns himſelf *John Harriſon*. He has added to his *Relation*, ſome *Latin Anagrams* on Prince *Frederick*, ſent him by a Friend; and, in his *Appendix* to the Whole, informs us, ‘ There is yet a more particular *Relation*, ‘ in *Dutch*; containing divers other *Cir-* ‘ *cumſtances* not here expreſſed; with a ‘ *Repreſentation* of the whole *Maner* of ‘ the *Solempnitie* and *Coronation*, both of ‘ the *King* and *Queen*, in *Pictures*:’ Which, he doubts not, will be hereafter tranſlated and publiſhed, for the better Satisfaction of the World.

279. The *Conſideration* and *Judgment* of the *Divines* of the Electorall Principality of *Saxony*, in the Univerſitie of *Wittenberge*: They being required by the Univerſitie of *Jena*: Upon the Queſtion, Whether a State *of the* Empire *ought not well to conſider, whether he be bound to aid and aſſiſt the* Roman Emperour, *or no, in theſe Warres of* Bohemia? Faithfully tranſlated out of the *High Dutch* Tongue, according to the Printed Copy (In ten Leaves) *Quarto*, 1620

John Erneſtus Duke of *Saxony*, &c. ſent this Queſtion to thoſe Doctors, by *John Maior*, and *John Gerhard*, two Divines in his Univerſity of *Jena*. Upon which, they conclude, That for *Proteſtant* or *Lutheran Princes* to aſſiſt an *Emperour*, who is in Combination with the *Pope*, and King of *Spain*, *Perſecuters* of the true *Maintainers* of the *Goſpell*, is againſt the Love of *God*, and of their *Neighbours*, and this Determination is grounded upon the Doctrine of *Luther* here ſpecified.

280. A *Learned*, *Elegant*, and *Religious Speech*, delivered unto his moſt excellent Majeſtie, at his late being at *Coventry*. By *Philemon Holland*, Doctor of Phyſicke; the Right Honourable the *Recorder* his Deputy, for the Time. When as, his Royall *Majeſtie* was graciouſly pleaſed to grant and command the Erecting of a *Military Garden* therein: And ſithens, to enlarge the aforeſaid Citie's *Charter*. Together with a *Sermon* preached in the Audience, and publiſhed at the Requeſt of the worthie Companie of Practizers in the *Military Garden* of the ſaid well-governed Citie of *Coventry*. Serving as a *Warning* againſt the Enemies *ſudden Invaſions*; as alſo, exciting to *Readineſs* againſt all *ſecret Aſſaults*. By *Samuel Buggs*, B. of D. ſometime Fellow of *Sidney Suſſex Colledge* in *Cambridge*. Publiſhed with Authority. *London*, Printed by *John Dawſon*, &c. (In 28 Leaves) *Quarto*, 1622

That *Speech*, delivered by the ſaid Doctor *Holland* (the moſt indefatigable *Tranſlator* of ſo many voluminous *Latin* Authors into *Engliſh*) upon his Majeſty's Coming to *Coventry*, at his Return from *Scotland*, in *September* 1621, is compriſed in ſix Pages; wherein having *congratulated* his Majeſty's ſafe *Return*, and *celebrated* the *Felicities* of his *Reign*; with the *Antiquity*, and former *flouriſhing State* of that *City*, through the *Priviledges* granted to it by his *Predeceſſors*; and particularly the good *Government* of it; inſomuch, ‘That it never was noted to harbour *Rebellion* or *Conſpiracy*: Nor at this Day, within *Citie* or *Countie*, is there knowne ſo much as one *Recuſant Papiſt*, or *Schiſmatical Separatiſt*’. He concludes the Whole with intreating, that his Majeſty will ſhew his Favour to the ſaid City, in its preſent declining State; which produced the Grants aforeſaid. The *Sermon*, which is entitled, *Miles Mediterraneus*: or the *Midland Soldier*; and was preached before the ſaid Company, or Train of *Artillery*, is dedicated by its Author, To *William* Lord *Compton*, Earl of *Northampton*, Lord Preſident of *Wales*, and Lord Lieutenant of *Warwickſhire*, and of the City of *Coventry*; and to Sir *Thomas Leigh*, Knight and Baronet, Lieutenant Deputy of the ſaid County. Alſo by another Dedication, To Captain *William Sewall*, Lieutenant *Paſton*, and all the Company of Soldiers of the ſaid *Military Garden*. The *Author* has ſhewed himſelf a Man of *Learning*, in Civil, as well as Sacred Writings, and of *Ingenuity*, by applying it to his preſent Occaſion.

281. Certaine *Reaſons* and *Arguments* of *Policie*, *Why the King of* England *ſhould hereafter give over all further* Treatie, *and enter into Warre with the* Spaniard. Printed (in eight Leaves) *Quarto*, 1624

This little Tract notably ſets forth, what Diſhonour King *James* brought this Nation to; what Miſery his Children, the King and Queen of *Bohemia*; and what Inſolence his Enemies, the *Spaniards*; by his inſignificant *Treaties* with that perfidious People. 1. In the Year 1619, by the Earl of *Carliel*. 2. By Sir *Henry Wotton*, at *Vienna*, in 1621. 3. By *Conway* and *Weſton*, in the ſame Year. 4. By the Lord *Digby* in 1621. 5. By *Weſton*, the ſame Year. 6. By the Lord *Chicheſter*, Baron of *Belfaſt*. 7. By Prince *Charles*, in *Spain*, to ſee the *Infanta*, 1623. Beſides the *Couriers*, the *Letters*, the *Ordinary Ambaſſadors* and *Miniſters*! And all this Trouble and Expence, to no other End, than to be deluded and derided, at Home and Abroad. This Copy had heretofore been in the Poſſeſſion of Sir *Simonds D'ewes*; who has written theſe Words in the Title-page thereof ——‘Which very *Reaſons* were urged in the *Parliament*, *Anno Dom.* 1623. *Anno regni Jac* 22. for the *Breach* of the two *Treaties*; of the *Match*, with the *Infanta* of *Spain*; and the *Reſtoring* the *Palatinate*.’ And he adds, They were “Printed out of ſome *Parliament* Man's *Notes*.’ *Quere*, Whether not his own?

282. A *Journal* of all the *Proceedings* of the Duke of *Buckingham* his Grace, in the Iſle of *Ree*, a Part of *France*. Set forth by a *Gentleman* of ſpecial Note, who was a *Spectator* of all that happned. Publiſhed by Authoritie. Printed for *Tho. Walkley*. (In 8 Leaves) *Quarto*, 1627

This *Journal* ſeems to be different from thoſe three others, that Year publiſhed, of this Expedition, which are ſpecified in the 25, 26, and 27 Articles of this Catalogue.

283. A *Manifeſtation* or *Remonſtrance* of the moſt Honorable the Duke of *Buckingham*, *Generall* of the *Armie* of the moſt gracious King of *Great Britaine*; containing a *Declaration* of his Majeſties *Intention* for this preſent *Arming*. Tranſlated out of the *Originall French* Copie. Publiſhed with *Authoritie*. Printed for *Tho. Walkley*. (In eight Leaves) *Quarto*, 1627

After the ſaid *Engliſh* Tranſlation follows the ſaid *Declaration* in *French*: Both dated from the *Admiral*'s Ship, the Twenty-firſt of *July*, 1627, and ſigned *Buckingham*.

284. A true and exact *Relation* of the moſt remarkable *Paſſages* which have happened in the Iſle of *Ree*, commonly called *Saint Martin's Iſland*, ſince the Sixth of *Auguſt* laſt paſt, to the Twenty-fourth of the ſame. Wherein alſo is declared in what State our Army, under the Command of the Duke of *Buckingham* his Grace, is in: As alſo how it fareth with them of the *Fort*; with the great Hopes of the ſudden *Surrender* thereof, being driven to great Want, both of *Victuals* and *Water*. Together with the Deſcription of

the ſeveral *Works*, both offenſive and defenſive, about the *Fort*. The Names of divers Perſons of Quality, both ſlain and hurt, on the *French* Side; the preſent State of *Rochell*, and the bordering Places about it; the Willingneſs of thoſe of the *Religion* to adhere to the Duke of *Buckingham*, with the Preparation of the *French* King to oppoſe them. Written in *French* by a *French* Gentleman of ſpecial Account in the Iſle of *Ree*, to a Perſon of Note here in *England*. Faithfully tranſlated out of the *French*. Printed for *Nat. Butter*. (In eight Leaves) *Quarto*, 1627

285. The *Powerfull Favorite:* or the Life of *Ælius Sejanus*. By *P. M.* Printed at *Paris*. (In 32 Leaves) *Quarto*, 1628

This is a diligent *Extract* from all the Ancient Authors who mention the Story of that powerful *Favourite* of the Emperor *Tiberius*, enlivened and adorned with many political *Reflexions*, which may be applicable to the Proceedings of favourite Miniſters in moſt other Reigns. It has been by ſeveral of our Authors thought to have been drawn up, in Alluſion to the great *Engliſh* Favourite at that Time, *George Villiers*, the foreſaid Duke of *Buckingham*, who was murdered in *Auguſt*, that ſame Year of its being printed: The Author of the *Craftſman*, has beſtowed an whole Paper upon it, under that Conſideration. And *Anthony Wood* has enliſted it among the Works of *Philip Maſſinger*, the Poet, as if he was the Author of it. But *Quere* if it is not a Tranſlation from the *French*; for there was a noted *French* Writer at that Time, named *P. Matthieu*, who publiſhed ſome Account of *Ælius Sejanus* in his own Tongue; which was tranſlated into *Dutch*, and printed at *Amſterdam* in 12*mo*, 1661.

286. *Political Obſervations* upon the Fall of *Sejanus*. Written in *Italian*, by *Gio. Baptiſta Manzini*: And tranſlated into *Engliſh*, by Sir *T. H.* Printed by *Anne Griffin*, for *Godfrey Emerſon*. (In 26 Leaves.) *Quarto*, 1634.

The ſaid Work, in the Original, ſeems to be that entitled, *Della Peripetia di Fortuna, Overo ſopra la Caduta di Seiano*. There was before publiſhed, in *French*, *Ælius Sejanus; Hiſtoire Romaine: Recuillie de divers Autheurs. Second Edition. A Lyon, par Ant. Soubron*, 8°. 1622. Whether this be *P. Matthieu*'s Performance, we cannot ſay. But there were afterwards publiſhed, *Remarks upon the Life and Services of Monſieur de* Villeroy: *And concerning the Fall of* Sejanus; *Tranſlated from the French of* P. Matthieu, by Sir *T. H.* *Quarto*, 1638. And, the Year following, came forth a Tranſlation by the ſame Hand, entitled, *Unhappy Proſperity, expreſſed in the Hiſtory of Æl.* Sejanus *and* Philippa *the* Catanian: *With Obſervations on the Fall of* Sejanus. *Lond.* *Octavo*, ſecond Edit. 1639. By that *T. H.* in all theſe three Title-pages, is to be underſtood, Sir *Thomas Hawkins*, of *Naſh-Court* in *Kent*; where, in the Pariſh-Church of *Boughton*, he was buried *Anno* 1640; having alſo publiſhed a Tranſlation of the *Odes* of *Horace*. As for *Manzini's Obſervations* above, they may, with the other Tracts concerning *Sejanus*, be looked upon as *Mirrors* for the *Courts* of *Princes* or *Magical* Glaſſes to *foreſhew* the Deſtinies of thoſe *Favourites* and *Miniſters* of *State*, who give themſelves up to the Guidance of circumventing, rapacious, or tyrannical Principles.

287. The *Prerogative* of *Parliaments* in *England*. Proved in a *Dialogue* between a *Counſellour* of *State* and a *Juſtice* of *Peace*. Written by the Worthy Knight Sir *Walter Raleigh*. Dedicated to the King's Majeſty, and to the Houſe of Parliament now aſſembled. Preſerved to be now happily (in theſe diſtracted Times) Publiſhed. (In 37 Leaves.) *Quarto*, 1640.

This Excellent *Dialogue* was written by Sir *Walter* in the Year 1615, as it is obſerved in his *Life*, and before he left the Tower. There was a former Impreſſion of it, in which, as it is ſaid in the Title-page, it was printed at *Middleburg*, 4°. 1628. This has been thought the firſt Edition, but *A. Wood* mentions one, ſaid alſo in the Title to be printed There, and, by the Date, ſeven Years earlier. There is a Note written in this Edition now before us, in theſe Words ——" The Scope of the Diſcourſes, in theſe
" Dia-

“ Dialogues, ſeems to be this: The *Councellor of State* would render *Parliaments* Prejudicial to the *King*, and would diſſuade the *Calling* of any: The *Juſtice of Peace* aſſerts, That the natural and genuine Conſtitution of Parliaments, founded on the Love and mutual Truſt and Confidence betwixt King and People, have been and are moſt advantageous to the King's Honours and Intereſts; and thoſe compoſed of Force and Violence, are falſely called Parliaments; and are only tumultuous Aſſemblies, *&c.*” Beſides many Pieces of antient Hiſtory, from our Records, wherewith this Work is adorned, and the Arguments ſupported; there are alſo ſome private Pieces of Hiſtory, concerning ſome eminent Perſons of his own Time, Knowledge, and Acquaintance.

288. A *Narrative* of the *Life* of Mr. *Henry Burton*. Wherein is ſet forth the various and remarkable Paſſages thereof; his Sufferings, Supports, Comforts and Deliverances. Now Publiſhed for the Benefit of all thoſe that either do or may ſuffer for the Cauſe of Chriſt. According to a Copy written with his own Hand. Printed for *John Rothwell*. (In 29 Leaves, with his Effigies) *Quarto*, 1643.

289. A *Breviate* of the *Life* of *William Laud*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*: Extracted (for the moſt Part) *Verbatim*, out of his own *Diary*, and other Writings under his *own Hand*. Collected and Publiſhed, at the ſpecial Inſtance of ſundry Honourable Perſons, as a neceſſary Prologue to the *Hiſtory* of his *Tryall*; for which the Criminall Part of his Life, is ſpecially reſerved. By *William Prynne* of *Lincoln's Inn*, Eſq. Printed by *F. L.* for *Mich. Sparke*, ſen. (In 20 Leaves) *Folio* 1644.

290. *Britannicæ Virtutis Imago*: Or the *Effigies* of true *Fortitude* expreſſed to the *Life* in the famous *Actions* of that incomparable Knight Major General *Smith*, who is here repreſented, *June* 1644. *Oxford* Printed by *Henry Hall*. (In ſixteen Leaves) *Quarto*, 1644

This *Life* of Sir *John Smith*, Major General of his Majeſty's *Weſtern* Army, under the Command of the Lord *Hopton*, was written by *Edward Walſingham*, Author of another Life beforementioned in this Catalogue.

291. Tranſcendent and multiplied *Rebellion* and *Treaſon* diſcovered by the *Laws* of the Land. (In fourteen Leaves) *Quarto*, 1645

This Loyal and Religious Tract has a Manuſcript Note in the Title-page, expreſſing it to be written by the Lord Chief Juſtice *Bancks*.

292. A true and certain *Relation* of his *Majeſties* ſad *Condition* in *Hurſt Caſtle* in *Hampſhire*. With the Manner how he was taken out of his *Bed* on *Saturday* Night laſt, to the Amazement of the *Inhabitants* there: With the Impriſoning of Captaine *Cooke*, who was appointed *Governour* by the Inhabitants, inſtead of Colonell *Hammond*. Alſo the ſad *Condition* of the Maior and Aldermen of *Newport*, for their Allegiance to his Majeſty: This being done without the Knowledge of the Parliament with other remarkable Paſſages. Printed (In eight Pages) *Quarto*, 1648

This *Letter from the Iſle of Wight*, to the Author's Correſpondent, *Noble Dick*, as he ſuperſcribes him, is ſigned at the End, *George Vaughan*; who is ſtiled by the Editor, in the Concluſion, a Perſonage of Honour, and one who hates Falſhood, as much as Baſeneſs. This Letter ſhews how the King declared to the Maior and Brethren of *Newport*, &c. before the Parliament's *Commiſſioners*, ‘ what he had granted for the Content of his People; and how he had quite, for ſome Time, diveſted himſelf of the very *Eſſence* of *Authority*, and reſerved Nought, but the *Shadow*; to give Satisfaction unto his *two Houſes*, in all their Propoſals put up to him; and therein, referred them to the *Commiſſioners* there preſent; who confirmed the ſame.’ But notwithſtanding, this his Deportment ſo much engaged the Inhabitants to him, who are ſaid to have been, between *ſeven or eight-thouſand fighting Men, compleatly armed*; they ſuffered his Majeſty to be tranſported over to *Hurſt-Caſtle*, upon the Arrival of Supplies to Colonel *Ewer*; where he now remained a ſad ſolitary Priſoner, by the Appointment of the Army only, the Parliament no Way viſibly intermedling or approving it.

NUMBER XX.

293. King *Charles* his *Caſe*: or, An Appeal to all Rational Men, concerning his *Tryal* at the *High Court* of *Juſtice*. Being, for the moſt part, that which was intended to have been delivered at the Bar, if the King had *Pleaded* to the *Charge*, and put himſelf upon a fair *Tryal*. With an additional Opinion concerning the Death of King *James*, the Loſs of *Rochel*, and the Blood of *Ireland*. By *John Cook* of *Gray's Inn*, Barriſter. Printed by *Peter Cole* for *Giles Calvert*. (In 43 Pages) *Quarto*, 1649

This notorious Writer, in the Concluſion of his Pamphlet, appears very apprehenſive of coming to an untimely End. He bleſſes God, that he had no *Soul* to loſe: So his *Body* came the leſs encumbered to the Hands of the Hangman at the *Reſtoration*.

294. The *Corruption* and *Deficiency* of the *Lawes* of *England* ſoberly *Diſcovered*: or, *Liberty* working up to its juſt *Height*. Wherein is ſet down, I. *The Standart, or Meaſure of all juſt Lawes*; which is Threefold: *Firſt*, Their Original and Riſe, *viz.* The Free Choice or Election of the People: *Second*, Their Rule and Square, *viz.* Principles of Juſtice, Righteouſneſs, and Truth. *Third*, Their Uſe and End, *viz.* The Liberty and Safety of the People. II. *The Lawes of* England *weighed in this threefold Balance, and found too light*: *Firſt*, In their Original, Force, Power, Conqueſt, or Conſtraint: *Second*, In their Rule, corrupt Will, or Principles of Unrighteouſneſs and Wrong: *Third*, In their End; the Grievance, Trouble, and Bondage of the People. III. *The Neceſſity of the Reformation of the Lawes of* England; together with the Excellency and yet Difficulty of this Work. IV. *The Corrupt Intereſt of Lawyers in this Commonwealth.* By *John Warre.* PHILIP. HONOR. *Leges* Angliæ *plenæ ſunt tricarum, ambiguitatum, ſibique contrariæ; fuerunt ſiquidem excogitatæ, atque ſancitæ à* Normannis, *quibus nulla Gens magis litigioſa, atque in Controverſiis machinandis ac proferendis fallacior reperiri poteſt.* The *Lawes* of *England* are full of Tricks, Doubts, and contrary to Themſelves; for they were invented and eſtabliſhed by the *Normans*, who were, of all Nations, the moſt quarrelſome, and moſt fallacious, in contriving of Controverſies and Suits. Printed for *Giles Calvert*. (In ten Leaves) *Quarto*, 1649

295. A *Cry* againſt a *Crying Sin*: Or, A juſt *Complaint* to the *Magiſtrates* againſt Them who have broken the Statute Laws of God, by *Killing of Men merely for Theft*. Manifeſted in a *Petition* long ſince preſented to the *Common-Council* of the City of *London*, on the Behalf of *Tranſgreſſions*. Together with certain Propoſals preſented by Colonel *Pride* to the Right Honourable the *General Council* for the *Army*, and the *Committee*, appointed by the *Parliament* of *England*, to conſider of the Inconveniencies, Miſchiefs, Chargeableneſs, and Irregularities in their *Law*. Printed for *Samuel Chidley*, dwelling in *Bow-Lane*, at the Sign of the *Chequer*. (In 34 Pages) *Quarto*, 1652

That *Samuel Chidley* was the Author of this ſcarce Pamphlet; and to render it the more remarkable, as well as more ſuitable to his Subject, he has printed it all in *Red Letters*. In his Letter to the Lord Mayor, *Thomas Andrewes*, dated 25 *June*, 1649, he tells him, "That Chriſt made Interceſſion to God for Tranſgreſſors, who *were guilty* of *eternal* Death before *God*: We make Interceſſion for Men, who are not guilty of *temporal* Death before Men." And a little further, "I know no Friend of mine that is guilty of Theft: What I have done is in Conſcience to God, and Compaſſion to my Native Country, *&c.*" And, in his *Reaſons of Weighty Conſideration*, he ſhews out of the Scripture, how inconſiſtent with the Laws of God, thoſe of our Land are, that kill a Thief for Stealing *Food* and *Rayment*, or to the Value of *Fourteen Pence*. On the Eleventh of *December* following, he ſent a *Letter* to the *Commiſſioners* of *Oyer* and *Terminer*, and Goal Delivery of *Newgate*, againſt the Cruelty of *Preſſing* a Priſoner, who will not Plead *Guilty*, or *Not Guilty*: For that, he will not plead the *Former*, being not bound to *accuſe Himſelf*; and, by pleading the *Latter*, is only forced into *Lies*. And ſhews, that he was not only himſelf turned out of Court, but that a Malefactor, then upon Trial for ſtealing, refuſing to Plead, till that *Letter* was read publickly, was denied thoſe Conditions, and ſentenced to the *Preſs* by the Recorder *Steele:* Hereupon follows his *Petition* to the *Council of State*, That the then Condemned Priſoners might be reprieved, till the Parliament had heard the Matter. And after this, we have his *Propoſals* to the *General Council* for the *Army* : In which he offers ſeveral Arguments for reforming the Laws relating to the Trial and Puniſhment of Thieves and Robbers: Concluding, that, upon Conviction, they ſhould be obliged to make double Satisfaction, if not out of their *Effects*, by their *Labour*. We have alſo, following this, His *Letters* to the *Regulators of the Law* appointed by the Parliament; wherein he tells them, that the beſt of their Actions, in that Character, had hitherto been, at moſt, but a *Tything of Mint, Annis, and Cummin: And you have neglected Mercy, one of the weighty Matters of the Law:* And was verily perſuaded, They could not have put a Stop to the Murdering of thoſe Men who were hanged at *Tyburn* the laſt Seſſions, for ſtealing Five Shillings and Sixpence, &c. At the End, there is an odd *Advertiſement*, informing us, That Mr. *Chidley* appointed one of theſe *Pamphlets* to be nailed upon *Tyburn Gallows*, before the Execution, with this Motto over it:

Curſed be that bloody Hand,
Which takes this down, without Command.

But it could not be nailed on the Gallows, for the Crowd of People; therefore it was nailed to the Tree which grew upon the Bank by the Gallows; and there it remained, and was read by many, both before and after Execution; and 'twas thought it would ſtand there till it dropped away.

295. A *Collection* of his *Majeſty*'s Gracious *Letters*, *Speeches*, *Meſſages*, and *Declarations*, ſince *April* $\frac{4}{14}$, 1660. *London*, Printed by *John Bill*, Printer to the *King*'s moſt Excellent Majeſty, at the *King*'s Printing-Houſe in *Black-Friers.* (In 145 Pages) *Quarto*, 1660

This *Collection* contains the Letters, Speeches, &c. of his Majeſty K. *Charles* II. preliminary to his Reſtoration, and in the firſt Parliament after it. Beginning with 1. His *Letter* to the *Houſe* of *Peers*, from *Breda*, *April* $\frac{4}{14}$, 1660; ſent by Sir *John Greenvil*, ſoon after Earl of *Bath*, and read in the Houſe, *May* the Firſt following. 2. His *Declaration* from *Breda* to his Loving Subjects; ſame Date. 3. His *Letter* to the *Houſe* of *Commons*, from *Breda*, ſame Date; ſuperſcribed, To the *Speaker*. 4. His *Letter* to General *Monck*, from *Breda*; ſame Date. Sent by Sir *J. Grenvile* aforeſaid, one of the Gentlemen of his Bedchamber. Received the Firſt of *May*; to be communicated to the *Preſident* and *Council* of State, and to the *Officers* of the Army under his Command. 5. His *Letter* from *Breda*, to the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council of *London*; ſame Date. 6. His *Letter* to the Generals of the Navy at Sea, *Monck* and *Montague*, to be communicated to the *Fleet*; from his Court at *Breda*; ſame Date. 7. His Letter to his Excellency the Lord General *Monck*, to be communicated to the *Officers* of the *Army*; ſent by Sir *Thomas Clerges*, from his Majeſty's Court at the *Hague*, the 26th of *May*. 8. His *Meſſage* to the *Houſe* of *Commons:* Delivered by Mr. Secretary *Morris*, *June* 18. Shewing his Inclination to expedite the *Act* of *Indemnity* and *Oblivion*. 9. His *Speech* to the *Houſe* of *Peers*, the 27th of *July*, concerning the ſpeedy Paſſing of the ſaid Bill. 10. His *Speech* to *Both Houſes* of *Parliament*, on the 29th of *Auguſt*, at the Paſſing of the ſaid *Act*, and others. Herein is Mention made of an extraordinary Bill, paſſed in Favour of the Duke of *Somerſet*, for his extraordinary Services. At the End of his *Speech*, his Majeſty adjourns this Parliament till the 6th of *November*. Here he breaks off, and the *Chancellor* continues what was more to be ſaid, for twenty-ſix Pages. 11. His *Declaration* to all his Loving *Subjects*, &c. concerning *Eccleſiaſtical Affairs*. Dated from the Court at *Whitehall*, 25 *October*. 12. His *Speech*, together with the Lord *Chancellor*'s, to both Houſes of Parliament, 29th of *December*, being the Day of their Diſſolution. In the *King*'s ſaid *Speech* he expreſſes himſelf moſt heartily *Thankful* for their Obliging him in the Manner they had done; deſires, This, may be for ever called the *Healing Parliament*, and imputes the good Diſpoſition, *&c.* they are in, to the *Act* of *Indemnity*, &c. In the *Chancellor's Speech*, he mentions the happy Defeat of a late intended *Inſurrection* by ſome disbanded Officers, Soldiers, and other Malecontents, who would have releaſed the Priſoners in *Newgate*, ſurpriſed the *Tower* of *London* and *Windſor* Caſtle, and reſtored the *Republican* Government. They accounted themſelves ſure of 2500 Men; were promiſed a Riſing in the *Weſt* under *Ludlow*, who was to be their Leader, and in the *North*, under others.

296. *Plus Ultra*: or, *England's Reformation* needing to be *Reformed.* Being an *Examination* of Doctor *Heylin's Reformation of the Church of* England. Wherein, by laying together all that is ſaid by the *Doctor* about the *Reformation* of the *Church*, and by many *Teſtimonies* of the Reverend Dr. *Jewel*, Biſhop of *Salisbury*; and by ſeveral *Obſervations* made upon the *Work*, it doth evidently appear, That the *Preſent State* of the *Church of England* is no Way to be reſted in; but ought to proceed to a further Degree of *Perfection.* Written by way of *Letter*, to Dr. *Heylin*, by *H. N. O. J. Oxon. London*, Printed for the Authors; and are to be ſold in St. *Dunſtan's* Church-yard, in *Fleetſtreet.* (In 28 Leaves.) *Quarto*, 1661

It is not improbable but this Pamphlet was written by Dr. *Heylin's* Antagoniſt, *Henry Hickman*, whether in Conjunction with any other Perſon, is not certain. He taxes him with caſting ſome foul Blots upon the firſt Patrons of, and their Motives to the *Reformation.* And Page 48 tells him, "We "ſhould rather judge you to be the Pupil of "Dr. *Harding* (whom you would be "thought to oppoſe) than of Biſhop *Jewel*, "whom you do ſeem to Reverence. Biſhop "*Jewel* does not think, that he fouls either "his Tongue or his Pen, in naming the "*Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt*: But how oft, in "your Hiſtory, do you, by way of Scorn, "tell us of the *Zuinglian* Goſpellers, as if "this were ſome Reproach to them, and "you had nothing to do with the *Goſpel*? "which, in an hundred Places, your Dr. "*Harding* upbraids Biſhop *Jewel* with." Biſhop *Burnet*, in the *Preface* to the Firſt Volume of his *Hiſtory* of the *Reformation*, has alſo given a true Character of Dr. *Heylin's Hiſtory*; againſt which *George Vernon's* Apology, in his *Life* of the *Doctor*, has had little Influence with the Publick. Particularly, in one Omiſſion the Doctor is very unpardonable: *That he never vouched any Authority* (ſays the Biſhop) *for what he wrote; which is not to be forgiven any who write of Tranſactions beyond their own Time, and deliver New Things not known before.* See alſo Biſhop *Barlow*, in his *Remains*, pag. 181. and Biſhop *Nicholſon's Hiſt. Library, Edit. Fol.* 1736. pag. 118.

297. *Obſervations*, both *Hiſtorical* and *Moral*, upon the *Burning* of *London*, *September* 1666. With an *Account* of the *Loſſes.* And a moſt remarkable *Parallel* between *London* and *Moſco*, both as to the *Plague* and *Fire.* Alſo an *Eſſay* touching the *Eaſterly Wind.* Written by way of *Narrative*, for Satisfaction of the *preſent* and *future* Ages. By *Rege Sincera.* Printed by *Thomas Ratcliffe*, &c. (In 20 Leaves) *Quarto*, 1667

This Work is dedicated by the Author to *John Buller*, Eſq; Member of the Houſe of Commons. He begins it with repeating the naked Narrative, which was printed by Conſent of his Majeſty and the Publick Authority. Next proceeds to examine this deplorable *Accident*, by the Rules of that *ſearching Verſe*, which comprehends all the Circumſtances of a Fact;

Quis, Quid, Ubi, quibus Auxiliis, Cur, Quomodo, Quando.
Firſt, by *Whom* done; next, *What* is done; and then;
Where; by What *Means*; and *Wherefore*; *How*, and *When*.

And indeed, could he have *anſwered* all theſe *Queſtions*, as directly as they are propounded, we muſt have had a very clear and ſatisfactory *Hiſtory* of the *Fire* of *London.* However, the Anſwers he does make to thoſe Queſtions may be thus briefly repreſented. 1. That it was *done by* the Permiſſion of God through the Careleſneſs of Man; the *Baker*, or his Servants, in whoſe Houſe it began. 2. As to *what* Damage it *did*; having computed that the City of *London*, within the Walls, was ſeated upon about 460 Acres, which had about 15000 Houſes thereon, beſides Churches, Chapels, Halls, and other publick Buildings, he concludes, about 12000 were burnt, which is four Parts in five, which, together with all other Buildings, Goods, &c. he values at *Seven Millions Three-hundred Thirty five-thouſand Pounds.* Then proceeds, in the ſame Section, to his *Parallel* of the Diſaſters at *Moſco*, as mentioned in the Title: But in this there was a wonderful Diſparity, that not above *half a Dozen Londoners* were loſt in our Conflagration, but above *Two-hundred-thouſand Moſcovites* miſerably conſumed in theirs. 3. As to the Place *Where*; he anſwers, with a ſhort, but ſhining Encomium upon our *Metropolis*; the Sufferings of which, might employ, he ſays, a better Pen, and be the Subject of a full Volume. 4. By *What Means*; This he anſwers by enlarging upon his firſt Paragraph, where he ſpeaks of the *Negligence* of the *Maſter* or his *Servant*; the *Darkneſs* and *Deadneſs* of the Night; *Narrowneſs* of the *Streets*; *Cloſeneſs* and *Rottenneſs* of the old Wooden *Buildings*; the *Combuſtible Goods* and *Merchandiſe* ſtored all about; the great Heat and Drought of the preceding Summer; the violent *Eaſtern* Wind, which blew all the While, the moſt deſtructive of all others; they approaching over the Ocean, this, over the Continent; ſo as to burn our Flowers and Leaves of Trees, more than the hotteſt Sun: Laſtly, the great Want of *Water*, particularly at that Time, the *Thames* Water-houſe being out of Order; and the great Want of *Room* in thoſe Streets ſo contracted and ſo crouded with People, to play the Engines. 5. The Queſtion *Why*, he leaves queſtionable, Whether for the Puniſhment of our *Sins*, the Trial of our *Faith*, or the Exerciſe of our *Patience*. 6. The Queſtion *How* it was done, he refers, for an Anſwer, to the fourth Section. 7. And, laſtly, *When*; he anſwers *When* we were newly come out of a *Civil War* of twenty Years Standing; wherein about 100,000 People periſhed: *When* the *Plague* had, the Year before ſwept away above 100,000 more; and was ſtill raging: *When* the Kingdom was exhauſted of *Money*, and *Trade* loſt: And *When* we had *Wars* with *France*, *Denmark*, and *Holland*, and not without Fear of Diviſions among ourſelves. Yet concludes he, by our Heavenly Father's paternal *Corrections*, and by his *Mercies*, we are reſcued from our *Fears* by *Peace* and *Quietneſs*, both at Home and Abroad, reſtored to the *Hopes* of a flouriſhing Nation, and the moſt glorious City in the World. *Creſcit ſub pondere Virtus.*

298. A *Letter* to a *Perſon* of *Quality*, Concerning *Fines Received* by the *Church* at its *Reſtoration*. Wherein, by the Inſtance of One of the Richeſt *Cathedrals*, a very fair Gueſs may be made at the *Receipts* and *Disburſements* of All the Reſt. By a Prebend of the Church of *Canterbury*. Printed (In One Sheet.) *Quarto*, 1668

This Author has only ſubſcribed the Initial Letters of his Name at the End of his *Letter*, P. D. M. by which *Anthony Wood* might not recollect who was the Writer of it, if ever he did ſee it, or he would not have omitted it in the Catalogue of his Works. Though it is apparent enough, that the Author was Dr. *Peter Du Moulin*, then Chaplain in Ordinary to the King, and a Prebendary of *Canterbury*. His Motives, to this Performance, appear in the firſt Page to have riſen from what had been ſaid in a *Pamphlet* not long before publiſhed, entitled, *A Propoſition for the Safety and Peace of tho King and Kingdom*, &c. pag. 47. where the Writer is charged to have caſt a groundleſs and undeſerved *Odium* upon *Cathedral* Men, in depreſſing their *Perſons*, and heightening their *Emoluments*; Characterizing them as, *Low in their Condition, and in their Intereſts*; *Covetous, and Undeſervedly Rewarded.* “ And “ as to their *Emoluments*, *of Twenty Years in* “ *One*, if they were reaſonable at *Canter-* “ *bury* (ſays the Doctor) they could not be “ very *Vaſt* in other *Cathedrals*. Our “ *Fines*, adds he, are divided equally, but “ that the *Dean* hath double the Share of “ a Prebend, and the Total of that great “ Income of our firſt *Fines* (deducting the “ *Reparation* of the *Church*, and our *Preſent* “ to our *Royal* Benefactor) the Share of “ each of the Twelve Canons was about “ *Eleven Hundred Pounds*. Such a Sum “ was no exceſſive Reward for long Suf- “ ferers, and conſtant Actors in the King's “ Cauſe, of which the moſt Part of our “ Society conſiſteth. I am none of the

“ greateſt Loſers of the Clergy: Yet, I “ may truly ſay, that this Proportion did “ hardly amount to the third Part of my “ Loſſes, by Sequeſtration and other Vio- “ lences of the War. Such moderate Showers, “ falling upon Lands parched with a long “ Drought, could not drench them to an “ Exuberancy, to leave Pools above Ground. “ The Condition of my Brethren could not “ be much different from mine.”——And a little further; “ What had become of “ Ours, and all the *Cathedral* Churches, if “ all the *Fines* had been taken from them “ before the Admiſſion of the *Canons?* “ That of *Canterbury*, though much de- “ faced by *Culmer*, and the Fanatick Sol- “ diers, and decayed by a Neglect of well “ nigh twenty Years, was more entire than “ moſt *Cathedrals* in *England* when we “ came to it; yet, in the Year 1664, we “ found that the *Reparations* of it ſtood us “ in *Twelve-thouſand Pounds*; all that Ex- “ pence ariſing out of *Fines*. But for the “ *Fines*, all the *Cathedrals* in the Kingdom, “ by this Time, had been Heaps of Ruins: “ Without the *Fines*, theſe *Great Fabricks*, “ the *Greateſt* of *Europe*, cannot yet be “ preſerved from Ruin, &c.” We have been long learning, with St. *Paul*, how to Want; but have had no Occaſion, as yet, to learn how to abound. But the popular Rumour, that we have all the Money of the Land, hath taught us another Doctrine, *Eſt. inter Cauſas Paupertatis, Opinio Divitiarum:* Certainly, one of the great Cauſes of *Poverty* is to be eſteemed *Rich*; another, to think ourſelves obliged to juſtify that Opinion.

299. The Preſent *Intereſt* of *England* Stated: By a *Lover* of his *King* and *Country*, and the *Peace* of *Chriſtendom*. The ſecond Impreſſion, corrected and amended. (In 19 Leaves) *Quarto*, 1671

There are many good Remarks and Arguments in this Pamphlet, tending to diſcountenance that pernicious *Indiſpoſition*, nurſed up in our *younger Brothers*, by *Vanity* and *Idleneſs*, to all kind of *Buſineſs* or *Occupation*; and ſhewing, that the True *Intereſt*, *Plenty*, and *Proſperity* of *England*, lies in the Advancement of our *Navigation*, *Trade*, and *Commerce:* In giving *Liberty* of *Conſcience* to all Proteſtant *Nonconformiſts*; declining *Foreign Conqueſts*; retrenching the exorbitant *Fees* of *Lawyers*, *Phyſicians*, and *Officers*: In keeping the *Ballance* among our *Neighbours*; firm *League* with *Holland*, good *Correſpondence* with *Spain*, and a *jealous* Eye upon the growing Greatneſs of *France:* In keeping open the *Baltick* Sea: In his Majeſty's making himſelf *Protector* of the whole *Proteſtant* Party, and preſerving *Peace*, as the Promoter of *Trade*, except unavoidable Neceſſity requires *War*. Though the Author has not prefixed his Name to the Tract, we find it to have been compoſed by *Slingsby Bethel*, Eſq; See his Book, called, *The Intereſt of Princes and States in Europe*; Preface, and pag. 1.

300. The *Grand Concern* of *England* explained; in ſeveral Propoſals offered to the Conſideration of the Parliament: For Payment of Publick *Debts*, Encouragement of *Trade*, and Raiſing the *Rents* of *Lands*. In order whereunto, it is proved neceſſary; 1. That a Stop be put to further *Buildings* in *London*. 2. That the *Gentry* be obliged to *live* ſome Part of the Year in the *Country*. 3. That *Regiſters* be ſettled in every *County*. 4. That an Act for *Naturalizing* all *Foreign Proteſtants*, and *Indulging* them, and his Majeſty's *Subjects* at *Home*, in Matters of *Conſcience*, may be paſſed. 5. That the *Act*, prohibiting the Importation of *Iriſh Cattle*, may be repealed. 6. That *Brandy*, *Coffee*, *Mum*, *Tea*, and *Chocolate* may be prohibited. 7. That the Multitude of *Stage-Coaches*, and *Caravans* may be ſuppreſſed. 8. That no *Leather* may be exported, Unmanufactured. 9. That a *Court of Conſcience* be ſettled for *Weſtminſter*, and all the Suburbs of *London*, and in every City and Corporation in *England*. 10. That the extravagant *Habits* and *Expences* of all Perſons may be curbed; the exceſſive *Wages* of Servants and Handicrafts may be reduced, and all *Foreign Manufactures* may be prohibited. 11. That it may be made lawful to aſſign *Bills*, *Bonds*, and other *Securities*; and that a Courſe be taken to prevent the Knavery of *Bankrupts*.

12. That the *Newcaſtle* Trade for *Coals* may be managed by Commiſſioners, to the Eaſe of the Subjects, and great Advantage of the Publick. 13. That the *Fiſhing Trade* may be vigorouſly proſecuted; all *Poor People* ſet at Work, to make *Fiſhing Tackle*, and be paid out of the Money collected every Year for the Poor, in the ſeveral Pariſhes in *England*. By a Lover of his Country, and a Well-wiſher to the Proſperity both of the King and Kingdoms. (In 32 Leaves) *Quarto*, 1673

301. A *Diſcourſe of the Fiſhery*: Briefly laying open, not only the *Advantages* and *Facility* of the *Undertaking*, but likewiſe the abſolute Neceſſity of it; in order to the Well-being both of the King and People. Aſſerted and Vindicated from all material Objections. By *R. L'Eſtrange*. Printed for *Henry Brome*. (In ſix Leaves) *Quarto*, 1674

This noted Author, having diligently peruſed, extracted, and digeſted whatever he could meet with upon this Subject, finds his Diſcourſe will fall under theſe Propoſitions. 1. That it is of great and certain Advantage. 2. That it lies fairer for the Subjects of *Great Britain*, than for the *Hollanders*. 3. That if it be Encouraged and Eſtabliſhed, it will prove the Foundation of an ample and laſting *Revenue* to the *Crown*, and of *Wealth* and *Proſperity* to the Nation, &c. He further aſſerts, it is granted on all Hands, That the *Dutch* are beholden to the Fiſhery for the *Riſe* and *Support* of their *Greatneſs*; for their *Reputation Abroad*, and for their *Strength* at *Home*: Inſomuch that the *Herring*, *Cod*, and *Ling*, taken in his *Majeſty*'s Seas, by the *Dutch*, and other *Strangers*, are valued, *Communibus Annis*, at no leſs than *Ten Millions of Pounds Sterling*; which Computation, ſays he, has been often Publiſhed, and conſtantly received for Current, without Contradiction.

302. An *Eſſay* to the *Reſtoring* of our *Decayed Trade*. Wherein is deſcribed, the *Smugglers*, *Lawyers*, and *Officers Frauds*, &c. By *Joſeph Trevers*. Printed for *Giles Widdowes*, &c. (In Thirty-three Leaves) *Quarto*, 1677

The Author dedicates this Tract to the Right Hon. *Edward Seymour*, Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, Treaſurer of the Navy, and one of the Privy-Council; partly becauſe he had been ſo converſant in and about the Counties of *Devon*, *Somerſet*, and *Wilts*; where the Trade of *Clothing* is ſo much uſed. There are two or three Copies of Verſes printed with this Work, in Praiſe of the Author, and our *Woollen Manufacture*; before one of which he is called Capt. *Joſeph Trevers*. And he ſays of himſelf, That, by reaſon of his Employment in the Trade of a *Clothier*, and afterwards in the Office of *Surveyor* of one of the *Ports* of this Kingdom, at the *Cuſtom-Houſe*, he is experimentally enabled to ſpeak of theſe Things. And indeed, he does well ſet forth the great Advantages of our *Woollen Trade*, and the much greater it might produce, but for the many Abuſes of it. He ſhews ingenuouſly, how every Two Pounds of *Wooll*, worth about Twenty-pence, will make a Yard of *Kerſey*, worth five or ſix Shillings; and every four Pounds of *Wooll*, worth about Three-ſhillings and Four-pence, will make a Yard of *Broad-Cloth*, worth Eleven or Twelve Shillings: So that Two-thirds is the leaſt Profit, that ariſes by putting our Wooll into Manufactures; which amounts to above *Two-hundred-thirty Pounds* Sterling Profit in every *Tun* of *Wooll* ſo wrought up, accounting Twenty-hundred *Engliſh* Weight to the *Tun*. So that, if we ſhould ſuppoſe, but an Hundred Tuns of Wooll Tranſported out of the Kingdom in a Year to *France*, unwrought, it will amount to *Twenty two-thouſand four-hundred Pounds* Sterling, which is ſo much clear Loſs to the Kingdom, and treble ſo much Profit to *France*, by their working up three Times as much of their own with ours; beſides the depriving thereby ſo many of our *Poor* from *Work*, and the *Rich* of their *Rents*. But, notwithſtanding thoſe great Advantages in this Trade, it is here affirmed, that *Millions* of Money are loſt to the King and Kingdom, by private Exportation of our *Wooll*, and *Fuller's Earth*; the loſing our Trade, and being undermined by the *Dutch*; the Importation of Foreign prohibited Goods, to the Detriment of the *Silk-Weavers*, &c. and beſides the Loſs by *Smugglers*; the Frauds of unfaithful *Officers*, and others concerned in the *Law*, are here complained of, and further offered to be laid open, to prevent the general Poverty and Decay of Trade, which will otherwiſe attend the Continuation of ſuch Abuſes.

303. A Juſt *Vindication* of *Learning:* Or, An Humble *Addreſs* to the High Court of *Parliament*, in Behalf of the *Liberty of the Preſs*. By *Philopatris*. (In 12 Leaves) *Quarto*, 1679

This *Addreſs* was now publiſhed by its ingenious Author, upon the Occaſion of a late *Act*, which, having laid a ſevere *Reſtraint* upon *Printing*, was now near expiring; intreating the ſaid Parliament, before they think of continuing any ſuch Act, to conſider theſe Arguments againſt ſuch *Inquiſition*, or *Embargo upon Science*. It is true, the Author has been beholden to ſome fine Sentiments of the Lord *Bacon*, and Mr. *Milton*, upon the Topic of *Studies*, and publiſhing the Fruits thereof without *Reſtraint*; but he has ſo well choſen, and joined them ſo orderly together, that they look like Plants, which had been long ſlumbering, as Dead in their *Winter* Beds, when called forth by the general Warmth of the *Spring*, and decked with new Youth and Beauty. The Author was *Charles Blount*, Eſq; the younger Son of Sir *Henry Blount*; and, becauſe he publiſhed this Tract under the Name of *Philopatris*, it is thought his Father had an Hand in the Compoſition. He gave other Proofs of his pregnant Parts and Learning, beſides this Publication, at Twenty-five Years of Age, immediately after, by his *Anima Mundi*, and his Tranſlation of *Philoſtratus's* Life of *Appollonius Tyaneus*, &c. There is written, at the End of this Pamphlet, with a Pen, theſe Words——"How juſt were the "Complaints of the People in thoſe Days, "againſt a *Licenſing Preſs*; and how co- "gent were the Reaſons of this judicious "Author, for its Abrogation, are manifeſt, "from the univerſal Conſent of the Legiſ- "lature, which hath quite aboliſhed that "Tyrannical Power."

304. *The French Intrigues Diſcovered.* With the *Methods* and *Arts* to *Retrench* the *Potency* of *France* by *Land* and *Sea*; and to *Confine* that *Monarch* within his antient *Dominions* and *Territories*. Humbly ſubmitted to the *Conſideration* of the *Princes* and *States* of *Europe*, eſpecially of *England*. Written in a *Letter* from a *Perſon* of *Quality* abroad, to his *Correſpondent* here. Printed for *R. Baldwin*. (In 17 Leaves) *Folio*, 1681

This Pamphlet will ever be a uſeful *Monitor* to *England*, to beware and guard itſelf againſt the Secret and Treacherous, or open and violent Incroachments of *France*, upon our Religion, Trade and Territories. It is ſtored with Political *Cautions* of all Kinds, and ſtrengthened with Hiſtorical *Examples* upon all Occaſions. Were our State to have regarded good *Advice* and *Directions*, more than as ſo many good *Dreams*, and the Proteſtant Princes had cordially put in Practice, the Propoſitions here, as well as elſewhere tendered them, they had before this Time brought that *Wiſh* to paſs, which this Author concludes with, and where there is now but *One King* in *France*, there would have been *Twenty*.

305. A *Short Way* to a *Laſting Settlement*: Shewing, 1. That *Parliaments* are not *Infallible*. 2. *Who* are their great *Enemies*. 3. *How* to *Redeem* their *Reputation*. With a Warning to all Loyal Gentlemen and Freeholders. In a Letter to *Fanaticus Ignoramus*. Printed for *Robert Clavel*. (In 17 Leaves) *Quarto*, 1683

This Pamphlet, though it is not inſerted in the Catalogue of its Author's Works, by *A. Wood*, was written, as it is remembered, upon the Title-Page of the Copy here made uſe of, in a Manuſcript Note, by Dr. *Laurence Womack*, a great Royaliſt, and true Son of the Church, who was made Biſhop of St. *David's* the ſame Year he publiſhed this Pamphlet.

306. A *Letter* written to Dr. *Burnet*; giving an Account of Cardinal *Pool's Secret Powers*: From which it appears, that it *was never intended* to *confirm* the *Alienation* that was made of the *Abbey Lands*. To which are added, Two *Breves* that Cardinal *Pool* brought over, and ſome other of his *Letters*, that were never before Printed. Printed for *Richard Baldwin*, &c. (In 40 Pages) *Quarto*, 1685

307. A *Collection* of *Papers* relating to the *Preſent Juncture* of *Affairs* in *England*, *viz.* 1. The humble *Petition* of *ſeven Biſhops*, to his Majeſty. 2. *Articles* recommended by the

Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, to all the Biſhops and Clergy within his Juriſdiction. 3. *Propoſals* of the *Archbiſhop*, with ſome other *Biſhops* to his Majeſty. 4. *Petition* of the *Lords* Spiritual and Temporal, for Calling a *free Parliament*, with his Majeſty's gracious Anſwer. 5. A *Vindication* of the aforeſaid *Petition*. 6. An Extract of the *States General* their *Reſolution*. 7. The *Prince* of *Orange* his *Letter* to the *Engliſh Army*. 8. Account of a Deſign to *poiſon* the *Prince of Orange*, before he came out of *Holland*. 9. A Relation of a ſtrange *Meteor*, repreſenting a Crown of Light, ſeen in the Air near the City of *Orange*. 10. Lord *Delamere*'s Speech to his Tenants. 11. *Prince* of *Denmark*'s *Letter* to the *King*. 12. The Lord *Churchill*'s *Letter* to the *King*. 13. Princeſs *Anne*'s *Letter* to the *Queen*. 14. A *Memorial* of the *Proteſtants* of *England*, to the *Prince* and *Princeſs* of *Orange*. 15. Prince of *Orange* his *Declaration* of *November* 21, 1688; from *Sherborn-Caſtle*. (In 34 Pages) *Quarto*, 1688

308. *Lacrymæ Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ*: Or, a ſerious and paſſionate *Addreſs* of the *Church* of *England* to her *Sons*, eſpecially thoſe of the *Clergy*. (In 32 Leaves) *Quarto*, 1689

This Pamphlet was firſt printed in the Year 1663; and then dedicated to the King and Parliament: The principal Matters treated of therein, are: I. The Church's *Apology*, for her Conſtitution; and *Juſtification* of her Government, Doctrine, and Devotion. II. Her Reſentment of *undue Ordination*; as upon *young* Miniſters, above 3000; *Debauched* ones, 1500; *Unlearned*, without Number; *Factious*, 1342. III. Her Reſentment of *ſcandalous Profaneneſs*. IV. Her Complaint againſt *unconſcionable Simony*. V. Her Complaint againſt *encroaching Pluralities*. VI. Her Reſentment of *Non-Reſidence*.

309. *Lettre du Roy de la Grande Bretagne, au Lord Comte Portland*: A *Letter* from the *King* of *Great-Britain* to the Earl of *Portland*. (In one Sheet) *Quarto*, 1690

This is a very remarkable *Letter*, written in *French*, dated from *Whitehall*, 20 *January*, 1690, and ſigned by King *William*. The *French* Letter is printed in one Column, and the *Engliſh* Tranſlation againſt it in another. The Tranſlator, who beſtows above two Pages of Reflections upon it at the End, declares, 'It is neither Flattery nor Pique, which made him tranſlate and publiſh it; and that it was only the ſincere Love of his Country, which induced him to meddle with ſuch a dangerous Buſineſs.' He ſays further, 'The Contents of it led us to reflect on the *Genius* of the *Editor*; what *Holland* thinks of Him, what he thinks of *England*, and what *England* muſt expect from him. We were made believe, That he was far from any *Selfiſh Ends*, but came over out of *pure Zeal*, for our Religion, Laws, Liberties and Properties; but this *Letter*, the true *Index* of his Mind, and moſt inward Thoughts, as being writ to his moſt *intimate Friend*, plainly diſcovers a Temper, *ſolely* bent to purſue his own private *Grandeur*.' &c. &c.

310. *An Eſſay upon Taxes*: Calculated for the *preſent Juncture* of Affairs in *England*. (In 14 Leaves) *Quarto*, 1693

There is a Manuſcript Note upon the Title-page of this Pamphlet expreſſing the Author to have been Sir *Richard Temple*.

311. The Earl of *Angleſey*'s *State* of the *Government* and *Kingdom*: Prepared and intended for his Majeſty King *Charles* II. in the Year 1682. But the Storm impending, growing ſo high, prevented it then. With a ſhort *Vindication* of his *Lordſhip*, from ſeveral Aſperſions caſt upon him, in a pretended *Letter* that carries the Title of his *Memoirs*. By Sir *John Thompſon*, Baronet. Printed for *Sam. Crouch*. (In 20 Leaves.) *Quarto*, 1694

312. A *Collection* of *Advertiſements*, *Advices* and *Directions* relating to the *Royal Fiſhery*, within the *Britiſh* Seas, &c. tranſcribed out of divers *Engliſh* Writers, Obſervators and other Experimentors of, and in the ſaid *Fiſhery* Trade. And by Approbation and Allowance of the *Company* of *the Royal Fiſhery of England*. Publiſhed in Order to the Inciting the People of theſe Nations, &c. to improve the Advantages thereof, under the Countenance and Encouragements granted to the ſaid *Company* and their *Succeſſors*, by his late Majeſty King *Charles* II. in Letters Patents under the Great Seal of *England*, bearing Date the 25th Day of *September*, in the 29th Year of his ſaid Majeſty's Reign. (Printed in 36 Leaves) *Quarto*, 1695

00093662

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 15 June, 2016